PICTORIAL HISTORY OF AMERICA'S NEW POSSESSIONS

AND THE

PROBLEM OF EXPANSION

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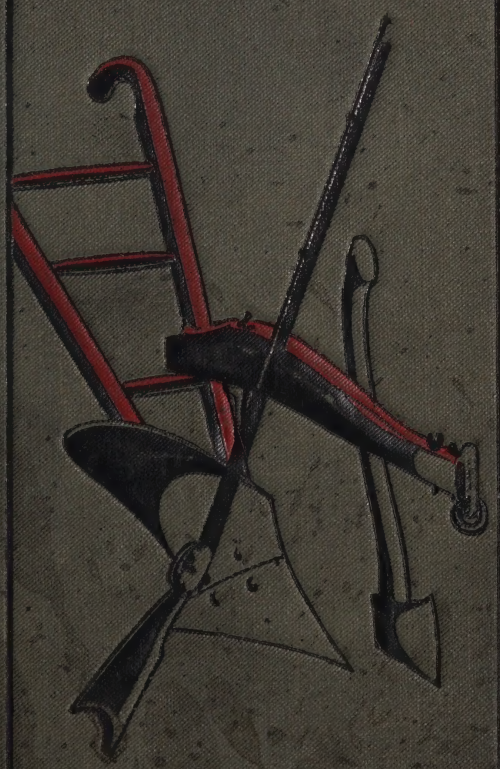

ISTHMIAN CANALS

PROPOSED

PANAMA
NICARAGUA

CONSTRUCTED

SUEZ

ALL WATERWAYS TO OUR TROPICAL POSSESSIONS EAST AND WEST

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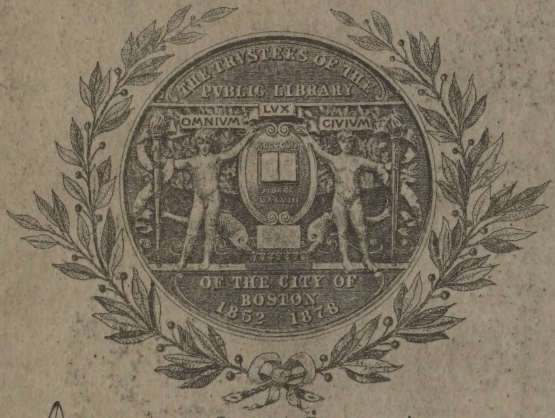

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PICTORIAL HISTORY

OF

America's New Possessions

THE ISTHMIAN CANALS AND THE
PROBLEM OF EXPANSION

COMPRISING SIX BOOKS IN ONE VOLUME

BEING A HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF EACH OF PORTO RICO, CUBA, HAWAII, THE PHILIPPINES, ISTHMIAN CANALS, AND A DISCUSSION OF THE PROBLEM OF EXPANSION.

Giving the Story of the Policy of the Farmer Fathers, Who, with the Rifle, and the Axe, and the Plow, Moved West the Center of Population, and Made Necessary

MORE LAND FOR THE PEOPLE

With Chapters on the Policy of American Expansion, Contributed by

PRESIDENT WILLIAM MCKINLEY	SENATOR CUSHMAN K. DAVIS	REPRESENTATIVE J. P. DOLLIVER
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BY

MURAT HALSTEAD

Author of "The Story of the Philippines," "Full Official History of the War With Spain," etc. etc.

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Inscribed

To the Farmer Fathers of the
Republic of the United States,
The Expanders of our Dominions
With Right and Might,
Compelling Civilization with
The Axe, the Rifle and the Plow,
Moving West the Center of Population
Of the Glorious Nation
In the Course the Poet-Prophets
Marked on the Soil and in the Sky
For the Stars of Empire,
Giving Oceans for Boundaries
Of the Land Provided for
Their Children,
With the Policy of New Possessions
Beyond the Seas,
Including the Treasure Islands
Of all the Zones of the
Northern Hemisphere
For All the People of All the States
According to the Logic of
History and the Duty of Destiny.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

This Pictorial History of Our New Possessions is a growth of current history. We were rushed into the war with Spain by the irrational obstinacy of the Spaniards, who were embarrassed by a Dynasty and a Tradition. The Dynasty was represented by an Austrian woman, the Queen Regent, a good mother with a strong sense of personal dignity and public duty, and her baby boy, the son of the Spanish King who lost the girl wife of his youth and married a Grand Duchess of Austria for reasons of state. This youth, the child king, with the good woman his mother, appealed to Spanish chivalry and the pride of the race, the widowed mother and infant king being in their weakness stronger as the representatives of royalty than any strong man could have been. Spain has been unhappy in her revolutionary elements, and the constant threat of the pretender Don Carlos, and his adherents who hold him to be the legitimate and only constitutional monarch of the peninsula. The Spanish dynasty in evidence has, therefore, been menaced on one side by a desperate body of murderous anarchists in the cities on the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, with just grievances enough to sustain a cause of rebellion, but whose remedies for wrongs have been the greater wrong of the dissolution of the kingdom and the assassination of the organizers of order; and on the other side the agricultural districts of the Biscayan provinces and on the borders of the Pyrenees, the sturdy peasants whose ancient loyalty to the royal house commands them to be Carlists have been as a dark cloud. Thus there has been peril to the dynasty in the seaboard cities and the mountain gorges. The general sense of the heads of the Spanish Government, and the common instinct of the masses of the population, could not deal unencumbered with the devouring questions evolved for the Peninsula by the insurrections in Cuba; and the impending close of the Spanish career in that island could not be permitted to appear in the light and be reckoned with on its merits, for the Carlists and other disorderlies were ready to take advantage of every misfortune—the inflammation of any pique of the people or prejudice vehement as shifty to overthrow the dynasty. The Tradition, holding on with all the force of an inveterate superstition, of Spain, was the vanity of dominion, and the political inability of the country to understand that the logic of the story of the independence of Mexico, Central and

Southern America, applied with irresistible force to the islands belonging to Spain in the East and the West Indies; and that the attraction of gravitation of the United States would soon determine the destiny of Porto Rico and Cuba at least. The stern old Spanish style had its latest embodiment in Cuba in Captain-General Weyler; and the plausible proclamations of benevolent policy of General Blanco were too late. In the midst of an extensive assortment of explosions came the blowing up of the Maine, and war flamed forth suddenly, though the cause had existed, flagrant, for two generations; and the consequence could have been foreseen with glasses taking into account the elemental disturbances of the forward march of mankind, for many years, as certainly as the oscillating mercury visible in glass tubes, tells of the coming cyclone. Blanco's Cuban experiences, instead of being that of pacificator and conquerer was confined to the evacuation of boasted fortifications, and his only success were his embarkation for Spain without being personally involved in the official ceremonies of inevitable surrender. "We, the people of the United States," won by force of arms and the magnetism of our national prestige, the Spanish possessions in the West Atlantic and the West Pacific Oceans, on the American and Asiatic borders, and the momentum of the transfer carried with it the complications of the obstinately lingering obstacles to the final official occupation and possession of the Hawaiian Islands, pleasantly and properly termed in a popular way "The Paradise of the Pacific." The current of our conquests was overwhelming, and the nations of the earth, the great powers of Europe especially included, gave the great Republic all the recognition possible by monarchial form and imperial deference, to a position grand as that of England, Germany or Russia. We took our place among the highest and foremost. Neither during the war in the waters and on the shores of the two Indies, one of which Columbus discovered while dreaming of the other, nor while peace making was going on in Paris between the American and Spanish commissioners, could Spain find help to aid her in the successive stages of her downfall. It was a war between one of the quick nations and one of the dead. Our vital forces controlled the essential situations, and the consummation was the cession of Porto Rico, the relinquishment of sovereignty over Cuba, and the consent that we had conquered and should dispose of the Philippines.

This Volume of Six Books In One gives the story ancient and recent of the rich, beautiful and wholesome Island of Porto Rico, a possession amply worth all the war has cost us, leaving the rest clear gain. We find in this island, where the people were assured of the directness and permanence of the establishment of the sovereignty of the United States, contentment and peace, the good will of

the people in many ways manifested. It would have been a large advantage if our titles to Cuba and Luzon had been equally clear and perfected in the course of possession. Then we should not have been compelled to employ the varied process of preparing by predominating force, stable forms of Government for the mixed and difficult populations of our conquests. We have been at fault in a tenderness about the word "conquest," as if we had a square mile of land that we obtained with the "consent of the natives," with, perhaps, the exception of the tract for which that subtle statesman, William Penn, signed a treaty with the Indians. Here the exception beautifully and formidably emphasizes the rule. We have to overcome the demonstrations of disaffection by the factions and the tribes, the soldiers of fortune and the adventurers in conspiracy, of Cuba and Luzon. In both were prepared elaborate pretenses of Government constructed for speculative purposes or experiments in local and native tyranny, by those who as insurgents were enabled to hide their public character in the swamps and thickets of tropical forests until liberated by our triumphant arms. The people, so far as the inhabitants are worthy to be called by the name that distinguishes our own pre-eminent and sovereign power, the true people of Cuba and Luzon, are turning to us for protection from the petty despots who desire to succeed to the privileges and emoluments and persecuting cruelties that distinguished the domination of the discomforted Spaniards. It is our business, having driven off one swarm of bloodsuckers, to dispose of—using all necessary force to make the disposition final—those whose greedy and shameless ferocity appears in claiming on grounds not merely insufficient but outlandish, profligate and barbaric, the Spanish succession to be continued and executed with reckless selfishness. That the Americans may make way for the liberty of the inhabitants of our new possessions, they must do as was done in Manila when that city was stormed, the American forces driving the Spanish army into the walled city to be prisoners, with one hand, and wiping the Filipino horde, that were rabid for plunder and slaughter, into the jungles, with the other hand. We had a larger duty of this sort to accomplish, and, unfortunately, it has cost blood. Every drop of the blood of our countrymen so shed seals an everlasting covenant of our dominion over the soil that it sanctifies. Hawaii and Porto Rico are absolutely and forever the property of the United States as much as Massachusetts, Florida, New Mexico, California, Oregon and Alaska. There are peculiarities about the Philippines that approve more and more as we get better acquainted with them the conservative wisdom of the President, when he declined to take upon himself the responsibility of their final fate, referring the whole matter to the people, and, of course, the Congress, of the United

States, calling for testimony at the ends of the earth to inform the American commission in Paris, sending proclamations and orders, going to the extreme of concession to the Filipinos for the preservation of peace, even sending a civil commission to Manila to avert the conflict apprehended—the commissioners arriving to find a state of war forced by the petty imitative tyrants of the large island.

A book in this volume contains the attractive and enlightening matter of the Great Discussion that has taken place in both houses of Congress, on the platforms, and in the Press, of the engrossing and momentous question of Expansion—that is, the extension of the policy of the farmer fathers of the greater republic of more land for the people, to the islands of the great oceans, and from the Arctic and north temperate zones far into the tropics, going far beyond American waters, to hold in our hands the treasure islands of Asia—that we confront across the Pacific—the choicest archipelago of the East Indies, richer in natural resources and less incumbered by racial miscegenation, than the West Indies.

The Philippine problem is one of the puzzles of civilization. We have selected that which fills the space devoted to the Discussion of Expansion, with conscientious impartiality, guided by the desire to give each side its strongest expression, and that the whole should be one of the most important and attractive chapters ever made up of the history of our country. The list of contributors includes the President, and both the living ex-Presidents of the United States, some of the most distinguished and brilliant members of the Senate and House of Representatives, Andrew Carnegie, Carl Schurz, Henry Watterson and many others prominent and influential in public life. There has been no such illustration and exhibit as this volume comprises, in its books of the stories of the islands, over which half round the world our flag is flying in beauty and victory, resplendent under the southern constellations fluttering in the trade winds, the colors more radiant and the stars brighter than ever before.

The books of our new possessions are as comprehensive as the expanded vision that sweeps the whole of the American horizon.

If this grand Republicanism is Imperialism, make the most of it, for the word signifies the expression and consolidation of national power—the potentiality of the American People. We have so broadened the field of American achievement and ambition, that we send our regiments and ships of war both east and west to our New Possessions. We have dispatched five thousand of the regular troops that our anarchists and sickly sentimentalists go a-weeping about, through the Isthmus of Suez by the canal and down the Red Sea, and the transports that took them return across the Pacific. Leaving one side of our continent they come back

to the other. What a tremendous object lesson, and how full of encouragement for the great and greater hereafter of the nation—the proud imperial Republic of the people! We are as Cæsar was once imagined—"bestriding this world like a Colossus," and the pigmies may play around our gigantic legs, if they please to behave themselves. We are interested alike in the Isthmus of Suez and the Isthmus of Darien, in the tawny deserts of one and the blue peaks of the other. We must in the interest of self-defense promote the completion of the essential waterways of the world, the demand for which becomes obvious when one glances at a globe. It is needful to America that the earth may be circumnavigated in tropical waters. There is no longer a necessity for ships bound for Asia from Europe to go around the Cape of Good Hope. A map of the American Hemisphere shows where the one slim streak of earth is to be severed, so that we of the nation that fronts on the Atlantic and Pacific may send our navies of peace and war from one side of our continental land to the other without the circumnavigation of South America. Hence the immediate interest in our book on the Isthmian Canals. We do not care whether the Panama or the Nicaraguan Canal is first finished. We want one or both. Either would do.

The Hon. James R. Mann, representative in Congress of a Chicago district, has written a history of the Expansion of the United States, the most comprehensive, thoroughly particular as to records and specific in all that is of national interest to the people at large, that has appeared. He prefaces it with these words, when reverting to the history of the consecutive and triumphal extension of our boundaries:

"We have claimed the independence of our country for less than a century and a quarter. When Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence the extent of the territory claiming freedom under it was but little more than 400,000 square miles in area. Now our national sovereignty extends over nearly 4,000,000 square miles. Whence has come this increase? How have we acquired this territory? What is the history of this wonderful acquisition of national domain?

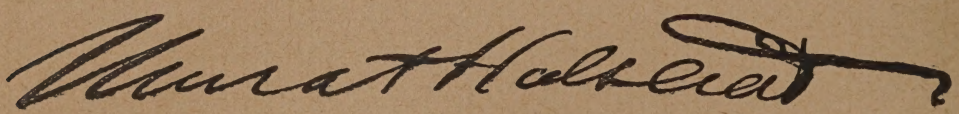
"The school children of our land are taught with careful exactness the history of the discovery by Columbus; of the voyages of the Cabots; of the landing of De Soto; of the charter granted by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Walter Raleigh; of the story of the Pilgrim Fathers and their landing at Plymouth Rock; of Jamestown and the early settlements in Virginia; of the discovery and exploration of the Hudson River; of the patent of Maryland granted by Charles I. to Lord Baltimore; of the founding of the city of Providence, in Rhode Island, by Roger Williams,

and the settlement of Pennsylvania by the Quakers under the lead of William Penn, and their gentle amity with the Indians.

"Every school history is full of information concerning the settlement and growth of the colonies which became the thirteen original States. We are all familiar with the story of the war of the Revolution. We have all recited the speech of Patrick Henry. We talk glibly about the principles declared by the Declaration of Independence and the provisions of the National Constitution. But what about the history of the growth of our country from an area of 400,000 to 4,000,000 square miles? And yet there is no more fascinating story in the world's history.

"The little strip of territory along the Atlantic Ocean, with its sparse settlements, nowhere reaching the Gulf of Mexico, only touching the system of the Great Lakes, and barely crossing the Allegheny Mountains, has now expanded until it reaches from ocean to ocean, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico; until it has added to its charmed domain the great coast line of the Northern Pacific Ocean and the Islands of Hawaii."

We commend this book of the glorious growth of our country, as one that should be in all the libraries and all the schools. It is the true and full story of the expansion of the nation and fitly crowns the Majestic Edifice of American History.



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MARKET WOMEN OF PORTO RICO. (Copyrighted, 1898, by J. M. Jordan.)

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ATLANTIC OCEAN
CARIBBEAN SEA
PORTO RICO.
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SCALE OF MILES
0 5 10 15 20 25
Raods
Railroads
Boundaries
AGUADILLA
AGUADA
ARECIBO
AGUADILLA
MAYAGUEZ
MAYAGUEZ
PONCE
GUAYAMA
HUMACAO
SAN JUAN
CAGUAS
LOIZA
LUQUILLO
FAJARDO
NAGUABO
YABUCOA
MAUNABA
PATILLAS
ARROYO
GUAYANILLA
PENUELAS
JUANA DIAZ
COAMO
BARROS
MANATI
VEGA ALTA
VEGA BAJA
TOA ALTA
TOABAJA
BAYAMON
GUAYNABO
CAROLINA
RIO PIEDRAS
TRUJILLO ALTO
LOIZA
RIO GRANDE
LUQUILLO
CULEBRA ISL.
ISLA DE VIEQUES OR CRAB ISLAND
ISABELL II
Isla de Vieques or Crab Island
I. Caya de Muertos
PUNTA DE LAS FIGURAS
PUNTA DE PATILLAS
PUNTA DE ARENAS
PUERTO JOBOS
COAMO BAY
PORT PONCE
PORT GUAYANILLO
BOQUERON BAY
MORRILLOS DE C. ROJO
BARRIELS PASSAGE
Piragua Rocks
N. Chinchorro Is.
White Horse Is.
Mosquito Key
Mosquito Pt.
Pt. Arenas
West Pt.
S.W. Pt.
Pt. Negra
Pt. Mula
Port Real
Port Ferro
Grand Port
S.W. Key
Hendo Key
Soldiers Pt.

BOOK I.

PORTO RICO.

INTRODUCTION.

During the progress of our war with Spain, the people of the United States, studying the military and naval situations, and giving critical attention to the movements of our fleets and armies, were well informed of the advantages of Porto Rico. If Spain had not been an incapable country, if her battleships and squadrons of gunboats and torpedo destroyers had been what they were believed in Europe to be, a match for our own warships and boats, Porto Rico was placed so as to have been an advantageous basis of operations for the Spanish fleet; and if the Spaniards had been in condition to cross the Atlantic in force, this eastward island would have served the purpose of defending the West India waters and possessions of Spain, at the same time threatening our shores. It turned out that the degeneracy of Spanish administration had been as disastrously operative in the navy as the army, that the battleships were not ready in machinery or armament; though held to be superior to our own of the same class, were deficient. Spain never seriously disputed with us the mastery of the seas. This was a weakness that allowed the Spaniards no chance for successful defense of her islands. Porto Rico and Cuba were lost, unless our extemporized army could be used up by the rains and the fevers, and the acclimated Spaniards enabled to hold out in their intrenchments, fed out of the marvelously fertile soil, until the continental monarchies should call for a suspension of hostilities on our part under the menace of coalition against us. We were influenced by consideration for international opinion and regard for our own contracted conservatism as to interference abroad, and the philanthropic eloquence so exuberant in our public life, to promise a miracle of unselfishness in our purposes so far as Cuba was concerned. The Cuban annexationists were complacent under the proclamations to which they did not entirely subscribe, because they had confidence in the attraction of our bulk, the interest of Cuba to be under our wing, as a protected province if in no other relation, and the geographical proprieties, so that if the Spanish yoke was removed the island gifted alike with natural riches and beauties, would be ours by the irrepressible genius of Americanism. Still we agreed the Cubans, not the New York Junta in particular exclusively, but the Cuban people at large, should have the option of independence; and we must make our promise good.

Senator Hoar says there is no necessity that we should marry any of the unfortunate daughters of Spain that have been abused by their mother, but it is quite certain if any of the girls come to our house as Naomi to that of Boaz and say they are going with us and be of our people and mean to stay and be of our household, we will not drive them away, but allow them to find places of repose and take for their own use reasonable measures of barley. We shall also instruct the reapers in our harvest fields to leave heads of grain for them to glean and deny them not the comforts of hospitality, even apples, as well as barley, as we understand the obligations of friendship in the north temperate zone.

Before coming into possession of Porto Rico, ceded to us by Spain, we made no promises to her people and consented to no conditions of limitation of our sovereign rights. The island is as much ours as the Louisiana purchase was when we paid for it, or as Alaska and Arizona are ours. And it is gratifying to note that very few congressmen have wept in public over the imperialism of our acceptance of the ripe fruit that fell in our way as we walked under the tree. It is settled even if there are statesmen who feel that we have again fractured the Constitution of the United States, and fatally fastened ourselves to an island out of sight of our continental shore that Porto Rico is and shall remain our very own. We have got her and we will keep her. The island is the best in many ways in the West Indies, though not as large as Cuba or as high as Hayti. It is wholesome and of good report, and, with a naval station there worthy of our Sea-Power, we shall have an advanced post beyond Bermuda that hostile fleets, if any should ever move this way meaning to do us harm, will not venture to pass by. As to contiguity, those pleasant Danish islands, always for sale, are in the neighborhood. The fact is suggestive that ten cents apiece paid by the American people would capture those gems of the ocean. The people of Porto Rico are of mixed races, and it is probable it will take them some time to assimilate Americanism even under the weighty expression of military authority. The dealings of the people of Porto Rico have been rather with Europeans than with ourselves. They will, we hope, and we base expectation founded upon ordinary human experience, trust, they will grow fonder of us as they find us out. It is an important point in our duty to make them feel at home under our flag and to soothe them if we observe restlessness in their manner when the novelty of being free Americans ceases to have an impressive fascination. Some of them may think reading certain interpretations by eloquent men of our Constitution, that it is a part of the contract implied when we took them in charge that they are to soon have a call to be heard in our general government. We have firmly but kindly

to make known to them that they are mistaken. However, we have confidence they will be reasonable and "consent" to be governed without seeking trouble along lines of theory, promulgated in a spirit of benevolence by some of our eminent men in behalf of the Filipinos when they assaulted the American lines at Manila. We would advise friends in the colonies not to place a great deal of reliance upon the emotional element of patriotic gentlemen whose information is deficient, being radically erroneous. The people of Porto Rico, we are sure, will contentedly remain with us, partake of the bounty of our good will, consent to the investment of our capital in the improvement of the island, and be taught by us that they have not alienated but gained by our expansion including them in a liberal sense in the rights of man and an excellent opportunity of generous guidance in the better ways and means, in the language of the Declaration of Independence, for "the pursuit of happiness."

CHAPTER I.

THE CONQUEST OF PORTO RICO.

The Island Is Ours Without the Annoyance of the Wolves and Wildcats of Philippine Politics—Porto Rico Determined Upon as a Second Objective Point in the War with Spain in the Western Hemisphere—Correspondence Between General Miles and the War Department Relative to the Porto Rican Campaign—Long to Sampson—The President Interposes, and Sampson and Miles Are Satisfied—Miles Leads the Campaign, and It Progresses Smoothly with Little Loss.

Porto Rico has the advantage of being a part of the United States without terms or conditions of any sort. It is emphatically our New Possession, for the Hawaiian Islands have practically been ours for a long time, our commerce being dominant and our influence paramount. They are indebted for civilization to our merchants and missionaries, and European vices to our whalers and other traders and explorers. Porto Rico has long been the example of the colonial system of Spain best bearing scrutiny of impartial inquiry, and the critical assaults of the hostile. The island is too small and too well provided with roads to be the chosen field of such insurgents as the Spanish government produces; and in the absence of the warfare of ambuscade, massacre and desolation by fire, fashionable in the struggles of the children of Spain for freedom from the deadly embrace of their mother country, its history has been comparatively tame, and the people in a modest way exceptionally prosperous.

The second article of our treaty of peace with Spain opens with the line "Spain cedes to the United States the Island of Porto Rico." It is plainly, simply and satisfactorily ours by conquest, and the people have no bands of firebugs, or shadowy armies of haunting phantoms in the shrubbery, attempting or threatening the assassination of American soldiers in the name of liberty and savage pride of self-government. There is no army of professed patriots who have been organizing famine with firebrand and chopping-knife, to appear in the field when the war is over with a pay-roll and refuse to disband until with imported money they are paid for their sufferings in securing home rule by burning houses and cane and tobacco. The Porto Ricans have no leader of rebellion, who has been exiled with a check-book and bank account, and returned after the Spanish power has been broken by Americans, to assume authority over the liberators and shoot

A CUBAN PLOUGHMAN.

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CRUSHING MILL ON A SUGAR PLANTATION IN CUBA.

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at them from jungles, because they landed to emancipate an enslaved people, without formally asking the slaves if the sacred soil could be used to overpower their merciless masters. The wolves and wildcats of Philippine politics have not appeared in the underbrush of Porto Rico.

Contrary to the teaching and the examples of the Cubans and the Filipinos, the Porto Ricans do not ask to be paid for heroism in destroying the industries of their native soil, before permitting themselves to make a beginning of restoring sugar and tobacco culture. In Cuba the Spaniards had no objection to sugar-making and to growing and curing the tobacco of the golden leaves. But grinding cane was an abomination in the sight of Gomez of Hayti, who sought freedom by the San Domingo method. The fashion is hardly fixed in regard to the cultivation of the land in Cuba as the excitement of a people, just freed from Spanish supervision, has not subsided. The Cuban armies will no doubt tolerate occasional manifestations of manhood at work on the rich soil and under the radiant sky of their island. In the Philippines they have a leadership that forbids toil in the fields while there are trenches to dig from which to fire upon the victors over the Spaniards. The next time we put forth our hands, and find in them an archipelago, we will know from experience that the way to establish peace is to allow no room for doubt that we are going to stay and be the ruling race. It makes the people of Spanish association and mixed blood uneasy to confront uncertainty. However, we have kept the faith both in Cuba and Luzon in a military occupation with a view to redeem the promise of the establishment of a "stable government;" and we are in honor bound to keep the peace if we have to fight for it, and to provide for the liberty of the people on the lands we have won by the sword, if we have to dust insurgents out of the way and apply the stern medicine of shrapnel.

The Cuban republic under a New York Junta is one fake, and the Luzon government of Aguinaldo is another. The latter is no doubt held by the ignorant people, he calls "his," and we have a school of statesmen who regard them as his belongings and the only people, and that he is the hero who conquered the Spaniards at Manila to be dispossessed of the fruits of his valor and conduct by the Americans intruding themselves upon a free people and preventing their development in the science and arts of self-government, where one man rules six millions, using a dainty, dandy cane as a scepter and keeping out of danger, because his life is too valuable to risk where bullets fly.

As Porto Rico was the most eastern of the West Indian possessions of Spain and of fair sanitary reputation and a thousand miles nearer the Spanish peninsula

than Havana, there was much speculation as to the propriety of the United States army and navy striking there first; and as our superiority in sea power developed from day to day, the consideration of a campaign in the eastern island became more serious, but there was encountered the fine fury of the Cuban Libre crusaders, who thought war could not exist unless Havana was bombarded. The marble walls of Congress rang with cries of contempt for persons afraid of a rainy season; and as for yellow fever—no one need fear it who had been acclimated in our camps and heard the furious eloquence of our champions of freedom. The Major-General commanding had regard for tropical rains and fevers and wanted to spend the summer in working up a great army with which Havana was to be taken after the rains had passed and the fever was over, but the public impatience and the presidential judgment were not in agreement.

It was resolved to strike a blow as soon as the sea was cleared of Spaniards and the regular army ready to lead the attack. The first serious thought was to land in Cuba on the northwestern coast, about as far west of Havana as the English landing in 1762 was east of that capital. The proposed Mariel landing meant that we should attack the Spaniards where they were strongest and the deadly climate was at its worst; that we should be pitted against tropical rains, the yellow fever, scarcity of water, and committed to force roads easily defended, while Blanco got together an army of eighty thousand effectives and more than a hundred and fifty field pieces. It was resolved to shift the scene of the first aggressive activity to the southern coast of Cuba, but not so far east as Santiago. It fell to General Shafter to be designated for this command. The Major-General commanding the army was fertile in plans of campaign, and had perfected one for each of three of the cardinal points of Cuba—North-west, South-west and North-east, and Porto Rico. The necessity of Admiral Cervera to obtain coal and his fear of American fleets took him to Santiago, where, if he had realized how widespread were the squadrons active in the blockade, and that the South coast was tolerably clear he would have made for Cienfuegos and been there in touch with Havana by rail.

Commodore Schley did not understand that Cervera could be so short of coal and so shy of combat that he had to go to the prison of the Santiago harbor to give himself a lease of life, and, as he was approved at the time by Sampson, the Commodore discredited for a few days the story of the Spanish fleet at Santiago, believing it was unreasonable and was disposed to act as if Cervera had coal and was equipped for disturbing our calculations of movement. Cervera

at Santiago carried the American army and fleet there, and the first stroke turned out the decisive blow.

At Washington there were two campaigns in view—the one on the south coast shifted to Santiago by Cervera, called No. 1, and the one for Porto Rico, known as No. 2. The Major-General commanding of course anticipated taking charge of our most considerable army and there was a natural idea that the objective point of the principal force would be Havana. He was told by friends when he did not go promptly to the front with the southern shore movement that he was making the mistake of his life, and urged to go.

This warning happened to begin at the house of the Secretary of War, and was given by the Adjutant-General. General Miles thought it would not be according to the correct estimate of the dignity of his commanding position to leave direct contact with the mighty army gathered, and go with a detachment not exceeding seven per cent of the whole; and he made the error of not heading the Santiago expedition in person.

On the 26th of April General Miles wrote the Secretary of War that it was of "the highest importance" that the troops called for by the President might be disciplined for field service with the least delay, and he said they "ought to be in camp approximately sixty days in their States, as so many of the States have made no provision for their State militia, and not one is fully equipped for field service. * * * This preliminary work should be done before the troops leave their States. While this is being done, the general officers and staff officers can be appointed and properly instructed, large camps of instruction can be judiciously selected, ground rented, and stores collected. At the end of sixty days the regiments, batteries and troops can be brigaded and formed into divisions and corps, and proper commanding generals assigned, and this great force may be properly equipped, molded and organized into an effective army, with the least possible delay."

Thus it appears the earliest purpose at military headquarters was to fight it out on this line, taking all summer. On the 18th of April General Miles wrote:

"It is extremely hazardous, and I think it would be injudicious to put an army on that island at this season of the year, as it would undoubtedly be decimated by the deadly disease, to say nothing of having to cope with some 80,000 troops, the remnant of 214,000, that have become acclimated, and that are equipped with 183 guns." He added: "There is still time, if this is favorably considered, to put a small force of regular troops, numbering approximately 18,000 men, in

healthful camps until such time as they can be used on the Island of Cuba with safety."

But it was not within the contemplation of the Major-General commanding to put himself at the head of this "small force."

The following letter shows that General Miles desired to be in the first expedition off for the fateful adventure:

Headquarters of the Army,
Tampa, Fla., June 5, 1898.

The Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:

This expedition has been delayed through no fault of any one connected with it. It contains the principal part of the army, which, for intelligence and efficiency, is not excelled by any body of troops on earth. It contains fourteen of the best conditioned regiments of volunteers, the last of which arrived this morning. Yet these have never been under fire. Between 30 and 40 per cent are undrilled, and in one regiment over 300 men had never fired a gun. I request ample protection at all times for this command by the navy. [This was changed by inserting the words "at sea."] This enterprise is so important that I desire to go with this army corps, or to immediately organize another and go with it to join this and capture position No. 2. Now that the military is about to be used, I believe that it should be continued with every energy, making the most judicious disposition of it to accomplish the desired result. MILES,
Major-General Commanding Army.

Washington, D. C., June 6, 1898, 2:35 P. M.

Major-General Miles, Tampa, Fla.:

The President wants to know the earliest moment you can have an expeditionary force ready to go to Porto Rico large enough to take and hold island without the force under General Shafter.

R. A. ALGER, Secretary of War.

Tampa, Fla., June 6, 1898.
(Received 8:27 P. M.)

Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:

Believe such a force can be ready as soon as sufficient transports could be gathered for (undutiful)* 23,000 volunteers. Will inform you definitely as soon as reports can be received as to exact condition of regiments and batteries. This corps has been organized and equipped in part for that purpose, and I believe

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*Cipher word "undutiful," interpreted 23,000, should have been 30,000. See telegram June 11 from General Miles.

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THE PRINCESS PROMENADE, SAN JUAN, PORTO RICO. (Copyrighted, 1898, by J. M. Jordan.

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A PORTO RICO BELLE. (Copyrighted by J. M. Jordan.)

it sufficient. I offer the following merely as a suggestion: To leave No. 1 safely guarded. This corps, with the combined assistance of the Navy, to take No. 2 first before it can be re-enforced. In order to make sure of this, have it followed by (unbearable)† 22,000 additional volunteers as quickly as transportation can be secured, utilizing what transports are now engaged, any prize steamers now at Key West, and any Atlantic auxiliary cruisers that can be spared by the Navy. Such a force ought to sail in ten days. Leaving sufficient force to hold No. 2, the capture of No. 1 can then be easily accomplished and the troops then landed at any point that might be thought advisable. MILES,

Major-General Commanding Army.

War Department, June 6, 1898.

Major-General Miles, Tampa, Fla.:

The President says no. He urges the utmost haste in departure of No. 1, and also of No. 2, as indicated by you, but that No. 1 must be taken first.

R. A. ALGER, Secretary of War.

Adjutant-General's Office,
Washington, June 7, 1898, 10 P. M.

Major-General Miles, Tampa, Fla.:

As you report that an expedition to Porto Rico (with 23,000 troops) can be ready in ten days, you are directed to assemble such troops at once for the purpose. The transports will be ready for you in ten days or sooner, if you can be ready. Acknowledge receipt.

By order of the Secretary of War:

H. C. CORBIN, Adjutant-General.

It was understood at the war office that General Miles cared especially to handle the Porto Rican expedition. June 26th the Secretary of War wrote the Major-General commanding:

"By direction of the President an expedition will be organized with the least possible delay, under the immediate command of Major-General Brooke, United States Army, consisting of three divisions taken from the troops best equipped in the First and Third Army Corps and two divisions from the Fourth Army Corps, for movement and operation against the enemy in Cuba and Porto Rico. The command under Major-General Shafter, or such part thereof as can be spared from the work now in hand, will join the foregoing expedition, and you will command the forces thus united in person."

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†Cipher word "unbearable," interpreted 22,000, should have been 10,000. No. 1 is Santiago; No. 2, Porto Rico.

This answers a great many questions and clears the scene of foggy imputations. Whether it was the fault of General Miles that he was not at the head in person of the "small force" that was before Santiago, it was not his fortune to have that distinction. He was conducting a carefully planned and highly successful campaign in Porto Rico when the war closed and the energies of military commanders were directed to other forms of combativeness.

May 3d Secretary Long telegraphed Admiral Sampson:

Washington, May 3, 1898.

Sampson, Key West, Fla.:

No large army movement can take place for a fortnight, and no small one will until after we know the whereabouts of the four Spanish armored cruisers and destroyers. If their objective is Porto Rico they should arrive about May 8, and immediately action against them and San Juan is then authorized. In such case the Flying Squadron would re-enforce you. LONG.

Washington, May 5, 1898.

Sampson (care United States Consul),
Cape Haitien, Haiti:

Do not risk so crippling your vessels against fortifications as to prevent from soon afterward successfully fighting the Spanish fleet, composed of Pelayo, Carlos V., Vizcaya, Oquendo, Colon, Teresa, and four torpedo-boat destroyers if they should appear on this side. LONG.

May 6th this "confidential" dispatch was sent Sampson by Long:

"Sir: Referring to the Department's confidential instruction of the 6th of April, and (others) you are informed that the Department has not intended to restrict your operations in the West Indies, except in regard to the blockade of certain portions of Cuba and in the exposure of your vessels to the fire of heavy guns mounted on shore which are not protecting or assisting formidable Spanish ships.

"The Department is perfectly willing that you should expose your ships to the heaviest guns of land batteries if, in your opinion, there are Spanish vessels of sufficient military importance protected by these guns to make an attack advisable, your chief aim being for the present the destruction of the enemy's principal vessels.

"The Department writes this letter because it has been intimated by civilians, and it is believed by officers of rank serving under you, that you are not permitted to take the offensive even against small land batteries, and that you must wait to be fired upon before making an aggressive movement against any port, no matter how poorly fortified."

Admiral Sampson found there were no Spanish warships at San Juan, Porto

Rico, and April 18th "determined to attack the batteries defending the port, in order to develop their positions and strength, and then, without waiting to reduce the city or subject it to a regular bombardment—which would require due notice—turn to the westward.

"Our progress had been so much slower than I had reason to anticipate, from Key West to Porto Rico, owing to the frequent breakdowns of the two monitors, which made it necessary to tow them both the whole distance, and also to the disabled condition of the Indiana, that eight days had been consumed instead of five, as I had estimated.

"I commenced the attack as soon as it was good daylight. This lasted about three hours, when the signal was made to discontinue the firing. At Cape Haytien I received word from the Department that the Spanish vessels had been sighted off Curacao on the 14th instant and directed me to return with all dispatch to Key West."

Captain Evans of the Iowa reported injuries to his ship, one by a shot from the enemy and one by the shock of his own firing:

"One shell, 6-inch or 8-inch, exploded in the skid frames, port side, abreast the after 8-inch turret. The fragments of this shell wounded three men, passed through the sailing launch, and made several holes in the stanchions, ventilators, galley funnels, and other deck fittings. One of the fragments probably struck the 6-pounder cage mount on the starboard after side of the forward bridge, breaking and jamming the training securing bolt and also jamming the gun pivot.

"Other fragments of this shell did considerable injury to the joiner work on the bridge.

"Another shell or shrapnel exploded above the boat skids on the starboard side and inflicted trifling wounds upon the escape pipes, smokestacks, etc.

"The injuries above summarized are indicated in detail on an accompanying sheet, appended and marked A.

"In firing the last round from the after 12-inch turret, at about 15° on the starboard quarter, the following injury to the hull was inflicted by the blast of the discharge:

"The deck planking on the starboard quarter is badly pitted by the unconsumed powder prisms. Some of these pits are two inches deep, an evidence that the gun does not properly consume its powder charge.

"The hatch plate, newly fitted at the New York Navy-Yard in December last, was torn from its bolts and thrown back toward the gun, clear of the hatch. Two of the holding-down bolts were broken and several of the lugs on the plate cracked. The plate is very slightly twisted.

"The deck beams, frames 82 and 83, abreast the cabin skylight hatch, starboard side, have been sprung and are out of line in the transverse sense.

"The bulkhead about the cabin doors between frames 79 and 83, starboard side, is torn from its hangers on the beams, the rivets being sheared.

"The deck over the after torpedo room is not sufficiently strong, and the blast of the 12-inch gun, when trained forward, made sufficient play to the deck to break the hangers hanging the training-trolley circle of the starboard torpedo tube. This is the second occasion upon which this accident has occurred.

"The blast of the forward 12-inch gun smashed the partition forming the captain's sleeping room in the pilot house."

Admiral Sampson did not furnish the aid General Miles wanted in his Porto Rico movement, and Miles requested "positive orders be given to the navy to cover the landing of ten thousand troops on the Island of Porto Rico without delay." Here the President interposed with this conclusive dispatch:

Executive Mansion, Washington, July 20, 1898.

Hon. John D. Long, Secretary of the Navy.

Sir: I hand you a dispatch just received from General Miles. It is evident to me from this dispatch that Admiral Sampson is not proposing to furnish such assistance as I have heretofore directed. He should send enough ships, and strong enough, as will enable General Miles to land his troops in safety at Point Fajardo, Cape San Juan, and to remain so long as their assistance is needed.

General Wilson has already sailed from Charleston, with orders to proceed to Point Fajardo. If your convoy is delayed he will reach Point Fajardo without any protection whatever, which must not be permitted. Wilson cannot be reached by wire. He has no guns on his ships. The Secretary of War says that General Wilson is due to arrive at Point Fajardo in three or four days. Prompt action should be taken to give General Wilson protection on his arrival there. It seems to me a cruiser or battle ship, or both, should be detailed for this duty.

Please see that the necessary orders are issued at once.

WILLIAM M'KINLEY.

12 M., Wednesday, July 20, 1898.

This is in many ways a dispatch to be commended. The snarl was straightened out swiftly—Sampson and Miles satisfied.

The conquest of Porto Rico progressed smoothly with little loss, though the Spaniards were in considerable force. The Peace Protocol came just in time to prevent a severe struggle, and our troops were charmed to see the welcome the people gave the Flag of the United States and delighted with the opening of numerous schools in the towns and many evidences of cultivation and good will. Porto Rico is one of the gems of the sea.

CHAPTER II.

PORTO RICO, OUR ANTILLEAN POSSESSION.

Size of Island in Comparison and in Figures—Comparison of the Island with Cuba—Porto Ricans a Better Class of People than Are the Cubans—Island Has Not Suffered from Spanish Rule as Much as Has Cuba—One of the Fairest Gems of the Ocean—American Flag Raised Over the Island Amid the Cheering of the People—Revenue and Expenses of the Island Government—Island Rich in Costly Native Woods—Home of the Tropical Fruits—Scarcity of Wild Animal Life, but Pestiferous Insects are Plentiful—Rich in Minerals—Extensive Commerce with the Great Nations—Coffee, Sugar and Tobacco Leading Products and Exports—Healthiest Climate in the Antilles—In Density of Population Ranks First in the West Indies—Extracts from United States Military Notes—Soil and Climate—Wet and Dry Seasons—Breezes, Winds and Hurricanes—Principal Mountain, River and Harbor—Cities and Towns—Highways and Railroads—Interesting Features of San Juan, the Capital and Principal City.

Porto Rico is not quite as large as Connecticut, but larger than the States of Delaware and Rhode Island. The climate of the island is delightful, and its soil exceedingly rich. In natural resources it is of surpassing opulence. The length of the island is about one hundred miles, and its breadth thirty-five, the general figure of it being like the head of a sperm whale. The range of mountains is from east to west, and nearly central. The prevalent winds are from the northwest, and the rainfall is much heavier on the northern shores and mountain slopes than on the southern. The height of the ridge is on the average close to 1,500 feet, one bold peak, the Anvil, being 3,600 feet high. The rainy north and the droughty south, with the lift of the land from the low shores to the central slopes and rugged elevations, under the tropical sun, with the influence of the great oceans east, south and north, and the multitude of western and southern islands, give unusual and charming variety in temperature. Porto Rico is, by the American people, even more than the Spaniards, associated with Cuba. But it is less than a tenth of Cuban proportions. Porto Rico has 3,600 square miles to Cuba's 42,000, but a much greater proportion of Porto Rico than of Cuba is cultivated. Less than one-sixteenth of the area of Cuba has been improved, and while her population is but 1,600,000, according to the latest census, and is not so much now, Porto Rico, with less than a tenth of the land of Cuba, has half the number of inhabitants. Largely Porto Rico is peopled by a better class than the mass of the Cubans. Cuba is wretchedly provided with roads, one of the reasons why the Spaniards were incapable of putting

down insurrections. If they had expended a fair proportion of the revenues derived from the flourishing plantations and the monopolies of Spanish favoritisms that built up Barcelona and enriched Captain-Generals, and in less degree other public servants, the rebellions would have been put down. The Spanish armies in Cuba, however, were rather managed for official speculation and peculation, were more promenaders than in military enterprise and the stern business of war. With Weyler for an opponent, Gomez, as a guerilla, could have dragged on a series of skirmishes indefinitely. The story of the alleged war in Cuba between the Spaniards and the Cubans was on both sides falsified, and the American people deceived. Porto Rico does not seem to have appealed so strongly to the cupidity of the Spaniards as Cuba did, and to have been governed with less brutality. The consequence is there has not been a serious insurrection in the smaller island for seventy years, and it falls into our possession without the impoverishment and demoralization of the devastation of war—one of the fairest gems of the ocean.

It was October 18th that the American flag was raised over San Juan. The following dispatch is the official record:

"San Juan, Porto Rico, Oct. 18.—Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.: Flags have been raised on public buildings and forts in this city and saluted with national salutes. The occupation of the island is now complete.

"BROOKE, Chairman."

On the morning of the 18th, the 11th regular infantry with two batteries of the 5th artillery landed. The latter proceeded to the forts, while the infantry lined up on the docks. It was a holiday for San Juan and there were many people in the streets. Rear-Admiral Schley and General Gordon, accompanied by their staffs, proceeded to the palace in carriages. The 11th infantry regiment and band with Troop H, of the 6th United States cavalry then marched through the streets and formed in the square opposite the palace.

At 11:40 a. m., General Brooke, Admiral Schley and General Gordon, the United States evacuation commissioners, came out of the palace with many naval officers and formed on the right side of the square. The streets behind the soldiers were thronged with townspeople, who stood waiting in dead silence.

At last the city clock struck 12, and the crowds, almost breathless and with eyes fixed upon the flagpole, watched for developments. At the sound of the first gun from Fort Morro, Major Dean and Lieutenant Castle, of General Brooke's staff, hoisted the stars and stripes, while the band played "The Star Spangled Banner." All heads were bared and the crowds cheered. Fort Morro, Fort San Cristobal and

the United States revenue cutter Manning, lying in the harbor, fired twenty-one guns each.

Senor Munoz Rivera, who was president of the recent autonomist council of secretaries, and other officials of the late insular government were present at the proceedings. Many American flags were displayed.

Acknowledgment has been made of the better condition of Porto Rico than of Cuba, but the trail of the serpent of colonial Spanish government appears. Mr. Alfred Solomon writes in the Independent:

"The internal administration of the island disposes of a budget of about $3,300,000, and is a woeful example of corrupt officialism. Of this sum only about $650,000 is expended in the island, the remainder being applied to payment of interest on public debt, salaries of Spanish officials, army, navy, and other extra-insular expenditures. But the whole of the revenue is collected in the island."

An article of great value by Eugene Deland, appeared in the Chatauquan of September, on the characteristics of Porto Rico, and we present an extract, showing its admirable distinction of accurate information well set forth:

"The mountain slopes are covered with valuable timbers, cabinet and dye-woods, including mahogany, walnut, lignum vitae, ebony, and logwood, and various medicinal plants. Here, too, is the favorite zone of the coffee tree, which thrives best one thousand feet above sea level. The valleys and plains produce rich harvests of sugar-cane and tobacco. The amount of sugar yielded by a given area is said to be greater than in any other West Indian island. Rice, of the mountain variety and grown without flooding, flourishes almost any place and is a staple food of the laboring classes. In addition to these products cotton and maize are commonly cultivated, and yams, plantains, oranges, bananas, cocoanuts, pineapples, and almost every other tropical fruit are grown in abundance. Among indigenous plants are several noted for their beautiful blossoms. Among these are the coccoloba, which grows mainly along the coasts and is distinguished by its large, yard-long purple spikes, and a talauma, with magnificent, ororous, white flowers.

"Of wild animal life Porto Rico has little. No poisonous serpents are found, but pestiferous insects, such as tarantulas, centipedes, scorpions, ticks, fleas, and mosquitos, supply this deficiency in a measure. All sorts of domestic animals are raised, and the excellent pasture-lands support large herds of cattle for export and home consumption, and ponies, whose superiority is recognized throughout the West Indies.

"The mineral wealth of the island is undeveloped, but traces of gold, copper, iron,

lead, and coal are found. Salt is procured in considerable quantities from the lakes.

"Porto Rico carries on an extensive commerce, chiefly with Spain, the United States, Cuba, Germany, Great Britain, and France. In 1895 the volume of its trade was one-half greater than that of the larger British colony—Jamaica. The United States ranks second in amount of trade with the island. During the four years from 1893-96 Spain's trade with the colony averaged $11,402,888 annually, and the United States, $5,028,544. The total value of Porto Rican exports for 1896 was $18,341,-430, and of imports, $18,282,690, making a total of $36,624,120, which was an excess over any previous year. The exports consist almost entirely of agricultural products. In 1895 coffee comprised about sixty per cent. and sugar about twenty-eight per cent. of their value; leaf tobacco, molasses, and honey came next. Maize, hides, fruits, nuts, and distilled spirits are also sent out in considerable quantities. Over one-half of the coffee exported goes to Spain and Cuba, as does most of the tobacco, which is said to be used in making the finest Havana cigars; the sugar and molasses are, for the most part, sent to the United States. Among imports, manufactured articles do not greatly exceed agricultural. Rice, fish, meat and lard, flour, and manufactured tobacco are the principal ones. Customs duties furnish about two-thirds of the Porto Rican revenue, which has for several years yielded greater returns to Spain than that of Cuba.

"The climate of Porto Rico is considered the healthiest in the Antilles. The heat is considerably less than at Santiago de Cuba, a degree and a half farther north. The thermometer seldom goes above 90 degrees. Pure water is readily obtained in most of the island. Yellow fever seldom occurs, and never away from the coast. The rainy season begins the first of June and ends the last of December, but the heavy downpours do not come on until about August 1st.

"In density of population also this island ranks first among the West Indies, having half as many inhabitants as Cuba, more than eleven times as large. Of its 807,000 people, 326,000 are colored and many of the others of mixed blood. They differ little from other Spanish-Americans, being fond of ease, courteous, and hospitable, and, as in other Spanish countries, the common people are illiterate, public education having been grievously neglected. The natives are the agriculturists of the country, and are a majority in the interior, while the Spaniards, who control business and commerce, are found mainly in the towns and cities.

"The numerous good harbors have naturally dotted the seaboard with cities and towns of greater or less commercial importance. San Juan, Ponce, Mayaguez, Aguadilla, Arecibo and Fajardo all carry on extensive trade. Intercourse between

coast towns is readily had by water, but is to be facilitated by a railroad around the island, of which 137 miles have been built and 170 miles more projected. The public highways of the island are in better condition than one might expect. According to a recent report of United States Consul Stewart, of San Juan, there are about one hundred and fifty miles of good road. The best of this is the military highway connecting Ponce on the southern coast with San Juan on the northern. This is a macadamized road, so excellently built and so well kept up that a recent traveler in the island says a bicycle corps could go over it without dismounting. Whether it is solid enough to stand the transportation of artillery and heavy army trains we shall soon know. Of telegraph lines Porto Rico has four hundred and seventy miles, and two cables connect it with the outside world, one running from Ponce and the other from San Juan."

Mr. Alfred Solomon, already quoted as an instructive contributor to the Independent, writes:

"The population of Porto Rico, some 800,000, is essentially agricultural. A varied climate, sultry in the lowlands, refreshing and invigorating in the mountain ranges, makes possible the cultivation of almost every variety of known crop—sugar, tobacco, coffee, annatto, maze, cotton and ginger are extensively grown; but there are still thousands of acres of virgin lands awaiting the capitalist. Tropical fruits flourish in abundance, and the sugar-pine is well known in our market, where it brings a higher price than any other pine imported. Hardwood and fancy cabinet wood trees fill the forests, and await the woodman's ax. Among these are some specimens of unexampled beauty, notably a tree, the wood of which, when polished, resembles veined marble, and another, rivaling in beauty the feathers in a peacock's tail. Precious metals abound, although systematic effort has never been directed to the locating of paying veins. Rivers and rivulets are plenty, and water-power is abundant; and the regime should see the installation of power plants and electric lighting all over the island, within a short time after occupation. On the lowlands, large tracts of pasturage under guinea grass and malojilla feed thousands of sleek cattle, but, as an article of food, mutton is almost unknown. The native pony, small, wiry and untirable, has a world-wide reputation, and for long journeys is unequaled, possessing a gait, as they say in the island, like an arm-chair.

"Perhaps a third of the population of the island is of African descent; but, strangely enough, the colored people are only to be found on the coast, and are the fishermen, boatmen and laborers of the seaports. The cultivation of the crops is entirely in the hands of the jibaro, or peasant, who is seldom of direct Spanish

descent, while the financiering and exportation is conducted almost entirely by peninsulares, or Spanish-born colonists, who monopolize every branch of commerce to the exclusion of the colonian-born subject.

"Coffee planting is largely engaged in, returning from ten to fifteen per cent. on capital. Improved transportation facilities, abolition of export dues and the consolidation of small estates would, doubtless, help toward better results. This crop is marketed in Europe—London, Havre and Barcelona—where better prices are obtainable than in New York. With the exception of a few plantations in strong hands, most of this property could be purchased at a fair valuation, and would prove to be a very profitable investment.

"Cocoa grows wild on the lowlands, but has not been cultivated to any appreciable extent. Small consignments sent to Europe have been pronounced superior to the Caracas bean. The tree takes a longer period than coffee to come to maturity and bear fruit; but once in bearing the current expenses are less and the yield far greater. The same remarks apply to the cultivation of rubber, which, although a most profitable staple with an ever-increasing market, has received no attention whatever.

"Corn is raised in quantities insufficient for home consumption. Of this cereal three crops can be obtained in two years; sometimes two a year. The demand is constant, and the price always remunerative.

"In Porto Rico, as in most other West Indian islands, sugar is king. In the treatment of this product the lack of capital has been sadly felt. Planters possess only the most primitive machinery, and in the extraction of the juice from the cane the proportion of saccharine matter has been exceedingly small. Great outlay is necessary for the installation of a complete modern crushing and centrifugal plant."

A flattering picture of our new possessions is drawn in McClure's Magazine, by Mr. George B. Waldron.

"Here, then, are Cuba and Porto Rico in the Atlantic, and the Hawaiian and Philippine groups in the Pacific, whose destiny has become intertwined with our own. Their combined area is 168,000 square miles, equaling New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. Their population is about 10,000,000, or perhaps one-half of that of these nine home States. The Philippines, with three-quarters of the entire population, and Porto Rico, with 800,000 people, alone approach our own Eastern States in density. Cuba, prior to the war, was about as well populated as Virginia, and the Hawaiian group is as well peopled as Kansas. What, then, can these islands do for us?

"Americans use more sugar in proportion to population than any other nation of the world. The total consumption last year was not less than 2,500,000 tons. This is enough to make a pyramid that would overtop the tallest pyramid of Egyptian fame. Of this total, 2,200,000 tons came from foreign countries, the Spanish possessions and Hawaii sending about twenty-five per cent. Five years earlier, when our imports were less by half a million tons, these islands supplied double this quantity, or nearly two-thirds of the nation's entire sugar import. But that was before Cuba had been devastated by war and when she was exporting 1,100,000 tons of sugar to other countries. Restore Cuba to her former fertility, and the total sugar crop of these islands will reach 1,500,000 tons, or two-thirds our present foreign demand."

There is much more in Mr. Waldron's summary of the vast addition that has been made to our resources by the occupation and possession of the islands that have recently been gathered under our wings by the force of our arms. It is enough to know that with the tropical islands we have gained, we have in our hands the potentialities, the luxuries, the boundless resources including, as we may, and must, Alaska, of all the zones of the great globe that we inhabit in such ample measure.

The following notes were compiled for the information of the army, and embody all reliable information available.

The notes were intended to supplement the military map of Porto Rico. The following books and works were consulted and matter from them freely used in the preparation of the notes: Guia Geografico Militar de Espana y Provincias Ultramarinas, 1879; Espana, sus Monumentos y Artes, su Naturaleza e Historia, 1887; Compendio de Geografia Militar de Espana y Portugal, 1882; Anuario de Comercio de Espana, 1896; Anuario Militar de Espana, 1898; Reclus, Nouvelle Geographic Universelle, 1891; Advance Sheets American Consular Reports, 1898; An Account of the Present State of the Island of Porto Rico, 1834; The Statesman's Year Book, 1898.

Situation.—Porto Rico is situated in the Torrid Zone, in the easternmost part of the Antilles, between latitude 17 deg. 54 min. and 18 deg. 30 min. 40 sec. N. and longitude 61 deg. 54 min. 26 sec. and 63 deg. 32 min. 32 sec. W. of Madrid. It is bounded on the north by the Atlantic, on the east and south by the sea of the Antilles, and on the west by the Mona Channel.

Size.—The island of Porto Rico, the fourth in size of the Antilles, has, according to a recent report of the British consul (1897), an extent of about 3,668

square miles—35 miles broad and 95 miles long. It is of an oblong form, extending from east to west.

Population.—Porto Rico is the first among the Antilles in density of population and in prosperity. The Statesman's Year Book, 1898, gives the population (1887) at 813,937, of which over 300,000 are negroes, this being one of the few countries of tropical America where the number of whites exceeds that of other races. The whites and colored, however, are all striving in the same movement of civilization, and are gradually becoming more alike in ideas and manners. Among the white population the number of males exceeds the number of females, which is the contrary of all European countries. This is partly explained by the fact that the immigrants are mostly males. On an average the births exceed the deaths by double. The eastern portion of the island is less populous than the western.

Soil.—The ground is very fertile, being suitable for the cultivation of cane, coffee, rice, and other products raised in Cuba, which island Porto Rico resembles in richness and fertility.

Climate.—The climate is hot and moist, the medium temperature reaching 104 degs. F. Constant rains and winds from the east cool the heavy atmosphere of the low regions. On the heights of the Central Cordillera the temperature is healthy and agreeable.

Iron rusts and becomes consumed, so that nothing can be constructed of this metal. Even bronze artillery has to be covered with a strong varnish to protect it from the damp winds.

Although one would suppose that all the large islands in the Tropics enjoyed the same climate, yet from the greater mortality observed in Jamaica, St. Domingo, and Cuba, as compared with Porto Rico, one is inclined to believe that this latter island is much more congenial than any of the former to the health of Europeans. The heat, the rains, and the seasons are, with very trifling variations, the same in all. But the number of mountains and running streams, which are everywhere in view in Porto Rico, and the general cultivation of the land, may powerfully contribute to purify the atmosphere and render it salubrious to man. The only difference of temperature to be observed throughout the island is due to altitude, a change which is common to every country under the influence of the Tropics.

In the mountains the inhabitants enjoy the coolness of spring, while the valleys would be uninhabitable were it not for the daily breeze which blows generally from the northeast and east. For example, in Ponce the noonday sun is felt in all its rigor, while at the village of Adjuntas, 4 leagues distant in the interior of the mountains,

the traveler feels invigorated by the refreshing breezes of a temperate clime. At one place the thermometer is as high as 90 deg., while in another it is sometimes under 60 deg. Although the seasons are not so distinctly marked in this climate as they are in Europe (the trees being always green), yet there is a distinction to be made between them. The division into wet and dry seasons (winter and summer) does not give a proper idea of the seasons in this island; for on the north coast it sometimes rains almost the whole year, while sometimes for twelve or fourteen months not a drop of rain falls on the south coast. However, in the mountains at the south there are daily showers. Last year, for example, in the months of November, December, and January the north winds blew with violence, accompanied by heavy showers of rain, while this year (1832) in the same months, it has scarcely blown a whole day from that point of the compass, nor has it rained for a whole month. Therefore, the climate of the north and south coasts of this island, although under the same tropical influence, are essentially different.

As in all tropical countries, the year is divided into two seasons—the dry and the rainy. In general, the rainy season commences in August and ends the last of December, southerly and westerly winds prevailing during this period. The rainfall is excessive, often inundating fields and forming extensive lagoons. The exhalations from these lagoons give rise to a number of diseases, but, nevertheless, Porto Rico is one of the healthiest islands of the archipelago.

In the month of May the rains commence, not with the fury of a deluge, as in the months of August and September, but heavier than any rain experienced in Europe. Peals of thunder reverberating through the mountains give a warning of their approach, and the sun breaking through the clouds promotes the prolific vegetation of the fields with its vivifying heat. The heat at this season is equal to the summer of Europe, and the nights are cool and pleasant; but the dews are heavy and pernicious to health. The following meteorological observations, carefully made by Don Jose Ma. Vertez, a Captain of the Spanish navy, will exhibit the average range of temperature:

Degrees of heat observed in the capital of Porto Rico, taking a medium of five years.

DEGREES OF HEAT OBSERVED IN THE CAPITAL OF PORTO RICO, TAKING A MEDIUM OF FIVE YEARS.

Hours of the Day.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May.	June.	July.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Seven in the morning.....	72	72½	74	78	78	82	85	86	80½	77	75	75
Noon.....	82	81	82	83	85	86	90	92	88	85	84	80
Five in the evening.....	78	74	78	80	81	84	87	90	83	82	80	79

The weather, after a fifteen or twenty days' rain, clears up and the sun, whose heat has been hitherto moderated by partial clouds and showers of rain, seems, as it were, set in a cloudless sky. The cattle in the pastures look for the shade of the trees, and a perfect calm pervades the whole face of nature from sunrise till between 10 and 11 o'clock in the morning, when the sea breeze sets in. The leaves of the trees seem as if afraid to move, and the sea, without a wave or ruffle on its vast expanse, appears like an immense mirror. Man partakes in the general langour as well as the vegetable and brute creation.

The nights, although warm, are delightfully clear and serene at this season. Objects may be clearly distinguished at the distance of several hundred yards, so that one may even shoot by moonlight. The months of June and July offer very little variation in the weather or temperature. In August a suffocating heat reigns throughout the day, and at night it is useless to seek for coolness; a faint zephyr is succeeded by a calm of several hours. The atmosphere is heavy and oppressive, and the body, weakened by perspiration, becomes languid; the appetite fails, and the mosquitos, buzzing about the ears by day and night, perplex and annoy by their stings, while the fevers of the tropics attack Europeans with sudden and irresistible violence. This is the most sickly season for the European. The thermometer frequently exceeds 90 deg. The clouds exhibit a menacing appearance, portending the approach of the heavy autumnal rains, which pour down like a deluge. About the middle of September it appears as if all the vapors of the ocean had accumulated in one point of the heavens. The rain comes down like an immense quantity of water poured through a sieve; it excludes from the view every surrounding object, and in half an hour the whole surface of the earth becomes an immense sheet of water. The rivers are swollen and overflow their banks, the low lands are completely inundated, and the smallest brooks become deep and rapid torrents.

In the month of October the weather becomes sensibly cooler than during the preceding months, and in November the north and northeast winds generally set in, diffusing an agreeable coolness through the surrounding atmosphere. The body becomes braced and active, and the convalescent feels its genial influence. The north wind is accompanied (with few exceptions) by heavy showers of rain on the north coast; and the sea rolls on that coast with tempestuous violence, while the south coast remains perfectly calm.

When the fury of the north wind abates, it is succeeded by fine weather and a clear sky. Nothing can exceed the climate of Porto Rico at this season; one can only compare it to the month of May in the delightful Province of Andalusia, where the

cold of winter and the burning heat of summer are tempered by the cool freshness of spring. This is considered to be the healthiest season of the year, when a European may visit the tropics without fear.

The small islands, destitute of wood and high mountains, which have a powerful effect in attracting the clouds, suffer much from drought. It sometimes happens that in Curacao, St. Bartholomews, and other islands there are whole years without a drop of rain, and after exhausting their cisterns the inhabitants are compelled to import water from the rivers of other islands.

"The land breeze" is an advantage which the large islands derive from the inequality of their surface; for as soon as the sea breeze dies away, the hot air of the valleys being rarified, ascends toward the tops of the mountains, and is there condensed by cold, which makes it specifically heavier than it was before; it then descends back to the valleys on both sides of the ridge. Hence a night wind (blowing on all sides from the land toward the shore) is felt in all the mountainous countries under the torrid zone. On the north shore the wind comes from the south, and on the south shore from the north.

Storms.—The hurricanes which visit the island, and which obey the general laws of tropical cyclones, are one of the worst scourges of the country. For hours before the appearance of this terrible phenomenon the sea appears calm; the waves come from a long distance very gently until near the shore, when they suddenly rise as if impelled by a superior force, dashing against the land with extraordinary violence and fearful noise. Together with this sign, the air is noticed to be disturbed, the sun red, and the stars obscured by vapor which seems to magnify them. A strong odor is perceived in the sea, which is sulphureous in the waters of rivers, and there are sudden changes in the wind. These omens, together with the signs of uneasiness manifested by various animals, foretell the proximity of a hurricane.

This is a sort of whirlwind, accompanied by rain, thunder and lightning, sometimes by earthquake shocks, and always by the most terrible and devastating circumstances that can possibly combine to ruin a country in a few hours. A clear, serene day is followed by the darkest night; the delightful view offered by woods and prairies is diverted into the deary waste of a cruel winter; the tallest and most robust cedar trees are uprooted, broken off bodily, and hurled into a heap; roofs, balconies, and windows of houses are carried through the air like dry leaves, and in all directions are seen houses and estates laid waste and thrown into confusion.

The fierce roar of the water and of the trees being destroyed by the winds,

the cries and moans of persons, the bellowing of cattle and neighing of horses, which are being carried from place to place by the whirlwinds, the torrents of water inundating the fields, and a deluge of fire being let loose in flashes and streaks of lightning, seem to announce the last convulsions of the universe and the death agonies of nature itself.

Sometimes these hurricanes are felt only on the north coast, at others on the south coast, although generally their influence extends throughout the island.

In 1825 a hurricane destroyed the towns of Patillas, Maunabo, Yabucoa, Humacao, Gurabo, and Caguas, causing much damage in other towns in the east, north, and center of the island. The island was also visited by a terrible hurricane in 1772.

Earthquakes.—Earthquakes are somewhat frequent, but not violent or of great consequence. The natives foretell them by noticing clouds settle near the ground for some time in the open places among the mountains. The water of the springs emits a sulphurous odor or leaves a strange taste in the mouth; birds gather in large flocks and fly about uttering shriller cries than usual; cattle bellow and horses neigh, etc. A few hours beforehand the air becomes calm and dimmed by vapors which arise from the ground, and a few moments before there is a slight breeze, followed at intervals of two or three minutes by a deep rumbling noise, accompanied by a sudden gust of wind, which are the forerunners of the vibration, the latter following immediately. These shocks are sometimes violent and are usually repeated, but owing to the special construction of the houses, they cause no damage.

Tides.—For seven hours the tide runs rapidly in a northwest direction, returning in the opposite direction with equal rapidity for five hours.

Orography.—The general relief of Porto Rico is much inferior in altitude to that of the rest of the Great Antilles, and even some of the Lesser Antilles have mountain summits which rival it.

A great chain of mountains divides the islands into two parts, northern and southern, which are called by the natives Banda del Norte and Banda del Sur. This chain sends out long ramifications toward the coasts, the interstices of which form beautiful and fertile valleys, composed in the high parts of white and red earths, on the spurs of black and weaker earths, and near the coasts of sand.

To the northwest and following a direction almost parallel with the northern coast, the Sierra of Lares extends from Aguadilla to the town of Lares, where it divides into two branches, one going north nearly to the coast, near Arecibo harbor, and the other extending to the spurs of the Sierra Grande de Banos; this

HORSES LADEN WITH MALOJA, IN MATANZAS, CUBA.

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THE YUMURI RIVER AT MATANZAS, CUBA.

latter starting from Point Guaniquilla, crosses the island in its entire length, its last third forming the Sierra of Cayey.

The whole island may be said to form a continuous network of sierras, hills, and heights. Of these the Sierra del Loquillo is distinguished for its great altitude (the highest peak being Yunque, in the northeast corner of the island and visible from the sea, a distance of 120 kilometers), as is also Laivonito Mountain, near the south coast.

The following are the four highest mountains, with their heights above the sea level: Yunque, in Luquillo, 1,290 yards; Guilarte, in Adjuntas, 1,180 yards; La Somanta, in Aybonito, 1,077 yards; Las Tetas de Cerro Gordo, in San German, 860 yards. All are easily ascended on foot or horseback, and there are coffee plantations near all of them.

Approximate Height of Towns Above the Sea Level.—Aybonito, with its acclimatization station, 970 yards; Adjuntas, an almost exclusively Spanish town, 810 yards; Cayey, with a very agreeable climate, 750 yards; Lares, with a very agreeable climate, 540 yards; Utuado, with a very agreeable climate, 480 yards; Muricao, an exclusively Spanish town, 480 yards. To ascend to all these towns there are very good wagon roads. There are no fortifications of any kind in them, but they are surrounded on all sides by mountains.

Hydrography.—Few countries of the extent of Porto Rico are watered by so many streams. Seventeen rivers, taking their rise in the mountains, cross the valleys of the north coast and empty into the sea. Some of these are navigable 2 or 3 leagues from their mouths for schooners and small coasting vessels. Those of Manati, Loisa, Trabajo, and Arecibo are very deep and broad, and it is difficult to imagine how such large bodies of water can be collected in so short a course. Owing to the heavy surf which continually breaks on the north coast, these rivers have bars across their embouchures which do not allow large vessels to enter. The rivers of Bayamo and Rio Piedras flow into the harbor of the capital, and are also navigable for boats. At high water small brigs may enter the river of Arecibo with perfect safety and discharge their cargoes, notwithstanding the bar which crosses its mouth.

The rivers of the north coast have a decided advantage over those of the south coast, where the climate is drier and the rains less frequent. Nevertheless, the south, west, and east coasts are well supplied with water; and, although in some seasons it does not rain for ten, and sometimes twelve months on the south coast, the rivers are never entirely dried up.

From the Cabeza de San Juan, which is the northeast extremity of the island, to the cape of Mala Pascua, which lies to the southeast, 9 rivers fall into the sea.

From Cape Mala Pascua to Point Aguila, which forms the southwest angle of the island, 16 rivers discharge their waters on the south coast.

On the west coast 3 rivers, 5 rivulets, and several fresh-water lakes communicate with the sea. In the small extent of 330 leagues of area there are 46 rivers, besides a countless number of rivulets and branches of navigable water.

The rivers of the north coast are stocked with delicious fish, some of them large enough to weigh two quintals.

From the river of Arecibo to that of Manati, a distance of 5 leagues, a fresh-water lagoon, perfectly navigable for small vessels through the whole of its extent, runs parallel to the sea at about a mile from the shore.

In the fertile valley of Anasco, on the western coast, there is a canal formed by nature, deep and navigable. None of the rivers are of real military importance; for, though considering the shortness of their course, they attain quite a volume, still it is not sufficient for good-sized vessels.

The rivers emptying on the north coast are Loisa, Aguas Prietas, Arecibo, Bayamon, Camuy, Cedros, Grande, Guajataca de la Tuna, Lesayas, Loquillo, Manati, Rio Piedras, Sabana, San Martin, Sibuco, Toa, and Vega.

Those emptying on the east coast are Candelero, Dagua, Fajardo, Guayanes, Majogua, and Maonabo.

On the south coast: Aquamanil, Caballon, Cana, Coamo, Descalabrado, Guanica, Guayama, Guayanilla, Jacagua, Manglar, Penuela, Ponce and Vigia.

On the west coast: Aguada, Boqueron, Cajas, Culebrina, Chico, Guanajibo, Mayagüez, and Rincon.

The limits of the Loisa river are: On the east, the sierra of Luquillo (situated near the northeast corner of the island); on the south, the sierra of Cayey, and on the west, ramifications of the latter. It rises in the northern slopes of the sierra of Cayey, and, running in a northwest direction for the first half of its course and turning to northeast in the second half, it arrives at Loisa, a port on the northern coast, where it discharges its waters into the Atlantic. During the first part of its course it is known by the name of Cayagua.

The Sabana river has, to the east and south, the western and southern limits of the preceding river, and on the west the Sierra Grande, or De Barros, which is situated in the center of the general divide, or watershed. It rises in the sierra of Cayey, and, with the name of Pinones river, it flows northwest, passing through Ai-

bonito, Toa Alta, Toa Baja, and Dorado, where it discharges into the Atlantic to the west of the preceding river.

The Manati river is bounded on the east and south by the Sierra Grande and on the west by the Siales ridge. It rises in the Sierra Grande, and parallel with the preceding river, it flows through Siales and Manati, to the north of which latter town it empties into the Atlantic.

The Arecibo river is bounded on the east by the Siales mountain ridge, on the south by the western extremity of the Sierra Grande, and on the west by the Lares ridge. It rises in the general divide, near Adjuntas, and flows north through the town of Arecibo to the Atlantic, shortly before emptying into which it receives the Tanama river from the left, which proceeds from the Lares Mountains.

The Culebrina river is bounded on the south and east by the Lares mountain ridge, and on the north by small hills of little interest. From the Lares Mountains it flows from east to west and empties on the west coast north of San Francisco de la Aguada, in the center of the bay formed between Point Penas Blancas and Point San Francisco.

The Anasco river is formed by the Lares mountain ridge. It rises in the eastern extremity of the mountains called Tetas de Cerro Gordo, flowing first northwest and then west, through the town of its name and thence to the sea.

The Guanajivo river has to its north the ramifications of the Lares ridge, to the east the Tetas de Cerro Gordo Mountains, and on the south Torre Hill. In the interior of its basin is the mountain called Cerro Montuoso, which separates its waters from those of tis affluent from the right, the Rosaria river. It rises in the general divide, flowing from east to west to Nuestra Senora de Montserrat, where it receives the affluent mentioned, the two together then emptying south of Port Mayaguez.

The Coamo river is bounded on the west and north by the Sierra Grande, and on the west by the Coamo ridge. It rises in the former of these sierras, and flowing from north to south it empties east of Coamo Point, after having watered the town of its name.

The Salinas river is bounded on the west by the Coamo ridge, on the north by the general divide, and on the east by the Cayey ridge. It rises in the southern slopes of the Sierra Grande and flowing from north to south through Salinas de Coamo, empties into the sea.

Coasts, Harbors, Bays, and Coves.—The northern coast extends in an almost straight line from east to west, and is high and rugged. The only harbors it has

are the following: San Juan de Porto Rico, surrounded by mangrove swamps and protected by the Cabras and the Cabritas islands and some very dangerous banks; the anchoring ground of Arecibo, somewhat unprotected; and the coves of Cangrejos and Condado. During the months of November, December, and January, when the wind blows with violence from the east and northeast, the anchorage is dangerous in all the bays and harbors of this coast, except in the port of San Juan. Vessels are often obliged to put to sea on the menacing aspect of the heavens at this season, to avoid being driven on shore by the heavy squalls and the rolling waves of a boisterous sea, which propel them to destruction. During the remaining months the ports on this coast are safe and commodious, unless when visited by a hurricane, against whose fury no port can offer a shelter, nor any vessel be secure. The excellent port of San Juan is perfectly sheltered from the effects of the north wind. The hill, upon which the town of that name and the fortifications which defend it are built, protects the vessels anchored in the harbor. The entrance of this port is narrow, and requires a pilot; for the canal which leads to the anchorage, although deep enough for vessels of any dimensions, is very narrow, which exposes them to run aground. This port is several miles in extent, and has the advantage of having deep canals to the east, among a wood of mangrove trees, where vessels are perfectly secure during the hurricane months. Vessels of 250 tons can at present unload and take in their cargoes at the wharf. Harbor improvements have been recently made here.

On the northwest and west are the coves of Aguadilla, the town of this name being some 4 kilometers inland. There are the small coves of Rincon, Anasco, and Mayaguez, the latter being protected and of sufficient depth to anchor vessels of moderate draft; the harbor of Real de Cabo Rojo, nearly round, and entered by a narrow channel; and the cove of Boqueron. The spacious bay of Aguadilla is formed by Cape Borrigua and Cape San Francisco. When the north-northwest and southwest winds prevail it is not a safe anchorage for ships. A heavy surf rolling on the shore obliges vessels to seek safety by putting to sea on the appearance of a north wind. Mayaguez is also an open roadstead formed by two projecting capes. It has good anchorage for vessels of a large size and is well sheltered from the north winds. The port of Cabo Rojo has also good anchorage. It is situated S. one-fourth N. of the point of Guanajico, at a distance of 5½ miles. Its shape is nearly circular, and it extends from east to west 3 to 4 miles. At the entrance it has 3 fathoms of water, and 16 feet in the middle of the harbor. The entrance is a narrow canal.

The south coast abounds in bays and harbors, but is covered with mangroves

and reefs, the only harbor where vessels of regular draft can enter being Guanica and Ponce. The former of these is the westernmost harbor on the southern coast, being at the same time the best, though the least visited, owing to the swamps and low tracts difficult to cross leading from it to the interior. The nearest towns, San German, Sabana Grande, and Yauco, carry on a small trade through this port.

In the port of Guanica, vessels drawing 21 feet of water may enter with perfect safety. Its entrance is about 100 yards wide, and it forms a spacious basin, completely landlocked. The vessels may anchor close to the shore. It has, in the whole extent, from 6½ to 3 fathoms, the latter depth being formed in the exterior of the port. The entrance is commanded by two small hills on either side, which if mounted with a few pieces of artillery would defy a squadron to force it. This port would be of immense advantage in time of war. The national vessels and coasters would thus have a secure retreat from an enemy's cruiser on the south coast. There are no wharves, but vessels could disembark troops by running alongside the land and running out a plank. Coamo Cove and Aguirre and Guayama are also harbors. The port of Jovos, near Guayama, is a haven of considerable importance. It is a large and healthy place, and the most Spanish of any city on the island after San Juan. There are good roads to the capital. Vessels of the largest kind may anchor and ride in safety from the winds, and the whole British navy would find room in its spacious bosom. It has 4 fathoms of water in the shallowest part of the entrance. However, it is difficult to enter this port from June to November, as the sea breaks with violence at the entrance, on account of the southerly winds which reign at that season. It has every convenience of situation and locality for forming docks for the repair of shipping. The large bay of Anasco, on the south coast, affords anchorage to vessels of all sizes. It is also safe from the north winds. Although on the eastern coast there are many places for vessels to anchor, yet none of them are exempt from danger during the north winds except Fajardo, where a safe anchorage is to be found to leeward of two little islands close to the bay, where vessels are completely sheltered.

The island of Vieques has also several commodious ports and harbors, where vessels of the largest size may ride at anchor.

On the east coast is Cape Cabeza de San Juan, Points Lima, Candeleros, and Naranjo, and Cape Mala Pascua; on the south coast, Point Viento, Tigueras, Corchones, Arenas, Fama or Maria, Cucharas, Guayanilla, Guanica, and Morillos de Cabo Rojo; on the west coast, points San Francisco, Cadena, Guanijito, Guaniquilla, and Palo Seco.

Highways.—There are few roads or ways of communication which are worthy of mention, with the exception of the broad pike which starts from the capital and runs along the coast, passing through the following towns: Aguadilla, Bayamon, Cabo Rojo, Humacao, Juana Diaz, Mayaguez, Ponce, and San German. It has no bridges; is good in dry weather, but in the rainy season is impassible for wagons and even at times for horsemen.

For interior communication there are only a few local roads or paths. They are usually 2 yards in width, made by the various owners, and can not be well traveled in rainy weather. They are more properly horse and mule trails, and oblige people to go in single file. In late years much has been attempted to improve the highways connecting the principal cities, and more has been accomplished than in Spanish colonies. There is a good made road connecting Ponce on the southern coast with San Juan the capital. Other good roads also extend for a short distance along the north coast and along the south coast. The road from Guayama is also said to be a passably good one.

There are in the island about 150 miles of excellent road, and this is all that receives any attention, transportation being effected elsewhere on horse back. In the construction of a road level foundation is sought, and on this is put a heavy layer of crushed rock and brick, which, after having been well packed and rounded, is covered with a layer of earth. This is well packed also, and upon the whole is spread a layer of ground limestone, which is pressed and rolled until it forms almost a glossy surface. This makes an excellent road here where the climate is such that it does not affect it, and when there is no heavy traffic, but these conditions being changed, the road, it is thought, would not stand so well.

From Palo Seco, situated about a mile and a half from the capital, on the opposite side of the bay, a carriage road, perfectly level, has been constructed for a distance of 22 leagues to the town of Aguadilla on the west coast, passing through the towns of Vegabaja, Manati, Arecibo, Hatillo, Camuy, and Isabella. This road has been carried for several leagues over swampy lands, which are intersected by deep drains to carry off the water.

The road from Aguadilla to Mayaguez is in some parts very good, in other parts only fair. From Aguadilla to Aguada, a distance of a league, the road is excellent and level. From thence to Mayaguez, through the village of Rincon and the town of Anasco, the road is generally good, but on the seashore it is sometimes interrupted by shelving rocks. Across the valley of Anasco the road is carried through a boggy tract, with bridges over several deep creeks of fresh water. From thence to the

large commercial town of Mayaguez the road is uneven and requires some improvement. But the roads from Mayaguez and Ponce to their respective ports on the seashore can not be surpassed by any in Europe. They are made in a most substantial manner, and their convex form is well adapted to preserve them from the destruction caused by the heavy rains of the climate. These roads have been made over tracts of swampy ground to the seacoast, but with little and timely repair they will last forever.

A road, which may be called a carriage road, has been made from Ponce to the village of Adjuntas, situated 5 leagues in the interior of the mountains. The road along the coast, from Ponce to Guayama, is fairly good; from thence to Patillas there is an excellent carriage road for a distance of 3 leagues; from the latter place to the coast is a high road well constructed. From Patillas to Fajardo, on the eastern coast, passing through the towns of Maimavo, Yubacao, Humacao, and Naguabo, the roads are not calculated for wheel vehicles, in consequence of being obliged to ascend and descend several steep hills. That which crosses the mountain of Mala Pascua, dividing the north and east coasts, is a good and solid road, upon which a person on horseback may travel with great ease and safety. The road crossing the valley of Yubacao, which consists of a soft and humid soil, requires more attention than that crossing the mountain of Mala Pascua, which has a fine, sandy soil.

From Fajardo to the capital, through the towns of Luquillo, Loisa, and Rio Piedras, the road is tolerably good for persons on horseback as far as Rio Piedras, and from thence to the city of San Juan, a distance of 2 leagues, is an excellent carriage road, made by the order and under the inspection of the Captain-General, part of it through a mangrove swamp. Over the river Loisa is a handsome wooden bridge, and on the road near Rio Piedras is a handsome stone one over a deep rivulet.

One of the best roads in the island extends from the town of Papino, situated in the mountains, to the town of Aguadilla on the coast, distant 5½ leagues, through the village of La Moca; in the distance of 3 leagues from the latter place, it is crossed by 10 deep mountain rivulets, formerly impassable, but over which solid bridges have now been built, with side railings. In the mountainous district within the circumference of a few leagues no less than 47 bridges have been built to facilitate the communication between one place and the other.

The following are the roads of 6 meters width, 4½ in center of pounded stone. They have iron bridges and are in good shape for travel all the year.

(1) San Juan to the Shore near Ponce.—From San Juan to Ponce the central

road is exactly 134 kilometers. Distances along the line are: Rio Piedras, 11; Caguas, 25; to Cayei, 24; Aybonito, 20; Coamo, 18; Juana Diaz, 20; to Ponce, 13; and to the shore, 3. Exact.

(2) San Juan to Bayamon.—By ferry fifteen minutes to Catano, and from there by road to Bayamon 10 kilometers. This passes alongside the railway.

(3) Rio Piedras to Mameyes, 36 kilometers; from Rio Piedras to Carolina, 12; to Rio Grande, 19; to Mameyes, 5.

(4) Cayei to Arroyo, 35 kilometers; from Cayei to Guayama, 25; to Arroyo, 8; from San Juan to Arroyo, via Cayei, is 95 kilometers.

(5 Ponce to Adjuntas, 32 kilometers.

(6) San German to Anasco, 33 kilometers; from San German to Mayaguez, 21 kilometers; Mayaguez to Anasco, 12; Mayaguez to Mormigueros, 11; Mayaguez to Cabo Rojo, 18; Mayaguez to Las Marias, 23; Mayaguez to Maricao, 35; Hormigueras to San German, 14. Near Mayaguez the roads are best. There are good roads in all directions.

(7) Aguadilla to San Sebastian, 18.

(8) Arecibo to Utuado, 33.

Highways of first class in the island, 335 kilometers.

Along these roads are, at a distance of 8 to 10 kilometers, a fort, stone, and brick barracks, or large buildings, where the Spanish troops stop and rest when on the march.

Railroads.—In 1878 a report was presented to the minister of the colonies on a study made by the engineer and head of public works of the island in view of constructing a railroad which should start from the capital and, passing through all the chief towns and through the whole island, return to the point of departure.

Of this railroad the following parts have been completed: San Juan, along the coast through Rio Piedras, Bayamon, Dorado, Arecibo, and Hatillo, to Camuy; Aguadilla, through Aguado, Rincon, Anasco, and Mayaguez, to Hornigueros. A branch of this railroad from Anasco, through San Sebastian, to Lares. Ponce, through Guayanilla, to Yauco. This latter railroad follows the southern coast line and is followed by a wagon road throughout its course. In one place the railroad and road run within a few hundred yards of the coast line. According to the Statesman's Year Book for 1898 there are in operation 137 miles of railroad, besides over 170 miles under construction.

All the railroads are single track, and the gauge is 1 meter 30 centimeters, or 3 feet 11¼ inches.

The following are the railways of 1-meter gauge:

(1) San Juan to Rio Piedras, 11 kilometers.

(2) Catano to Bayamon, 10 kilometers.

(3) Anasco to San Sebastian and Lares, 35 kilometers.

Total of three lines, 56 kilometers.

The lines are all in good shape, have plenty of engines and cars; speed, 20 kilometers per hour; use coal for fuel imported from the United States; supply usually large, may be small now; hard coal; fine stations; plenty of water, and everything in shape for business.

Telegraphs.—The capital communicates with the principal towns of the coast and interior by means of a well-connected telegraph system. There are in all some 470 miles of telegraph.

Telephones.—The British Consular Report says that the telephone system of San Juan, Ponce, and Mayaguez have recently been contracted for by local syndicates. In Ponce a United States company obtained the contract for the material. There are 100 stations already connected, and it is expected that 200 more will be in operation shortly.

Administration.—From an administrative standpoint, Porto Rico is not considered as a colony, but as a province of Spain, assimilated to the remaining provinces. The Governor-General, representing the monarchy, is at the same time Captain-General of the armed forces. In each chief town resides a military commander, and each town has its alcalde, or mayor, appointed by the central power. The provincial deputation is elected by popular suffrage under the same conditions as in Spain. The regular peace garrison is composed of about 3,000 men, and the annual budget amounts to some 20,000,000 pesos.

Education.—In 1887 only one-seventh of the population could read and write, but of late years progress in public instruction has been rapid.

Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce.—In 1878 there arrived in the harbors of the island 1,591 vessels of different nationalities and 1,534 departed. The value of products imported was 14,787,551 pesos, and that of articles exported was 13,070,020 pesos. The following are the relative percentages of values:

Flags.	Relation. Per Cent.
Spanish	49.91
American	13.47
English	21.43
Various Nations	15.19
Total	100.00

is, above all mankind, subject to strong and overpowering passion. His goodness of disposition, although radical, is but a passive quality, easily subdued by the prevalence of strong emotions. His reasoning powers are of the same character as his moral—fundamentally good, yet swayed and distorted by every impulse of prejudice. Thirst for gold in former times, then zeal for religion, and, lastly, the spirit of party, have roused up in him all the savage ferocity of which nature is capable. Yet in the worst crisis of the passions, when the evil spirit was silenced even for a moment in the bosom which it swayed, a natural and grateful kindness of heart has often shone forth in full brightness. It was while the mania of avarice ruled the early conquerors of America and seduced them into practices revolting to human nature, that the foundations were laid for a code of laws both for slaves and the native Indians, the spirit of which has ever since prevailed among the Spanish Creoles, and which puts to shame the nations which arrogate to themselves exclusively the title of enlightened. Shallow thinkers have often entertained the paradox that free states show less humanity in their colonies than is shown those under absolute monarchies. Of all West Indian annals, those of the French islands, before the Revolution, were, perhaps, the most darkly stained with cruelty. And the free states of South America, on the other hand, have not only followed, but have still further extended, in the midst of their anarchy and factions, those principles of Christian mercy and justice which Spain alone, until recently, knew and practiced.'

"In 1823 Jamaica, with 340,000 slaves, exported 1,400,000 quintals of sugar. Porto Rico, with 45,000 slaves, produces about 410,000. The French colony of Guadaloupe, with twice as many slaves as Porto Rico, produces an equal crop of sugar. The soil of the latter is far more fertile than that of the other islands, already in a great measure exhausted. But, on the other hand, capital and industry form essential elements of the manufacture, in the British and French isles, while the Spaniards are far behind in the pursuits requiring either. From these premises our author concludes, not unreasonably, that a large proportion (which elsewhere, however, he calculates at one-fifth only) of this crop of sugar is raised by free labor.

"But it must be remembered that, besides the greater estates, there are in Porto Rico some 1,200 to 1,300 small sugar plantations, the property of the Xaviros of the interior, who live cheaply and work lazily, but who contrive to raise a small quantity of this valuable article, together with provisions and cattle. If such rough cultivation as this succeeds at all, it can only be in consequence of the vast productiveness of the soil, cleared of its forests only within the last

twenty years, which gives the planter the same advantage over his brethren to windward and leeward as the settler of Illinois has over the cultivator of the worn-out 'old fields' of the Atlantic coast. Such production can in the nature of things be only temporary. On the other hand, the great sugar estates, which must form the main sources of this commodity, are evidently cultivated here as elsewhere—by slaves; and, although at present the cultivation of sugar on a large scale is extremely unprofitable, a rise in its price would undoubtedly cause at once an increased importation of slaves, and the application of more capital and ingenuity to the business, until the small farmers would be driven from the market by the slave-owning capitalists. Many contingent events might occasion such a rise;—as a temporary diminution of the produce of the British Islands; or an increased consumption in Great Britain in consequence of a reduction of the duty. Upon the whole, therefore, notwithstanding the flattering anticipations of the author, we cannot see, in the present state of Porto Rico, much to justify his prophecy that slave labor will be permanently dispensed with merely from the preference which free labor will find in the market.

"At present the question of the future destiny of this beautiful and happy island may be said to remain undecided."

The decision of destiny came when Spain ceded the island to the United States.

Naturally, as England has been for centuries deeply interested in the West Indies, we derive the most valuable accounts of the islands, the character of their people, and their history from Englishmen, and we quote the "West Indies," by the Rev. Wm. Moister, a London publication by T. Woolmer:

"The Island of Porto Rico is situated about sixty miles to the east of San Domingo, from which it is separated by the Mona Passage. It is of an oblong shape, about 140 miles in length and forty in breadth, and its climate, soil and scenery resemble most of the other West Indian islands, and therefore need not be very minutely described. It is rugged and mountainous in the interior regions and the country is generally diversified by woods, valleys and plains and watered by numerous springs and rivers, which impart a remarkable freshness to the scenery throughout the year. Four of the rivers which flow from the mountains to the sea are navigable for boats and small vessels for a few miles up into the country and are utilized for the transit of goods and produce; and thus compensate in a measure the lack of good roads, which is so notorious. The north coast is generally lined by a coral reef under water at a little distance from shore, which pre-

vents the approach of ships except at certain openings. The east coast is indented with many bays formed by the continued action of the waves of the sea, which roll in with considerable force in that direction. A chain of about fifty small islands, extending more than twenty miles in length, lie off the northeast coast, which were the favorite rendezvous of smugglers and pirates in the times of the buccaneers, the water which surrounds them being so shallow that they cannot be approached by large vessels. The principal harbor is large and commodious, affording ample accommodation for 300 vessels at one time. It is approached from the sea by a winding, rocky channel, the navigation of which is somewhat intricate; a circumstance which gives security to the place in times of war and commotion.

"Porto Rico was discovered by Columbus in 1493, but, like many other islands, it received little attention for several years in consequence of the claims of more important places. In 1509, however, the extermination of the natives and the exhaustion of the gold mines of Hispaniola had so far advanced that the avaricious Spaniards began to look about for other fields of enterprise. They accordingly fixed upon Porto Rico, and an expedition was fitted out under the direction of a man named Ponce de Leon with a view to make a conquest of the island, which was at that time said to contain a population of about 600,000 aborigines.

"The simple-minded Indians had heard of the calamities which had befallen their countrymen in Hispaniola since the arrival of the pale-faced strangers, and when they saw big ships in the distance they trembled at the prospect of their approaching fate. But so superstitious were they that the preposterous notions which they had associated with their ideas of the Spaniards entirely overpowered their reason and bereft them of hope. They considered them a superior race of beings, and even doubted whether they were mortal. Instead, therefore, of attempting to oppose the landing of their enemies, their chief consideration seems to have been how they might most gracefully submit themselves to their yoke. The invaders consequently landed on the shores of Porto Rico without meeting with any resistance whatever, and made an easy conquest of the place without the loss of a man. The Spaniards proceeded at once to intrench and fortify themselves and to search for gold, which was the highest object of their ambition. They were conducted to the mountains, where shining particles of the precious metal had often been collected in the sandy beds of the rivulets which flowed from them. Mining operations were commenced, and the natives, who were regarded as a conquered people and a race of slaves, were subjected to the same enforced

labor and cruel treatment which had ground down and wasted the natives of Hispaniola.

"The Indians were soon convinced that they had gained nothing by their ready submission to the Spaniards, and, writhing under the miseries to which they were subjected, they began to consider whether it were not still possible to resist the tyranny of their oppressors. For some time they hesitated to take any action in the matter under the superstitious notion that, if the Spaniards should prove immortal and incapable of death, their resistance would be vain and only tend to aggravate their sufferings. At length a plan was arranged for the settlement of this moot point. A cacique named Broyo was charged with the important business of ascertaining by some means 'whether a Spaniard could possibly die.' Broyo, attentive to his charge, suffered no promising moment to pass unnoticed, although to elude suspicion and escape detection required no small dexterity on his part. It was not long, however, before a favorable opportunity presented itself. Salzedo, a young Spaniard, was traveling one day in a direction in which Broyo wished to intercept him. The chief, having entertained the lonely white man in his hut for awhile very agreeably, offered the services of two or three of his men to act as escorts, or guides, on his departure. The proposal was agreed to with expressions of gratitude. The Indian guides well understood their business. On coming to a small river one of them offered to convey the Spaniard across on his shoulders, and when in the midst of the stream, staggering under his precious burden, he managed to stumble, and in his fall he plunged on one side into deep water. His companions hastened forward, pretending to render assistance, but instead of doing so they held the traveler's head under water until he was drowned. They then dragged the body to the bank of the river and having watched it attentively all that day and the next, without observing any motion or signs of life, they came to the conclusion that 'a Spaniard could die.'

"Encouraged by this strange experiment, the Indians now resolved to make a vigorous attempt to cast off the yoke of the invaders, which had become intolerable. They rose en masse and armed themselves with such weapons as they could command. These were chiefly clubs and bows and arrows. Their arrows they dipped in virulent poison prepared from the sap of the Manchineel tree, which abounds in Porto Rico, a wound from which issues almost invariably a speedy death. The Indians fell upon the Spaniards at a moment when they little expected such an attack, and they suffered considerably, one hundred of their number falling on the field. The unequal contest was of short duration, however, for the glittering deadly weapons of the Spaniards with the smoke and roar

of their guns soon dispersed the Indians with great loss and caused the survivors to flee precipitately to the woods and mountain fastnesses to escape the fury of the invaders.

"The Spaniards now sent for re-enforcements to Hispaniola, effectually to put down what they called the 'rebellion' of the natives of Porto Rico. They soon received an accession of colonists, soldiers, and bloodhounds, and a war of extermination was forthwith commenced, the details of which are too sickening to record in these pages. Suffice it to say that the scenes of cruelty and of blood which followed were similar in every respect to those which had been witnessed in Hispaniola and Cuba, and were literally disgraceful to any people bearing the Christian name and calling themselves civilized.

"In proportion as the number of colonists increased, the want of laborers to work the mines, till the ground, tend the cattle, and perform other necessary duties on the plantations was felt, and the attention of the Spaniards was at once turned to Africa, from whence negro slaves were being constantly imported into the other colonies, with such satisfactory results, according to the ideas which were prevalent at that early period. The impulse given to the horrid traffic in human beings by the establishment of another Spanish colony in the West Indies may be readily imagined from what we have said in reference to Hispaniola and Cuba under similar circumstances, for the sufferings and sorrows of the poor negro slaves were almost identical in all the islands.

"The colony of Porto Rico progressed rapidly under the new regime, large tracts of land being brought under cultivation, plantations laid out, and additional houses erected both in town and country. But a time of general war came, and this, in common with other dependencies of the crown of Spain, was exposed to hostile attacks, which were so common in those days. As early as 1580, England being involved in war with Spain, an important expedition was fitted out partly by Queen Elizabeth and partly by private enterprise, the avowed object of which was to attack and seize upon some of the most valuable colonies of America and the West Indies. The entire squadron consisted of twenty-six ships of different dimensions, on board of which were embarked 2,500 troops under the leadership of Sir Thomas Baskerville. The command of the entire expedition was committed to Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake. On reaching the West Indies they heard that a richly laden Spanish treasure ship was at anchor in the harbor of Porto Rico, and an attack upon the place was promptly resolved upon. The squadron reached the island on November 13th, and a vigorous attack was made upon the shipping in the port. But the Spaniards, having heard of the intended attack,

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THE WAY MILK IS SOLD AND DELIVERED IN HAVANA.

A FRUIT VENDOR IN HAVANA.

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had made every possible preparation to resist it. They had brought in all their available troops and strengthened the fortifications at the entrance of the harbor, from which they poured such a destructive fire upon the English ships that they were obliged to retire, after inflicting considerable damage, without accomplishing the object of their visit.

"In the year 1589 another expedition was fitted out in England for the express purpose of subduing the island of Porto Rico. The command of this armament, which consisted of nineteen ships and two barges, was given to Sir George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, who, authorized by Her Majesty's letters patent for raising forces to serve in the expedition, soon levied twelve companies of eighty men each; and with these and a proportionate number of seamen he sailed from Plymouth on March 5th. In the month of May they reached the West Indies. On one of the Virginia Islands, which he found without inhabitants, the earl landed his troops to examine their condition; and after the review he informed the men of the object of the expedition, giving them suitable exhortation before going into action. From thence he proceeded direct to Porto Rico and landed about 1,000 soldiers on June 6th without meeting with any immediate opposition. The English lost a large number of men, however, from the desolating influences of the climate, whilst they gained but little advantage; and at the restoration of peace the island was restored to its original owners.

"From that time to the present Porto Rico has belonged to the Spanish; but for many years after the departure of the British the colony continued in a very languishing state, San Domingo, Mexico, Peru and other places commanding more attention. It was not till the Spaniards had lost their hold of some of these valuable possessions that Porto Rico, in common with Cuba, received due consideration and became a place of refuge and shelter for colonists fleeing from insurrection and turmoil. Towards the close of the last century the population of the island was considerably increased by the influx of Spanish colonists and the introduction of thousands of negro slaves brought from the coast of Africa to cultivate the rich virgin ground, which was laid out for plantations in various parts of the country by the newcomers. In subsequent years the colony progressed rapidly and the imports and exports were greatly increased.

"The principal articles cultivated for exportation are sugar, cotton, coffee and tobacco; and an ample supply of Indian corn and various kinds of ground provisions are grown for home consumption. The soil in the valleys and plains is generally very fertile, and it is capable of much improvement by the application of modern methods of agriculture. The uplands and mountain slopes afford fine pas-

turage for countless numbers of cattle, horses, and mules, which are reared and exported in large quantities to the neighboring colonies. The climate, in common with that of most of the larger islands of the West Indies, is very unhealthy at certain seasons of the year, especially in localities which are low and swampy; but it might be greatly improved by clearing and draining the land in the neighborhood of the towns, villages and plantations, which are the chief centers of population.

"San Juan, the capital of the colony, has risen to the position of a considerable city, with a population of about 30,000. It is situated on the west point of an islet joined to the mainland by a bridge. It contains six straight streets, running from north to south, crossed by six others, which intersect them at right angles. The houses of the first class are built of stone and are large and commodious, but many others are wooden buildings and of a very inferior description, whilst the huts of the slaves in the suburbs are miserable hovels. The principal public buildings are the cathedral and other churches, two convents and a general hospital. There are several other small towns and villages in different parts of the island, and the negro huts on the respective plantations form small villages, the same as in other islands. Near the village of Caomo, on a considerable river of the same name, on the south coast, there is a warm sulphurous spring whose temperature is 95 degrees and which is said to be very useful in certain diseases of the skin. Other villages and settlements are situated on the banks of the Rio Lovisa, a river which is navigiable for small vessels to a considerable distance from its mouth.

"The greatest drawbacks to our pleasure in contemplating Porto Rico are the prevalence of slavery, the low type of Roman Catholicism which prevails, and the immoral and degraded character of a great part of the population of all classes and conditions. Nor has anything been done by the missionary and philanthropic societies of Europe or America to promote the social and moral elevation of the people. Indeed, it is generally understood that the intolerance of the Romish priesthood will not admit of any form of protestant missionary labor. If slavery were abolished and religious liberty allowed, Porto Rico might become a fine field for philanthropic and evangelistic effort. Genuine Christians of every name will do well to watch and wait and pray for openings for the introduction of the gospel to this and other countries which are similarly circumstanced, and where the inhabitants are sitting in the regions of the Shadow of Death."

CHAPTER IV.

RECENT DESCRIPTIONS OF THE ISLAND.

Interesting Letter from a Scientist and Business Man, Giving an Account of the Island's Flora—Valuable Information about the Products and Exports, Gathered by C. W. Eves—Scientific American Quoted—Interesting Account of the Hurricanes, by Frederick D. Ober—Value of the Island's Imports—Establishment of Electric Tramways—Possibilities for Coffee and Sugar Production—A Glowing Tribute to the Island, by James Rodway.

We quote from the familiar publication, "Nature," Vol. 29, published by The Macmillan Company:

"Through the courtesy of Sir Joseph Hooker, we are able to publish the following interesting communication from Baron Eggers on the Island of Porto Rico:

"'St. Thomas, October 22, 1883.

"'Dear Sir Joseph Hooker:—It is a long time since I wrote you last. I have meantime, at least, accomplished my long-cherished design, partly at least, of exploring the Luguillo mountains in Porto Rico, which island I visited during April and May this year. I spent about five weeks there, living for some time in the hut of a "Xibaro," or native laborer, on the Sierra at an altitude of about 2,200 feet, on the edge of the primeval forests that still cover all the higher parts of the mountain range. Since my return I have been busy arranging my collection, the greater part of which appears in the ninth and tenth century of my "Flora Indiæ Occidentalis Exsicceata."

"'As for the general character of the Sierra forests, they of course resemble in their main outlines those of the other West India islands. There is, however, especially one feature which strikes me as being peculiar to this mountain ridge compared with the woods of other islands, for example, of Dominica. Whilst the climate is just as moist in the Sierra of Porto Rico as in that of Dominica, the forests of Porto Rico seem nearly entirely destitute of etiphytes with the exception of some few Bromeliades and a very rarely occurring stray orchid. But orchids in general and epiphytical ferns, such as Trichomanes and Hymenophyllum, etc., are conspicuous by their absence. Of palms I found but one species, which I have distributed in my "Flora." I believe it a Euterpe, grows gregariously at an altitude of 1,500 to 2,000 feet. No cycads were to be seen at all. On the other hand, I found several interesting trees, especially a beautiful Talama, with immense white odorous flowers and silvery leaves which would be very ornamental. The wood is used for timber, and called Sabino. A Hirtella with crimson flowers I also found rather

common; it is not described in any of Grisebach's publications. An unknown tree with beautiful, orange-like foliage, and large, purple flowers, very similar in shape to those of Scœvola Plumieri, split along one side, a tall Lobeliacea, a large Heliconia, nearly allied, it seems, to H. caribbœa, Lam., and several other as yet undetermined trees and shrubs are among the most remarkable things found.

" 'On the whole, I was somewhat disappointed with regard to the result of the voyage, as I had expected a greater number of novelties, as well as a richer vegetation in general, at least something like the Caribbean islands. But these partly negative results may no doubt be of some value also in forming an idea of the West Indian flora in general. Of tree ferns, Cyathea Serra and an Alsophila were not uncommon. One of the most conspicuous trees in some parts is the Coccoloba macrophylla, which I found on my first visit to Porto Rico. This tree is found up to an altitude of 2,000 feet, but chiefly near the coast, where it forms extensive woods in some places, which at the time of flowering, with immense, purple spikes more than a yard long, are very striking. The tree is named Ortegón by the inhabitants; it does not seem to occur on any of the British Islands, but to be confined to Hayti and Porto Rico; at least I do not see it mentioned in Grisebach's "Cat. Plant. cubensium." The people cultivate sugar-cane in the plains, which are very fertile, yielding three hogsheads on an average per acre without any kind of manure. Besides this staple produce, a very good coffee is produced; it does not appear that any blight has as yet perceptibly affected the shrubs here. Rice is very commonly cultivated on the hills and the Sierra. I suppose it must be a kind of mountain variety, as no inundation or other kind of watering is used. Rice is, in fact, the staple food of the laborers, together with plantain and yaudia, i. e. Caladium esculentum. Immense pastures of Hymenachne striatum (Malahojilla) occupy a part of the lowland, and feed large herds of cattle of an excellent quality. St. Thomas and the French Islands all obtain their butcher's meat from Porto Rico; I believe even Barbados comes to Porto Rico for cattle.

" 'The island is very richly endowed by nature, but miserably governed, and the people themselves not worth a much better government, being given to gambling in the extreme throughout, from the rich planter and priest down to the lowest laborer and beggar. Yet they are hospitable and very polite to strangers, with that remarkable, unchanging, inbred Spanish politeness.

" 'It may finally interest you to hear, from the fact that you take a prominent part in the advancement of the material progress of the English West India islands, how we are working in that respect here in St. Thomas. I have on my estate now about 4,000 Divi-Divi trees growing and doing well, except for the deer, which do much damage. On the coasts I have over 2,000 cocoanut trees planted; cultivation of the Sanseviera guineensis is going on for making fibres; a large tract of land stocked with Hœmatoxylon I have now preserved, and try to make it a regular forest to be cut down gradually. In company with an engineer here I have now ordered a machine from England, Smith's fibre machine, which is being used in the Mauritius, in order to work up our immense quantity of Agave and Fourcroya,

the raw material being close at hand in unlimited quantity near the sea. I am also going to try experiments with the manufacture of tannin extracts from bark of Coccoloba, Rhizophora, and the pods of the various Acacias, which are a great nuisance here on account of their rapid growth. The Aloe sempervirens will also be made useful in a similar manner as in Barbados and Curacoa, it growing here spontaneously on barren rocks. H. EGGERS.'"

"The West Indies," of C. Washington Eves, published by Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, London, says of Porto Rico:

"It is very hot, but relieved by a breeze during the day. Hurricanes have visited the island. It is extremely fertile, possessing woods, hills, valleys and meadows. It is known for its herds of wild cattle. Through the middle of the island from east to west there runs a chain of mountains, from which rivers and streams descend to water the plains below. The hills are generally covered with trees. Sugar, ginger, cotton, flax, coffee, cassia, incense and hides were among its early productions. Mules were also exported. It produced also rice, maize, plantains, pines, oranges, citrons, lemons, calabashes, potatoes, melons and fine salt. At first the Spaniards made little use of it except as a port of call. The capital of Porto Rico has the dedicatory title of San Juan. It is situated on a small island on the north side, united by means of a causeway to the main island. The port is large, convenient and safe. The city was founded by Juan Ponce de Leon in 1510. Sir Francis Drake once burnt all the vessels in the port. In 1598 the English obtained the mastery over the island, and then abandoned it with much spoil. In 1615 there was an attack by the Dutch, and another attempt was made in 1742 by the English, but these attempts led to no practical results for the invaders.

"In 1886 the export trade of Porto Rico was in a very unsatisfactory condition. There was a falling off, owing to bad seasons, of more than 25 per cent. The sugar exported was 65,189 tons, or 25 per cent less than in 1885, when 63,489 tons were exported to the United States and 17,379 tons to Great Britain and British provinces, a further 8,000 tons going to other countries. The total production of sugar has sometimes reached a hundred thousand tons. In 1887 it was 80,792 tons. The coffee export had also declined. A considerable trade is still done in the export of cattle. The imports amount to £2,000,000 in round numbers, and the exports to about the same, a very considerable proportion of the imports consisting of British goods. Cottons, woolens, jute for sugar and coffee bags, metals and rice, are the main items of the British trade. The British colonies supply the codfish, the value of which is estimated at £95,000. Flour is imported from the United States and Spain, estimated in value between £200,000 and £300,-

000. Other provisions are also sent by the United States and Spain to a considerable amount. Coal is almost exclusively supplied by Great Britain. A large amount of English and Spanish capital is invested in business, collecting and working up the produce of a number of cane plantations. The population is 784,700. Slavery was abolished in 1873."

In the opinion of Rojas (Scientific American—"Porto Rico: Its Natural History and Products") the island is outside of the seismic currents which extend under the ocean from the Old World to the new, and consequently it alone of the Antilles group has thus far been free from the great seismic movements which have ruined many American towns. Nevertheless, and doubtless on account of the proximity of the volcanic origin of the islands of San Vicente, Santa Lucia, and Guadalupe slight earthquakes are apt to be felt, and on two occasions they were worthy of being called severe, these at the end of April, 1786, and in 1843, when the city of Martinique was ruined. Slight quakes were also felt in 1867 and in March of the following year. In the beginning of 1882 it was noticed that the waters of the bays of Mayagüez and Ponce retreated two or three times to a level of more than thirty feet below the ordinary water line of the coasts, and this phenomenon coincided with earthquakes at Colon and Panama.

The commonest minerals are gold, copper, carbonate and sulphate and magnetic iron, which are found in great masses in the neighborhood of Juncos; galena is also found, as well as traces of mercury, manganese, bismuth, and some other minerals. The fuels are represented by the lignites of Utuado and Moca, although they occur in thin layers and are generally charged with pyrites; at the latter place amber is also found. There is an abundance of varieties of marble and compact limestone, and in general materials for construction and ornamentation. In the Historical American Exposition at Madrid, in 1892, were exhibited remarkable examples of magnetic iron, oxide of iron, and carbonate of copper, all from Juncos; also ferruginous white quartz from the auriferous zone of Sierra Luquillo, and calcareous spar, pearl spar, fibrous gypsum, malachite, and pure blue copper from Naguabo.

Native gold is found principally in the alluvial deposits and in the rivers in the vicinity of Luquillo. When auriferous sand is washed, it is found that in some places there is a deposit of magnetic iron with the grains of gold.

There are natural salt marshes at Guánica and Salinas on the south and at Cape Rojo on the west. Hot springs are found at Juana Diaz, San Sebastian, San Lorenzo, and Ponce, but the most famous are the baths at Caomo on the south and near the city of Santa Isabel.

Observations carried on for years show that 81° is the average temperature. From 1878 to 1880 the thermometer in the shade ranged from 62-96° to 72-8° F. The monthly average varied from 72-32° to 86.07° F., the former being for the month of February, 1880, and the second for June, 1878. The mean height of the barometrical column was about 30 inches.

The "mountain dog," a reversion of the domestic species that haunts the more inaccessible forests and is dangerous only to calves, poultry and young swine, is the only creature that can be termed "wild." Rats exist in abundance, but have a bitter foe in the otherwise harmless "hunter snake," a species of boa that grows from six to nine feet in length. Ants and beetles are numerous, and one of the latter, known as the "comegen," bores into wooden structures, and is sometimes dangerous to buildings. Bees are comparatively plentiful in the forests, but are smaller than the domestic forms, and produce an amber colored honey, very rich, but that speedily ferments and sours, and the wax is of a violet hue. "Lucernas" or fireflies abound; they are like small butterflies with phosphorescent rings about the eyes, and when masses fly at night they produce sufficient light to illuminate the fields and plantations. There are also "cucuyos" similar to the cricket, which are phosphorescent under the wings. Some of the bats seek sleeping animals at night to suck their blood. The chigœ bites through the shoes and stockings, or enters between the nail and the skin; and copper worms, ticks, cockroaches, mosquitoes, chinches, etc., are most vexatious.

Plans have been made for five first class roads, viz.: from the capital to Ponce by Caguas and Coamo, a distance of 84 miles; from the capital (the suburb Catano) to Mayaguez by Arecibo and Aguadilla, 101 miles; Mayaguez to Ponce, 60 miles; from the first named road to Arroyo by Guayama, 21 miles; Cagual to the city of Baguabo by Humaco, 30 miles; making a total of 286 miles. A few miles of inferior roads have been constructed, viz.: from Arecibo to Ponce by Uruado and Adjuntas, 24 miles; Rio Piedras to the Port of Fajardo, 31 miles; from Lares to Aguadilla, 16 miles; a branch connecting the two first named roads through Guaynabo, 8 miles; making a total of 89 miles. The general plan of railroads consists of a line around the island divided into four sections: one from San Juan to Mayaguez by Arecibo and Aguadilla; from Rio Piedras or Humacao by Fajardo; from Ponce to Mayaguez by San German; from Ponce to Humacao by Arroyo, a total of 341 miles, of which, however, only 17 miles have been built. There are tramways from the capital to Rio Piedras, 7½ miles, from Ponce to the shore, from Mayaguez to the shore and from Catano to Bayamon, 5 miles.

The telegraph system is divided into the Western Line, from the capital to

Rio Piedras, Bayamo, Dorado, Vega Baja, Manati, Arecibo, Aguadilla, Anasco, Mauaguez, Hormacao, Yabucoa, Maunabo, Patillas, Arryo, Guayama, Salinas, and Ponce. The Central Line extends from the capital to Cayey, Aibonita, Caoma, Juan Diaz, Ponce and its bay, and the eastern branch from the capital to Carolina, Luquillo, Fajardo, Naguado, and Humasao. This system has also been extended from Arecibo to Ponce, with stations at Adjuntas and Utuado. The total length of the lines amounts to 486 miles and that of the wires to 676 miles, and 152,786 dispatches were sent in 1892. There are cables from the capital to St. Thomas, in communication with the Lesser Antilles and South America; from the capital to Jamaica, in communication with Cuba, the United States and Europe; and from the bay of Ponce to Jamaica and Santa Cruz, connected with St. Thomas.

"Puerto Rico and Its Resources," by Frederick D. Ober (D. Appleton & Co., publishers), is a work full of instruction as to the island that is suddenly one of our new possessions. We find here accounts full and particular of the mountains and the hurricanes, two of the features of Porto Rico:

"In the mountains the inhabitants enjoy the coolness of spring, while the valleys would be uninhabitable were it not for the daily breeze which blows generally from the northeast and east. For example, in Ponce the noonday sun is felt in all its rigor, while at the village of Adjuntas, four leagues distant in the interior of the mountains, the traveller feels invigorated by the refreshing breezes and temperate climate. At one place the thermometer is as high as 90°, while in another it is sometimes under 60°. Although the seasons are not so distinctly marked in this climate as they are in Europe (the trees being always green), yet there is a distinction to be made between them. The division into wet and dry seasons (winter and summer) does not give a proper idea of the seasons in this island; for on the north coast it sometimes rains almost the whole year, while sometimes for twelve or fourteen months not a drop of rain falls on the south coast. However, in the mountains at the south there are daily showers.

"As in all tropical countries, the year is divided into two seasons—the dry and the rainy. In general, the rainy season commences in August and ends the last of December, southerly and westerly winds prevailing during this period. The rainfall is excessive, often inundating fields and forming extensive lagoons. The exhalations from these lagoons give rise to a number of diseases, but, nevertheless, Porto Rico is one of the healthiest islands in the archipelago.

"The hurricanes which visit the island, and which obey the general laws of tropical cyclones, are the worst scourges of the country. For hours before the appearance of this terrible phenomenon the sea appears calm; the waves come from

a long distance very gently until near the shore, when they suddenly rise as if impelled by a superior force, dashing against the land with extraordinary violence and fearful noise. Together with this sign, the air is noticed to be disturbed, the sun red and the stars obscured by a vapor, which seems to magnify them. A strong odor is perceived in the sea, which is sulphurous in the waters of rivers, and there are sudden changes in the wind. These omens, together with the signs of uneasiness manifested by various animals, foretell the proximity of a hurricane.

"This is a sort of whirlwind, accompanied by rain, thunder and lightning, sometimes by earthquake shocks, and always by the most terrible and devastating circumstances that can possibly combine to ruin a country in a few hours. A clear, serene day is followed by the darkest night; the delightful view offered by woods and prairies is diverted into the dreary waste of a cruel winter; the tallest and most robust cedar trees are uprooted, broken off bodily, and hurled into a heap; roofs, balconies, and windows of houses are carried through the air like dry leaves, and in all directions are seen houses and estates laid waste and thrown into confusion.

"The fierce roar of the water and of the trees being destroyed by the winds, the cries and moans of people, the bellowing of cattle and neighing of horses, which are being carried from place to place by the whirlwinds, the torrents of water inundating the fields, and a deluge of fire being let loose in flashes and streaks of lightning, seem to announce the last convulsions of the universe and the death agonies of nature itself.

"Sometimes these hurricanes are felt only on the north coast, at others on the south, although generally their influence extends throughout the island.

"Earthquakes are somewhat frequent, but not violent or of great consequence. The natives foretell them by noticing clouds settle near the ground for some time in the open places among the mountains. The water of the springs emits a sulphurous odor or leaves a strange taste in the mouth; birds gather in large flocks and fly about, uttering shriller cries than usual; cattle bellow and horses neigh, etc. A few hours beforehand the air becomes calm and dimmed by vapors which arise from the ground, and a few moments before there is a slight breeze, followed at intervals of two or three minutes by a deep rumbling noise, accompanied by sudden gusts of wind, which are the forerunners of the vibration, the latter following immediately. These shocks are sometimes violent, and are usually repeated, but, owing to the special construction of the houses, they cause no damage.

"The West Indians guard as much as possible from the hurricanes by building their houses of stone, in the main, with massive walls, and providing strong bars

for doors and windows. When the barometer gives notice of the approach of a storm these bars are brought out and everything is at once made fast. Doors and window shutters are closed, barred and double-locked, and the town looks as if it were deserted by all human beings. The state of suspense, while the hurricane rages, is simply awful, for no one knows when the house may fall and bury all beneath its ruins. Add to this the howling of the blast, the crash of falling trees, the piercing cries for help from wounded and dying, and one may faintly picture the terrible scene. To venture out is almost certain death, the air is so filled with flying missiles, such as boards, branches of trees, tiles, bricks and stones.

"One of the most destructive hurricanes occurred so recently as 1891, when the island of Martinique was prostrated by a terrible tornado, from the effects of which it may never recover.

" 'Early on the morning of the 18th of August,' says the United States Consul in his report, 'the sky presented a leaden appearance, decidedly threatening, with occasional gusts of variable winds, mostly from east-northeast. The temperature was very oppressive during the day. The barometer varied only slightly, when it commenced to fall, at first gradually, then very rapidly. It is stated by fishermen who were in the vicinity of Carvael Rock (in the sea channel) that an immense wave, about a hundred feet high, passed from the direction of St. Lucia, closely followed by another smaller one, although the sea in the vicinity was quite calm at the time. The storm struck the east side of the island at about 6 p. m., rushing through the ravines and destroying everything in its path. On the elevated plains the ruin was complete. One very peculiar feature of the hurricane was the deafness experienced by everyone during the storm—possibly the result of the reduced barometic pressure. During the cyclone the wind veered from east-northeast to south-southeast, from the latter point being the most destructive; there were incessant flashes of sheet lightning unaccompanied by thunder, and immediately after the storm two distinct shocks of earthquake at intervals of about five seconds.

" 'Early in the September following I visited La Trinité and noted that all the way the destruction was most complete, the trees and all vegetation looking as though there had been a forest fire, although without the charred appearance. The sugar-cane suffered least, and the loss, with favorable weather, did not amount to more than one-fifth its normal value. The factories and distilleries seem to have been more completely destroyed than any other property. The thermometer ranged from 90° to 100° during the storm, and there was a deluge of rain, one account stating that over four inches fell in a few hours that evening.

" 'My own residence was unroofed and flooded with water, as was the case of

nine-tenths of the buildings in St. Pierre, and throughout the island. The loss of life was comparatively small in the capital, but larger in the interior towns, notably in Morne Rogue (a mountain resort above St. Pierre), where eight in one family lost their lives. The total loss of life, so far as reliable information can be obtained, was seven hundred, and the loss of property was enormous. All the fruit, the main reliance of the laboring classes, was destroyed, and prices of provisions at once advanced three hundred per cent. Every vessel along the coast was either wrecked or badly damaged, about fifty sail in all. The scene the island presents would be difficult to describe, and the inhabitants are sorely stricken and demoralized. Such a night of terror the imagination can scarcely picture.'"

MEAN MONTHLY TEMPERATURE AT SAN JUAN DE PORTO RICO DURING FIVE YEARS' OBSERVATION.

Hours of the day.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.
Seven in the morning.....	72	72½	74	78	78	82	85	86	80½	77	75	75
Noon	82	81	82	83	85	86	90	92	88	85	84	80
Five in the evening.....	78	74	78	80	81	84	87	90	83	82	80	79

Two of the places in Porto Rico made conspicuous in the campaign of General Miles are Yauco and Guanica. Albert Gardner Robinson writes of a street scene in Yauco:

"My attention was attracted by repeated shouts from the streets. Upon going to investigate the occasion of the disturbance, I found that it was caused by a semi-intoxicated jackey from one of the monitors lying in Guanica Bay. Jackey was celebrating a day of shore-leave by experimenting with the sailing qualities of a Porto Rican pony. He was cruising up and down the principal street at a six-knot gait, and shouting at the top of his voice, 'Viva Porto Rica!' This was answered by the vigorous yells of some two hundred natives who were assembled, 'Viva los Americanos!' 'Viva Puerto Rico Americano!' There was no question of their sincerity. No man would yell as they did without meaning it. Jackey would howl his 'Viva Porto Rico!' and the crowd would come back at him with its vociferous response. All hands were having a good time. A little squad of the provost guard marched up to see what was going on. It grinned and marched back again.

"The road from Yauco to Guanica takes one immediately past the scene of the first 'battle' on Porto Rican soil. The Spanish army, consisting of a small company of soldiers, occupied the spacious yard which surrounds the large house and exten-

sive out-buildings of M. Mariani, a French sugar-planter of great wealth and of long residence on the island. A high brick wall along the southern side of the yard formed the Spanish defense, from which point of vantage they exchanged a few leaden compliments with the American soldiery of General Henry's command, which was posted on the hill beyond. After a few hours of no very energetic warfare, during which a small casualty list was made upon both sides, the Spaniards withdrew to make room for a deputation of the prominent citizens of Yauco, who extended a warm hand of welcome to the invaders."

Mr. Robinson writes of Guanica, where General Miles made his first landing:

"This is a pretty little harbor with a narrow entrance flanked by high hills which descend sharply to the water's edge. It presents possibilities as a sea-side resort. Its surroundings are charming. A pleasant and refreshing breeze blows from the water. Pleasant drives could easily be laid out, which would take one either among the mountains or along the coast. There is still-water bathing inside the headlands and surf-bathing beyond them. There is said to be duck-shooting on a near-by lake, and there is dove-shooting in the forest for those who like pot hunting.

"Yauco is the principal place and is quite a little city. Guanica is a straggling village on the coast, some six miles to the southward of Yauco, for which place it serves as a port and as a summer resort for the well-to-do citizens of its larger neighbor. Yauco is the present terminus of the Ponce and Yauco division of the Compania de los Ferrocarriles de Puerto Rico. The drainage of Yauco is admirable. The town stands on a hill-side which is about as steep as the roof of a house. The business portion of the town, and its better buildings, are upon the lower slopes, while cottages and cabins straggle away to the higher and steeper regions. The town has a considerable French population, though I am told that the majority are Corsicans, rather than French.

"The place is the commercial center of a considerable district of productive back country, and one of the outlets through its port city of Guanica for the coffee district.

"American trade with Porto Rico in the forties was quite extensive, and notwithstanding Spanish laws that put American merchants at a decided disadvantage the American commerce with the land rivalled that with the mother country, Spain. The following tables for the year 1842 are valuable as suggestive of what the figures will be in American Porto Rico. The total importations for that year amounted to $5,757,403.84.

"Of which were imported in Spanish bottoms	$3,410,577.57
In American bottoms	1,456,998.05
In French bottoms	151,371.12
In English bottoms	139,502.57
In all other foreign bottoms	598,954.53
	$5,757,403.84

"That the total exportations for that year amounted to	$6,429,257.35
Of which were exported in Spanish bottoms	1,563,109.19
In American bottoms	2,453,299.32
In French bottoms	911,138.31
In English bottoms	554,126.88
In all other foreign bottoms	947,583.65
	$6,429,257.35

"That the number of vessels 'arriving' and 'departing' are:

	Arrivals.	Departures.
Spanish vessels	594	509
American vessels	438	399
French vessels	143	137
English vessels	88	91
All other foreign vessels	85	81
	1,348	1,217

"That the commercial revenue is this:

Amount duties collected on imports	$1,026,266.95
Amount duties collected on exports	313,301.25
Amount duties collected on tonnage and anchorage dues	98,882.98
	$1,438,351.18

"The value of merchandise imported and exported by Porto Rico during each calendar year from 1887 to 1896 inclusive showed an annual average for the years 1887 to 1891 of an excess in imports of $6,734,508, and the annual average from 1892 to 1896 showed an excess of $1,090,453."

The Engineering Magazine, January, 1899, editorially says:

"The world will probably see, in Porto Rico, the opening of a new territory that is old, and the most perfected resources of engineering applied to pioneering work. The seizure of the island by the United States during the recent war with Spain will result in the exploitation of one of the richest regions in the world, and

it is altogether likely that it will be done in a most original and characteristic fashion.

"The island is almost rectangular in shape, 95 miles long and 35 miles wide. There is the usual strip of flat coast lands extending throughout the circumference, while the interior is a mountainous plateau having elevations of about 3,800 feet above the sea level. Almost the whole area is under cultivation, sugar-cane and tobacco growing luxuriantly on the lowlands. Coffee and tobacco, as well as many fruits and vegetables, are cultivated on the central plateau. There is one road, the magnificent Spanish military road across the island from San Juan on the north to Ponce on the south coast, and in all about 35 miles of railway in three disconnected sections. The population is about one million, and there are several large and well built towns, those in the interior being generally at elevations of from 1,000 to 2,000 feet above the sea. The climate is genial, and there is no yellow fever, the interior being reported as extremely salubrious. In many ways the island bears a strong resemblance to Ceylon.

"While there is already much wealth in Porto Rico, two causes have contributed to hamper the development of its very great resources—the total absence of means of transportation, and the almost incredible dishonesty of the Spanish regime, now happily superseded. In addition to these considerable obstacles there has long existed an organized system of brigandage, taking toll of all merchandise going to or out of the interior. The percentage required by these highwaymen is reported at from 10 to 50 per cent.

"On the few miles of railroad the charges have been most exorbitant. Between Yauco and Ponce, a distance of 18 miles, the passenger rate was $1.00 and the freight rate $20 per ton. Even under these conditions the island has flourished because of its surpassing fertility. Its mineral resources are almost absolutely undeveloped and for the most part unknown.

"There is an abundance of water power, no less than 1,200 small streams and twenty-one large rivers flowing into the sea along the coast. The flow is not intermittent, for even in the dry season these streams are full. In the rainy season many of them are raging torrents.

"Almost the first proposition, that has been made public for the complete exploitation of Porto Rico, is the construction of electric tramways through the interior. It has not been proposed to build roads, for it is now well recognized that the most costly of ordinary means of transportation is that of vehicles drawn by animals over ordinary roads—especially in a hilly region. This project seems so eminently sensible, especially in view of the large undeveloped water powers of the

island, and the fact that its whole area is so small that electric power transmission from any part of it to any other is feasible, that it ought to be put into execution at the earliest possible moment. With the immunity from the exaction of brigands, swift and inexpensive transportation from the interior to the coast, and relief from the various forms of legalized robbery that have existed, there is no reason why Porto Rico should not soon be one of the richest islands in the world.

"The spectacle of electric tramways building in advance of ordinary roads is one that would have been even more startling five years ago than it is now; but even to-day it is an indication of the wonderful progress that has been made in the utilization of electricity and the readiness with which this agency lends itself to varied and useful purposes."

We quote the Engineering Magazine on "The Exploitation of Electric Tramways in Porto Rico," by Antonio Mattei Lluveras:

"The establishment of electric tramways throughout the island of Porto Rico, from east to west along the central range of mountains, would be desirable, easy, and relatively inexpensive. An electric line, starting from Naguabo at Humaco at the east end, touching the interior towns of Juncos, Barros, Jayuya, Utuado, Adjuntas, and Matiao, and terminating at Mayaguez, with branches from the main line to the villages at the coast, would serve, better than any other system, to move the rich products of those districts and to accommodate the greater number of passengers who now have no means of convenient travel.

"The coal problem, and many other expensive items of railroad building, would not be a consideration in the operation and construction of such a tramway system, as there exists throughout the whole mountain range natural water powers available for any class of machinery. The many and powerful waterfalls having their sources in the mountainous inland region, and the rivers which run through this territory in various directions, seem to have been created by nature especially to aid man in the cultivation of the rich soil and the marketing of its products, which, because of the high altitudes and necessarily heavy grades of high-roads, if these should be built, would otherwise be very costly. The interior of the island is extremely mountainous. Around the entire extent of its coast, however, is a flat belt of rich lowland, suitable for the cultivation of sugar and tobacco. The highest village in Porto Rico, Aybonito, situated at an altitude of 2,300 feet above the sea level, is on the line of the central highway, which runs from Ponce to San Juan. This fine highway, built originally by the Spanish Government for military purposes, has no

grade greater than 14 per cent., which would be the maximum also to be met with in the construction of the tramway along the mountain range.

"Official statistics for the calendar year, 1897, which was certainly one of the least productive of the last decade, show that the exports of the island were as follows:

	Cwt.	Value
Cane sugar	125,323,589	$ 4,007,999
Molasses	25,085,069	403,519
Coffee	51,097,823	12,222,598
Tobacco	6,181,771	1,194,318
Hides	822,108	71,852

"There was produced, of course, a considerably greater quantity of each of these products, the difference going to the home consumption of nearly a million inhabitants. The total exports for 1897 are given in the Spanish 'Estadistica General' as $18,574,678.45. Besides, there is a large production of minor fruits which do not figure in exports, although they are of considerable importance in interior transportation. If these fruits could be quickly and cheaply moved to the coast for shipment to American markets there is no doubt that a large and profitable trade in them could be quickly established.

"The territory which produces the most coffee is in the high and mountainous parts of the island, along the central range, and here it is that the greatest need is felt for transportation facilities, the only existing means of communication being by horse-roads or mule-paths built by the residents. From the plantations where the coffee is gathered to the nearest towns on the coasts, whence the berries may be carried in ox-carts to the markets, carriage is effected at the present time on the backs of horses and mules, which can take only 200 pounds a trip. These same horses bring back an equal quantity of provisions and merchandise for the subsistence and necessities of the laborers and other inhabitants of the interior. For this transportation on horses and mules one dollar a hundred pounds each way is paid from the points most distant, and fifty cents from the nearer points. Among these rich coffee plantations are some of considerable importance, such as the Esperanza of Pietri Brothers in the jurisdiction of Adjuntas, near the Guilarte range, which produces 3,000 to 4,000 cwt. This plantation employs a daily personnel of 350 laborers, and pays $1.00 per hundred pounds for transportation to the town of Yauco. In the jurisdiction of Yauco the plantation Candelaria of Pedro Olivari produces 2,000 cwt., and pays a dollar per cwt. for transportation. The plantation Mogotes, the property of Messrs. Pieraldi, also produces 2,000 cwt. of coffee of the very best quality, and pays 50 cents per cwt. for transportation. The plantation

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STREET OF THE CROSS, SAN JUAN, PORTO RICO. (Copyrighted, 1898, by J. M. Jordan.)

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Tres Hermanos of P. Cardie gathers and sends out 2,500 cwt., at an expense of 75 cents for transportation. The Santa Clara plantation of Mariani's Sons gathers 7,000 cwt., employing a thousand men daily during the gathering of the fruit, and pays from $1.00 to $1.50 for transportation. The plantation of Sr. Viella, in the Jurisdiction of Lares, gathers some 4,000 cwt., paying $2.00 per cwt. for its transportation to Mahayüez. There are at least three hundred plantations along the same range, side by side, in the short distance between Marico, Yauco and Adjuntas."

McClure's Magazine, on the commercial promise of Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines, refers to the enormous consumption of sugar by the Americans and estimates the sugar product of Cuba under American auspices would be 1,500,000 tons per annum. The writer, Mr. Geo. B. Waldean, adds:

"Cuba, in the height of her former prosperity, had but a fraction of the sugar land under cultivation. Were all the land in use on that island that is suited to raising sugar, it is estimated that Cuba alone could supply the demand of the entire western hemisphere. Add to this the possibilities in the other islands now only at the beginning of their development, and no American need fear a lack of sugar to supply his sweet tooth.

"With sugar Americans rank their coffee. The annual consumption of this berry reaches 700,000,000 pounds. Yet, until Hawaii became ours, not a pound could be grown for commerce within our borders. Of the coffee imported scarcely a half million pounds comes from these islands east and west. Still the coffee product of Porto Rico reaches 5,000,000 pounds a year. Once Cuba far outstripped her sister islands in this group, raising in a single year 90,000,000 pounds. But that was early in the century, before the island had been devastated by frequent wars.

"The Philippines produce a coffee not equal to the best Mocha to be sure, but with a flavor peculiarly its own, and so well appreciated by the Spaniards that most of the 600,000 pounds annually raised go to that country. The Hawaiian islands are but at the beginning of their coffee raising. Within five years their exports have increased nearly forty fold. It may be many years before these island groups will be able to produce coffee enough for the entire nation, but in five years they will be sending us a quarter of our imports of this favorite berry, and in a decade that total can easily be doubled."

A charming descriptive account of the West Indies is found in Mr. James Rodway's work, published by G. P. Putnam & Sons, and we quote a vivid picture and a condensed volume of history in a few paragraphs:

"When we think of these beautiful islands and shores they recall those of that other 'Great Sea' which was such a mighty factor in the development of Greece and Rome, Phenicia and Carthage, Venice and Genoa. As Ulyssys and Æneas wandered about the Mediterranean, so the early voyagers sailed along the coasts of the Caribbean sea and Gulf of Mexico in the fear of anthropophagoi, amazons, giants and fiery dragons. As the Indies were the scene of struggles between great nations and the raids of buccaneers, so also was the Mediterranean a battle-field for Christian and Turk and a center for piracy.

"The seaports of golden cities, pearls and emeralds in profusion and wealth that passed all description, led the Spaniards to explore every island and river until the cannibals became less alarming. Yet their sufferings were terrible. Hurricanes sunk their frail craft on the sea, and earthquakes wrung their very souls on land. Starvation, with its consequent sickness and death, destroyed one party after another, but they still went on. The discovery of the riches of Mexico and Peru led them to look for other rich nations, and to travel thousands of miles on the mainland, guided by the reports of the Indians. Undaunted by suffering and failure they would often try again and again, perhaps only to perish in the attempt at last.

"The treasures of the Indies made Spain the greatest nation in Europe. With her riches she could do almost anything. Other nations bowed down before her, and she became sovereign of the seas and mistress of the world. No matter how it was obtained, gold and silver flowed into her coffers. What did she care that it was obtained by the bloody sweat of the poor Indians? Then came envy and jealousy. Why should Spain claim the whole of the New World? England, Holland and France began to dispute her supremacy and determined to get a share of the good things. The 'invincible domination' of Spain led her to declare war against England, with the result that the hardy sea-dogs of that time began to worry the fat galleons at sea and to pillage the treasure depots on the main.

"And here we must mention that there were two important places in the Indies where Spain was most vulnerable—the Mona Passage between Hispaniola and Porto Rico and the isthmus of Darien. Through the first came the outward fleets with supplies, and on their return with gold and silver, while on the Isthmus was the depot for merchandise and the great treasure-store. At these two points the enemy congregated, either as ships of war, buccaneers, corsairs, or pirates, and in their neighborhood some of the most bitter struggles took place. There was no peace in the Indies, whatever might nominally be the peace in Europe. Englishmen's blood boiled at the atrocities of the Spaniards, but we are afraid it was not

love for the oppressed alone that made them massacre the Spaniards whenever they got an opportunity. The poor Indian received but a scant measure of justice from these very people, when, as a matter of convenience, they required possession of the Caribbee Islands.

"Other nations took possession of smaller islands unoccupied by Spain, and from these centers continued their raids, as privateers in war, and as pirates at other times. Sometimes they were united among themselves against the common enemy, sometimes at war with each other. France and Holland against England, England and Holland against France—nothing but quarrels and fighting. Now an island changed hands, and again it was restored, or recaptured. The planters were never sure of being able to reap their crops, and often had literally to superintend the estate work, armed with sword and arquebuse, while their black and white slaves cultivated the soil.

"Now the West Indies became the great training ground for three maritime nations, England, France and Holland. Spain lost her prestige, and the struggle lay among her enemies for over a century. At first the three disputants for her place were equally matched; then Holland dropped behind, leaving England and France to fight it out. The struggle was a very close one, which only ended with the fall of Napoleon, and it was in the Caribbean Sea where the great check to France took place. Here Rodney defeated Degrasse, and here Nelson and many another naval officer gained that experience which served them so well in other parts of the world. Here, also, was the scene of that great labor experiment, the African slave-trade. The atrocities of the Spaniards caused the depopulation of the Greater Antilles and led to the importation of negroes. Whatever may be said against slavery, there can hardly be any question that the African has been improved by his removal to another part of the world to the extent that was expected by his friends when they paid such an enormous sum for his enfranchisement; still, there are undoubtedly signs of progress.

"The white colonists in the West Indies never settled down to form the nucleus of a distinct people. Since the emancipation the islands have been more and more abandoned to the negroes and colored people, with the result that although the government is mostly in the hands of the whites, they are in such a minority as to be almost lost. In Cuba there appears to be such a feeling of patriotism towards their own island that probably we shall soon hear of a new republic, but elsewhere in the islands our hopes for the future must lie in the negroes and colored people.

"On the mainland the original inhabitants were not exterminated as in the large islands, and consequently we have there a most interesting process in course

of accomplishment—the development of one or more nations. Here are the true Americans, and as the Gaul was merged in the Frank and the Briton in the Saxon, so the Spaniard has been, or will be ultimately, lost in the American. At the present the so-called Spanish republics are in their birth-throes—they are feeling their way. Through trouble and difficulty—revolution and tyranny—they have to march on, until they become stronger and more fitted to take their places among nations. Out of the struggle they must ultimately come, and it will be a most interesting study for those who see the result.

"In Hispaniola we have also a nation in the course of development—an alien race from the old world. More backward than the Americans, the Africans of Hayti are struggling to gain a position among other nations, apparently without any good result. The nation is not yet born and its birth-throes are distressing. We look on that beautiful island and feel sorry that such a paradise should have fallen so low. As a race the negro has little of that internal power that makes for progress—he must be compelled to move on. Some are inclined to believe that he is in process of degenerating into the savage, but we, on the contrary, believe him to be progressing slowly.

"In the islands belonging to European nations the influence of the dominating power is visible in the negro, though he has no trace of white blood. The French, English or Dutch negro may be recognized by his manners and even by his features. In some places East Indians and Chinese have been imported, but these stand alone and make little progress. They are aliens yet, and take little part in the development of the colonies.

"Latterly the West Indians have sunk into neglect by Europe. Except for the difficulties of the planters their history is a blank sheet. Few know anything about the beautiful islands or the grand forests of the mainland."

It is of the common information of the transition period following the Spanish-American war and its revolutionary consequences that General Maximo Gomez, the commander-in-chief of the Cuban forces, long cherished a dream that he is to be the founder of a confederacy of the Antilles, and that his use for the independence of Cuba is to forward his ambition to unite and rule the West Indies. But it is only a dream within a dream. The political power of the Great Republic of the North will attract, command and absorb the tropical islands adjacent to our southern shores.

BOOK II.

CUBA.

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INTRODUCTION.

It is well that Cuba holds the name the poor savages gave the island before Columbus saw the mountains that reminded him of Sicily, and the rivers overhung with trees from which trailed vines gorgeous with flowers, while the water was full of glistening fishes, sparkling with shifting colors, and the air radiant with birds of exquisite plumage, so musical that it seemed, as they gave concerts in the blooming groves, the angels were singing, and one could but wish, as the discoverer wrote to the Queen of Spain, the songs to last forever. All Americans should be glad and proud that this island of surpassing endowment is at last free, and hope that in the centuries to come there will be erased the stains of bloody crime and tearful sorrows that have pervaded the atmosphere and all the stories of this country of beauty and fragrance, of fertility and every charm of nature, yet a land bereft of happiness because authority has been identical with injustice and oppression. The mountains with their forests, the bright rivers and broad valleys uplifted in creation's morning, arose from seas of crystal so translucent that sailors looking over the sides of ships selected smooth sand upon which to drop the anchors, avoiding the coral rocks that would have been perilous if hidden. The woods and the waters were full of food fruits and fishes—there were many varieties of oranges, nutritious roots and nuts, and the wilderness was as a wonderful and boundless orchard, in which the royal palms shed their stately leaves for the habitations of the amiable tribes, that as children in an Eden of their own, needing no raiment, gathering food from the trees and the soil, were unconscious that the world was not all their garden of bliss, until the destroying strangers came. The kindly race whose simple wants were satisfied without tilling or spinning or any semblance of toil, soon perished when their paradise was invaded. African slavery was introduced to save the children of Cuba from sinking under the tasks beyond their strength imposed by the invaders, but the remorseless Spaniards persevered in their career of grasping tyranny and desperate adventure, devoted to gathering treasure to be transferred to the Peninsula without a thought of compensating the labor of the sinless and the helpless, for whom there was no longer rest or promise of escape from dreadful servitude, and for whose loving good will implanted in their tender hearts, there

was no response save in the bosom of the good priest, the memory of whose benevolent concern has given him a beautiful immortality.

The Cuban experience of Spanish domination was longer by nearly a century than that of the South and Central American States, and the effect of the full force of the evils confirmed and perpetuated, are marked as with firebrands upon the island, a bitter inheritance that under the best conditions will not soon be worn away. San Domingo became a synonym of a decline from civilization into barbarism a century ago. The freedom of lofty and opulent Hayti from the rule of foreigners, the transfer of power from the masters to the slaves, did not secure the contentment and prosperity of the survivors of the slaughters of the revolution, for the blood unshed was so mixed, and the traditions that pierced the dark gloom of ignorance were so discouraging, that there was propagation of the unfit, a rank production of the deplorable that laid the land desolate and largely kept it so. In Cuba the Spanish decadence set in earlier by many years than in Mexico and Peru—there was half a century more of it to be endured, and the leading question is as of old: "What shall the harvest be?" The fortune of Cuba has been harder than that of the Philippines because in the latter the interposition of Mexico as New Spain made a modification that was a betterment of the Government. The appointments by the Mexican Supreme Court of the highest Philippine authorities were with some regard to character and capacity. Indeed there was much that was judicious, and the pioneer priests in the Philippines devoted themselves to a great extent to teaching the people industries that developed the riches of the natural resources of the islands.

The Spanish colonial system as interpreted at Manila was for two hundred years an improvement upon that at Havana. The plague and ruin of the unmitigated Spanish methods were in the unappeasable hunger and strife for spoil, the eager appropriation by the master class of the earnings of the subjugated masses, and the vindictive spirit in which was cultivated the idea that the Peninsular Spaniards were the exclusive rightful rulers, and that even the American-born Spaniards must be inferior to the favorites of the Spanish crown who came upon the colonies in successive, unfailing hordes of parasites, their vocation the oppression of the people, that they might unchecked prey upon all productive industry, whether in the fields, the forests or the mines. There is a melancholy monotony in the stories of all the Spanish-American states. There is always the presence of injustice, rankling and consuming, and a characteristic horror in the wars for the suppressions of rebellions that burst forth when the invariable despotism became intolerable. Disordered Cuba Libre is the logical result of Spanish mis-

government that neglected every duty and improved all chances to go wrong. The government of the island by and for a crown on the other side of the Atlantic for four centuries could not—though it has been often found that there were teachings of wisdom in schools of sorrow—prove an ideal preparation of a people for the establishment of a stable government. The Cubans now freed from all disabilities save their own, are a generation stamped with habits of thought, indoctrinated with certain forms of public business, and so encumbered with a misleading education, that our advanced American principles are not immediately comprehended, but often received with resentment. The misconduct of the Cuban Assembly that has warned our country it is charged with very difficult responsibilities and that the Cubans as a people have much to learn that is essential, could not have been possible but for the long procession of precedents to be avoided if the future is to redeem the past. We may think of it with dawning confidence, however, that the evolution of one military and popular hero like General Gomez is proof that instruments will be found in the Cuban crisis for the vindication of the doctrine that the safest preparation for self-government is to be free, and that, though redemption from oppression is by the sword, the sword shall not devour forever.

CHAPTER I.

CUBA AFTER THE WAR.

The Changes of Three Years in Cuba—Recollection of the Weyler Period—The Fiery Invasion of Western Cuba by Gomez—The Fall of Maceo and Decline of the Flood of Rebellion—American Intervention and Spanish Retirement—The Stars and Stripes Over Morro Castle and the Governor's Palace—The Spaniards' Farewell to Havana—Wild Cuban Rejoicing—Spanish and Cuban Combination Against American Rule—Gomez Meets a Special Commissioner and Listens to Reason—His Triumphant Journey to Havana and Ovation in the City—He Does Not Speak at the Banquet of Cuban Celebration—Spectacular Scenes in the Old Spanish Capital—The Prestige of Gomez Challenged by the Hysterical Cuban Assembly—He Is Removed from His Command of the Army for Opposing the Creation of a Great Public Debt Without Value Received for the People—The Splendid Letter with Which He Thanked the Assembly for Relieving Him of Responsibility—The People Are with Him—As a Pacificator He Is a Statesman—The Catastrophe to Spain of the Loss of Cuba—Her Golden Island in the Summer Seas—The Land of Promise for the Favorites of a Corrupt Government in the Details of Administration—The Harvest Field for the Degenerate of a Nation Fallen from the First Place—Did Not Occur Without Abundant Admonition, and Yet Seemed to the Spectators a Surprise in Suddenness.

Three years ago Captain-General Weyler had just developed his policy of severity, and was, as he said, "Orienting" his enemies. "See how I am driving them eastward," he cried. "When I came they were here, and now they are there." His words were accompanied by a sweeping gesture from west to east, on a great map of Cuba, from the rugged country of Pinar del Rio to the south-eastern swamps and forests of Matanzas. The enemy, he said, "might get away," but would have to make their escape through the impassable marshes, dense with underbrush, including thorns and vines; and they might as well be retired in that way as to be prisoners. When General Weyler arrived at Havana, General Gomez, with his right arm Antonio Maceo, were so near the city that they could, from the hill where they were resting close to the sea, west of the Yacht Club's House, see the Morro Castle light and count the guns of salutes from the prison fortress of Cabanas. The march of the torch bearers and cane burners moving west, making the heavens glow by night with the flaming fields, had been halted. The strength of this wild raid ordered by Gomez and fought to a finish at last by Maceo, had been spent in the incendiary adventure, and, while the general result

was disastrous to the prosperous industries, and destructive of the resources of both Cubans and Spaniards, it had not been practicable to muster an army seriously to assail the Spanish fortified lines. It was the theory of Gomez that, once the cane fields and sugar mills were burned, the tobacco plants neglected or trampled, and the sheds for the precious leaves fired, the labor employed would be diverted in full force to the insurgent ranks; and there was assembled a throng of combatants poorly equipped and incapable of discipline. The invasion of the Cuban west was like the rush of a torrent that bursts its channel and sweeps on with the rapidity of a mountain stream and the destructiveness of lava, until the energy of the irruption declined, its movement slackened, the flood receded, and the vivid fires were buried in ashes. Then the retreat commenced, and the disheartening experience of retiring in the midst of blackened fields and monumental chimneys, demoralized the boasted army that was jaunty under fiery skies. It disappeared in the chaos from which it came, and the best that high military capacity, such as Gomez undeniably possessed could do, was to conduct stratagems of evasion and encourage popular delusions as to the strength and activity of the immediate command of the chief. The policy of destruction was ingeniously applied to the disturbance of the American people, and as Gomez was far away, and kept the field with only scattered bands, each too small to attract the attention of the Spanish army, the telegrams dated at Havana, but wired from Key West to the American newspapers, placed the old General, whose consummate game was to be quiet, in the attitude of a perpetual thunderer at the gates of Havana. Maceo was a daring and brilliant chieftain, whose persevering stand west of Havana was the dread and shame of the Spaniards, and the trocha, designed to fence him away from the central provinces, was as ineffectual as the concentration of columns of Spanish regulars to surround the insurgents were inadequate to execute the commonplace plan of all the campaigns. Weyler was a typical Spanish chieftain. His strategy was in two parts, one to construct a line of fortified posts, string barbed wire from blockhouse to blockhouse, and provide a road for the exclusive use of the Spaniards. The other was to "surround" the enemy and crush him with converging columns! Against a man like Maceo this was futile, but it seemed necessary after some time that the insurgents west of Weyler's fence should cross it and agitate the province of Havana. In this movement, after demonstrating the failure of the Spanish military system, Maceo fell a victim to his habitually fierce impatience to seek the hot places in all the combats.

The answer of Weyler to the campaign of desolation by Gomez, was the

camps of concentration, the imprisonment and starvation of the peasantry. The burning of canefields, mills and plantation palaces by insurgents was answered by the annihilation of the villages. The killing of domestic animals by both sides followed, and there was famine. The young white men of Cuba who took the field failed fast through physical inability to endure the exposure and hardships of swampy camps, exhausting tramps and uncertain rations. The insurgents in the ranks were, therefore, in constantly increasing proportions black men. The people at large of Cuba perished rapidly, and whenever, if ever, there is a reliable census, the development will be shocking. During the last year of Weyler the insurgents gained no ground, and their fighting men, adhering in a vague way to military organization and enterprise, had little left of the dashing enthusiasm of their predecessors in the earlier conditions of warfare. There were manufactured at Key West, for American consumption, endless stories of "battles," many wholly fanciful, while others were stuffed with exaggerations until distorted into falsifications. The war would have dragged on to a weary length, for there seemed to be as slender ability to quit pretended fighting as to perform actions of serious war. The Spanish officers did not appear to have an interest in closing the war. There was still money of a passable sort to find and spend, and the feeding of Spanish troops was a business that kept up the garrison towns. Cubans were to a considerable extent inclined to look to the United States for their reward, and waited for intervention. Those most in evidence were personages of the "Government," as they styled a few committees whose professions that they were representatives of the people were of high temperature and intensity, but without corroborating testimony. The Cuban government was principally financial in its occupations, and toward the last their armies, with the exception of that of Garcia, were like the fever and ague in new countries—always in the next counties. The fifty thousand armed Cubans did not put in an appearance until after the Spanish surrendered, with the exception of the detachment that checked the Spanish re-enforcements going to aid in the defense of Santiago, until the battle of El Caney was fought and the city so beset that further fighting was fruitless. The Cubans did good service in this case, contributing largely and positively to the fall of Santiago. It was in that part of Cuba that rebellions always originated and that the insurgents were most stanch in sentiment and steady in the field.

There was a transformation scene in Cuba after the Protocol of Peace that was of profound political interest, full of dramatic situations, and rich with historic spectacles. The evacuation of the Cuban cities by the Spaniards was after all the tragedies of four centuries, a series of pictures worthy of the pens and pencils

of artists, on pages touched with the light of truth and within golden frames where ideals that inform rude fact with the glow of imagination, invest the commonplace with associations of immortality. Three years ago Morro Castle stood stained and scarred, grim and forbidding, frowning across the harbor at the white city of Havana, the Spanish colors, red and yellow, not drooping or faded, but flaunting over the weather-beaten walls; and Captain-General Weyler stood in a hall whose walls glittered with a hundred Captain-Generals gorgeous in uniforms designed to symbolize power with pomp, and, with iron jaw protruded, he was pleased to prefer in business hours a simple suit of black alpaca, a belt of Spanish colors two inches wide, his only distinction of dress disclosing authority—and there came into his presence the wives, children and friends of massacred neighbors, to plead without result for protection against assassins that called murder combat. Now the flags of the United States and Cuba float on palace and castle and soldiers of the United States stand guard in the streets, and there is liberty and peace, no political prisoners, the ceremonies of tyranny discarded, the custom-houses free of bribe-takers, the streets clean, the music in the parks the national airs of the American nation, the mighty overshadowing Republic of the North, a majestical and healing presence, the actual people of Cuba seeking to be American citizens, for as they look up to the Stars and Stripes they see and know and say it was under this shining sign the vampire clutch of Spain was loosened—that there came as if by the stroke of an enchanter's wand, peace and liberty; and one breathes American air, while dazzling starry eyes look from the skies of tropic blue upon dungeons empty of prisoners whose offense was a brave fondness for freedom.

One heroic figure arose from the Cuban confusion, and Maximo Gomez, no longer a destroyer, is vindicated as a constructive statesman. We find him, instead of the enemy of the armed Americans, the defenders of Cuba, the one man competent to guide and command the people he fought for to put aside the vain-glorious frenzy of the demagogues asserting themselves and following in Cuba the madness of the followers of the Tagalo tyrants in Luzon. Gomez, accepting America as a friend, asks them to prove themselves fit for friendship.

The first Cuban demonstrations after the close of the war were not encouraging to those responsible for order and engaged in works of pacification and restoration. It was natural that those of the native population of all colors and conditions, hasty to take the field of public observation, should be in part on the surface as agitators in the cities and re-enforced by the bands of guerrillas that found an occupation in ambushing the Spaniards and skirmishing with them, but

doing little for themselves. The novelty of appearing anywhere within reach of the cheap transportation of common walking, and going on parade as the gallant soldiers of an always invincible and at last victorious Republic, was powerful, and the grand army that had flourished in the speeches of warlike congressmen, and the lurid columns of leading newspapers, and the official reports of confiding enthusiasts bearing commissions as generals more or less in command, came out of the retiring places from which they had complacently carried on aggressive war by the attrition of inertia, and were ready to be rewarded for personal sacrifices of valuable time, and valor displayed in combats by telegraph. The fiction of a great Cuban army had been received as fact for some years, chiefly by the inquiry: What were two hundred thousand Spaniards doing in Cuba if they were not antagonized by an army at once vast and valorous? The contact of our army at Santiago with the Cuban soldiers should have produced a most favorable impression upon the Americans, whose experience made their evidence competent, especially for the reason that Garcia's forces were in all points superior to other armed Cubans alleged to be organized, yet the Santiago insurgents were a disappointment, and the enlisted men of our regiments, seeing in the Cuban soldiers the "cause of humanity" incarnate, were not as passionate humanitarians as they had been. Still, with the exception of the body guard of Gomez, with his best, and, apparently, only regiment, the bands under the direction of Garcia were the elite of the grand army, that in one of the well-planned campaigns, Major-General Miles commanding, put on official paper as an "auxiliary force" of fifty thousand men! However, the Cuban army, battling for the rising republic, was rapidly recruited when by force of American arms, assisted by the division of Garcia's troops that held up Escario's column of Spaniards, marching from Holguin by way of Bayamo, so that they did not get in until the evening of the memorable day, July 3d, after Cervera's fleet had departed from the busy scene of active service. The Cubans came out of the bushes in great shape, and were unanimous in the assertion of a great principle, which was that they would not disband until they had been paid by somebody, and, as the island was devastated and impoverished, and so far as possible in the regions the insurgents held ruined, and there had been afflictions of massacre, incendiarism, famine and pestilence; and as the United States had spent vast sums in ministrations of beneficence as well as in military and naval expeditions, and was unselfish in the intervention by force, it was logical to the minds of Cubans of the assembly that the armed legions rising fresh from the fertile soil when the soft footsteps of the angel messengers of peace signaled that all was well, should expect to gather a harvest of American

gold. There were found Cuban soldiers ready to go on the pay-rolls in great numbers, and they clung to the garrison towns, not as Gomez had "thundered" for twelve long months at the gates of Havana—distant four hundred miles from the waterworks—they actually arrived, entered into the strong places and reported for hard cash, putting themselves in evidence as the vanquishers of Spain. Not a shot was fired as they took possession, and then there were occasional hard rubs between the Spanish garrisons, about to retire because Spain had relinquished her rights, and the Cubans who enjoyed exceedingly the festival of peace. In Havana, General F. V. Greene occupied at the Hotel Ingletara the apartments that were the home of General Fitzhugh Lee when he wrestled with so much energy, courage and discretion with the Cuban-American citizens of Florida naturalization who had heaps of claims and a supply of grievances never quite adjusted to the satisfaction of anybody. Several Cuban gentlemen who had not done quite all that might have been expected from their antecedents when leading Cuban columns on the battlefields, populated chiefly by big coons and blacksnakes, found their way to Havana with an advance guard, and played star engagements before the curtains in the theaters, so that the proud Spanish heart was filled with wrath well nigh to bursting, and at last there was a sensational incident. General Greene heard firing in the park across the street in front of the hotel, and, stepping upon the marble balcony so often adorned with Spanish colors, the tower of Morro Castle visible on the left, the statue of the modern Isabella in the park presiding over the music stand, a strange and not unfamiliar spectacle was before his eyes. A Spanish skirmish line was advancing in good order and rapidly, firing in crossing the pavement, carrying everything before them, the spectators rushing to get out of the fire. In a moment the ring of the Mausers was heard under the projecting second story over the sidewalk of the house, and then the same ominous sounds and screams of wounded mingled on the stairs. The General threw open his door, and in a few steps met a squad of Cuban fugitives running to gain protection in his room. One was bleeding—all were justified in the keenest apprehension as they rushed quickly behind the General and through his door, availing themselves of such facilities of fortification as the furniture afforded. The Spaniards were close at hand, one officer with drawn sword, in the midst of a dozen men with rifles. The General was in full uniform and stood firmly holding up his right hand with a gesture of command, saying in Spanish, "Stand back. What do you want here?" "We want the Cubans." "You cannot have them. They are unarmed and under my protection." The Spanish officer recognized an American General, regained his self-possession,

saluted and ordered his men to retire, which they did promptly. It was the American uniform that had saved the Cubans, who had been celebrating the victories of the Grand Army of the Cuban Republic, not so wisely as too much. The time was not quite propitious for a Cuban carnival. There were many affairs of friction that struck fire, but presently under American influence there was a tolerable degree of forbearance on both sides—that is, between the Spaniards of the Island and those of the Peninsula. The actual government of the island would be about the same in the hands of these islanders as of the peninsulars. The true people of Cuba are not of either party, as we use the word, of Spaniards. It is possible that the Dominican origin of Maximo Gomez may have advantages unexpected. He was an absolute despot and incendiary during the war. His bulletins reduced boastfulness to a moderation not characteristic of other commanders on either side engaged in the field. He was a remarkably frequent and forcible letter-writer, but was not the author of the novelettes wired for American consumption as news. Gomez did order the burning of cane fields, under the force of a mistaken policy that corresponded, in some particulars—it being a strategic error for one thing—with the burning of cotton in the South during the War of our States, divided as National and Confederate. When we consider how slender the military resources of the Cuban Commander-in-Chief were, he made a brave show, and kept the field with surprising skill and unflinching courage and hopefulness. He was accused constantly by the Spaniards with having been bribed by Martinez Campos at the close of the ten years' war, but the ladies of his family, his wife and daughters, during his long absence as the military head of the Cuban rebellion, were self-supporting at their Dominican home as teachers and dressmakers. They are women of intelligence and education, and have the merit of honorable and uncomplaining poverty. His son, on the staff of Maceo, though wounded, chivalrously refused to leave the body of his fallen leader, and was chopped to death with machetes. It has been accepted as a true story that Maximo Gomez has been from his youth—a long time, as he has entered his seventy-fifth year—in favor of a West Indian Confederacy, hoping and believing the European possessions would not be difficult if the policy of relinquishment was persuasively and forcibly presented, but he thought the real obstacle to the accomplishment of comprehensive ambition was our country, and that, therefore, he was, in matters of state, our enemy. He has had a right to infer from the public official records and the public press that "We, the People of the United States," want Cuba, and to oppose us as the champion of leadership in the Confederate Independence of the Great Antilles. It does not become us to complain of his

WAIANAE COFFEE NURSERY, SHOWING YOUNG COFFEE PLANTS, IN OAHU, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

FAMOUS WALK BETWEEN THE ROYAL PALMS IN HONOLULU.

NUUANU VALLEY PASS AND PALI PEAK, 1,207 FEET HIGH, NEAR HONOLULU.

OSTON
UBLIC
LIBRARY

sentiments so long as they are respectful and not an expression of ingratitude and ill will. We had not anticipated, so ruthless has he been in war and relentless in his orders and proclamations and sanguinary and incendiary in his marches, that we were not prepared to find him in his dealings with us since the war ended, not the implacable warrior who used fire and sword, and by the ruin of plantations placing "the San Domingo brand" on the Cuban struggle, but a conservative citizen, whose ideas were those not of a bushwhacker but a statesman. We had expected him to be our most troublesome adversary, and find him our best friend, and with the light thrown upon his character, we are able to offer a satisfactory solution of the Cuban problem. There may be some mistake about it after all, but as the case stands it is a duty to give a verdict that he is an honest man. Being the military Commander-in-Chief of the Cuban insurgents, he has had experience of the fraud in the civil organization called the Cuban Republic, and does not countenance the struggles of those who have padded that government and stuffed the pretended army rolls with the names of alleged officers to raise money to support their pretensions. Those who find it consists with their duty to give helpful consideration to the fraudulency that has palpably discredited the Cuban cause, have made war upon General Gomez because he has been honorably just in his judicial attitude. He never served Cuba so well, no matter how high his military service may be rated, as in preventing the Cuban people and the people of the United States falling into irreconcilable controversy over impossible demands, for many millions from us on account of an army that came to the front powerfully with peace, though they were not in such array significant in war. The claims were largely based on padded pay-rolls, and it is fortunate for Cuba that the military leader whose only weakness was in his slender array of forces, does not enter into the scheme of paying off an army organized for revenue only. It is fortunate for the United States that the falsity that has damaged the standing of the Cuban people is repudiated by the man known to the world to have been the Commander-in-Chief of the men who fought for freedom, who proves his integrity by hardihood for the right, and opens the way for the Cuban people to aid the United States in the establishment of a stable Government, for there must be truth and honor to depend upon or the structure of authority will be on a foundation of sand and totter to a speedy fall.

The American forces in Cuba, since the Spaniards got in the way of getting out of the island, have been handled by military men who were intolerant of false pretenders and conducted affairs, great and small and of all kinds on straight lines. In Santiago a group of business men in the first days of resumption of ordinary

avocations, thought it well, as the same class of men did in Manila, to propose a complimentary "concession." The sum in Santiago tendered for special privileges was several thousand dollars, and abruptly refused, while the permission desired was granted at once on the ground that it was perfectly legitimate, requiring neither license nor fee. The difficulties have been with the class of Cubans who were loud and lavish in demands for American protection, on various excuses, a fabulous citizenship among others, before the war. These persistent persons were ready and more than willing to take charge of all the functions of government, and whenever they were not accepted at their own estimate they showed signs of feeling that they were wronged men and felt that bloodshed was necessary. There was one man not in a hurry to go into the midst of the commotion, who bided his time, was secluded in his camp, neither obtrusive for others nor importunate for himself. He was really an old soldier who had done enough to cause extensive differences of opinion as to his character, and his policy. His name was Maximo Gomez. It was the prevailing impression that he was a veteran revolutionist, and a man of positive ability, who would be the master mind among the mischief makers. It turns out that he has pursued a course that rallies to his support the people of Cuba who are capable of making the competency of Cubans to govern themselves evident, and that if the island is some day to be a responsible nation or an acceptable State in the great republic of States, he will be the architect of the good fortune of the people.

January 1st, 1899, at noon, the Spanish standard of gold and red descended the flagstaffs on the palace and Morro Castle, saluted by American guns. General Castellanos, the last of the Captain-Generals, then surrendered the island to the American commissioners of evacuation, General Wade and General Butler. The sovereignty of Cuba renounced, as the American flag flashed on high, there was a thundering roar from the fleet of the conquerors, and the band of the Sixteenth United States Infantry played "The Star Spangled Banner" in the Plaza de Armos, before the palace, near the Ceba tree that stands where its predecessor with like splendor stood, under which the first mass was celebrated in the island—at least a tradition says so—and near at hand, half a block down the street, is the wharf from which sailed the expeditions whose voyages are wonders of history—of Cortez, Pizarro and Hernando de Soto. The Cuban Junta had the accustomed intensity of anxieties to flourish on this occasion and the insurgent chiefs, after they had been for awhile in torment because they were not to be the chief actors that day, were consoled by invitations to attend the function at the palace. The master of ceremonies was General Clous, who issued instructions to the officers

who were to take charge of the various departments of the government. Colonel Dudley was assigned to the Department of Justice, office of the secretary of the Captain-General; Major L. W. V. Kennon, Adjutant-General of the Department, to the Department of Commerce and Agriculture; Colonel T. U. Bliss, of the Commissary Department, to the Treasury; Captain Frank B. Hanna, Assistant Adjutant-General, to the Department of Public Instruction, and Colonel Dunwoody, of the Signal Corps, to the Public Works Department. Each of these officers was instructed thus:

"On the firing of the last gun of the first twenty-one at noon, you are to go the place assigned you and demand possession of the office in the name of the United States."

These orders were given under the arcade of the palace.

On entering the palace the American generals went to the salon facing the plaza, which is on the second floor. It is a lofty chamber, decorated with mirrors of deep gilt frames, white satin draperies and the scarlet arms of Spain over each door and window. Here were gathered the members of the Captain-General's staff.

After shaking hands General Brooke sat upon a sofa, while General Castellanos moved toward the group of Cuban generals. British Vice-Consul Jerome introduced him to General Mayia Rodriguez. Shaking both the hands of the Cuban officer, in the usual Spanish fashion, General Castellanos said:

"We have been enemies, but I respect you for your correct attitudes and opinions. I have pleasure in shaking your hands."

General Rodriguez replied:

"I thank you, General. I feel sorrow for the Spanish army, which has defended the banner it was sworn to defend. I also have pleasure in shaking your hands."

The hour long waited, when the Spanish were to give up their greatest and last possession in America, was announced by the striking of twelve o'clock, and, pale-faced, with a broken voice, General Castellanos said:

"In accordance with the treaty of Paris, it devolves upon me to declare on behalf of my country and my king that from this moment Spanish sovereignty in Cuba is ended, and to deliver the island to the American commission of evacuation. I obey and respect the order which my country has laid it upon me to fulfill, and I declare most solemnly that I shall be the first one to render obedience

to the new government. I speak as well for my soldiers. I trust our future relations will be friendly and helpful. The consideration with which we treated the American army while it was our guest will, we hope, be given to us until the evacuation of the island is completed."

General Wade, the son of brave old Senator "Ben" Wade of Ohio, uttered two words, "I accept," and the command was turned over to General Brooke, who said:

"I accept this great trust in behalf of the Government and the President of the United States, and (addressing General Castellanos) I wish you and the gallant gentlemen with you a pleasant return to your native land. May prosperity attend you and all who are with you."

The Cubans who watched the Spanish flag come down are described as "a hysterical mob of men and women cheering and weeping." The Spaniards stripped the walls of the palace of their glittering paintings of Spanish uniforms for viceroys. In going out of the palace General Castellanos, said, losing composure:

"I have been in as many battles as there are hairs on my head, but these forces overcome me."

Eight regiments of American volunteers marched through the city, up the Piado, the route the Spanish regiments landed at Havana always took for their first parade on the fatal soil of Cuba. The Americans present at the surrender were Brooke, Wade, Butler, Ludlow, Chaffee, Davis, Clous and Humphreys, with Commodore Cromwell and Captains Cook, Sigsbee, Chester, Cowles, Eaton and Merry of the six warships in the bay.

General Lee, after riding at the head of the parade, appeared on the balcony of the palace, where a tedious series of Captain-Generals had been presented under their white-plumed hats, to hear the shouts of the populace, who made fair weather with rulers. The reception of General Lee was everywhere a hearty greeting. There were wild cheers always as he was recognized, and there was no figure more famous. During the last moments of the farewell of the Spaniards it is related a Spanish girl on a balcony of one of the houses along this street displayed a Spanish flag and cried, "Viva Espana, viva el Capitan-General." In an instant Castellanos and his staff were sobbing. It was an extraordinary scene. Their grief was respected, and a small throng of Spaniards at the wharf embraced them, with cries of "Long live Spain" and "Long live Castellanos." His staff officers tried to respond, but their emotions made their replies inaudible.

Just at this time an American flag was raised over the wreck of the Maine, close to the spot where the last footsteps of the Spanish authorities fell as they turned away from Cuba and boarded their boats! The incident has a pathos like that of "the last sigh of the Moor" when, at a turn of the road, he looked for the last time on the towers of Granada, surrendered to Ferdinand and Isabella, upon whom Christopher Columbus was waiting to obtain their help to find a new world, of which Cuba was the gem that remained longest in the crown of Spain. General Brooke, when the insurgent officers paid him their formal respects in a body, said:

"You know the circumstances in which American troops have come to your shores. Extraordinary efforts may be necessary on your part. I expect your fullest co-operation."

The official cable report runs:

"Havana, January 1.—To the President, Washington: The government formally surrendered by General Castellanos to American commission at 12 o'clock and by latter transferred to General Brooke. Ceremonies successfully carried out. The American flag flies from Morro Castle, Cabanas, the palace and other buildings City orderly.

"WADE, Chairman;
"CLOUS, Secretary."

The progress of the American troops through Cuba was attended with gratifying expressions of the kindly feelings of the people and their gratitude for value received. Mr. James Lacey, of the Second Illinois Volunteers, wrote of the journey by rail, 170 miles from Havana to Cienfuegos, beginning December 30th, that at all stops the soldiers received ovations. He wrote:

"Thousands of Cubans met us, threw flowers at us and gave us sweetmeats. In some instances the beautiful Cuban girls could not restrain their joy at seeing their benefactors and kissed the boys.

"At Matanzas the streets were thronged, the houses decorated and the citizens dressed in holiday attire, awaiting us. Around the cars when the engine came to a halt the residents crowded so near that it was almost impossible to disembark. When we did it was to meet a reception the like of which we had never experienced before.

"The Cuban girls gave us relics, cheered us until their throats were sore and then marched us to a hall, where a magnificent dinner was served. The boys were not allowed to spend a cent. In the cafes and cigar stores the waiters refused to take our money. Merchants stood on the pavements and invited the soldiers

inside to take anything their eyesight fancied. Of course, none of these generous invitations were accepted.

"During the stop at Matanzas some of the boys entertained the Cubans by giving an exhibition of an American cake walk. Frank Weaver, William J. Enderle, Peter Erickson and Corporal Peter Nelson, of Company G, led a grand parade through the principal streets, followed by 10,000 men, women and children. Bands were playing everywhere, the streets were strewn with flowers and from nearly every throat came the exultant cry of 'Vive Americano!'

"Our next stopping place was at Santa Clara, where our reception was no less enthusiastic than at Matanzas. From Santa Clara to this city the natives shouted 'welcome' to us from every quarter.

"The day following our arrival here the Spanish flags were hauled down from all public buildings and the Stars and Stripes run up. Major Dusenberry had charge of these formalities. After Old Glory had been placed on the custom-house the citizens went into a delirium of joy. Men hugged each other and the women kissed the soldiers until some of the latter complained of being tired."

There were 22,000 Spanish soldiers still in the province where this reception of American soldiers took place.

One of the first things that came in view after the military Spanish evacuated Cuba was the combination understanding reached by the Spanish civilians, whose home was in Cuba, and the Cubans. An article appeared in the Diairo de la Marina, the principal journal of Havana, and pro-Spanish, January 12, in which it "could not see much further need of American troops in Havana or Cuba." It said "the Spanish understand the Cuban leaders." The latter, it claimed, had demonstrated their ability to preserve order, as they had been in undisputed control of 96 per cent of the Cuban towns. The situation, it was argued, annihilated annexation. There was a good deal of this for a few days. The true intent was to make arrangements to minimize the American influences and provide for the substantial continuance of the old Spanish system.

Bishop Santander, the head of the Catholic church in Cuba since the resignation of the archbishop of Santiago, accepted the honorary presidency of the Spanish Association of Loyal Peninsulares, whose devotion to their mother country does not make them love Cuba less. The bishop's acceptance raised a storm of protest in the rank and file of the Cuban church, who believe the prelate should keep entirely out of politics. Through his secretary he declared that he would not take the oath of allegiance to the United States, saying:

"I have always believed that Cuba's interests were best fostered by Spanish rule," he told me, "and I see no reason why I should change my conviction." He

declined to talk about the financial status of the church or the plan it will adopt to support the clergy without state aid.

General Gomez made a speech at Carilia Rien, urging unity, and his order to keep the Cuban army under organized discipline to prevent the troops from scattering into brigandage was believed to have had much to do with bringing the Spanish element to look with favor upon free Cuba. Cuban soldiers were unpaid, poorly fed and dissatisfied, of course. If turned loose they would take to the woods and resume guerrilla warfare.

It does not seem to them or to their advisers that they had a possible resource in going to work and assisting to get in a sugar crop, compensating for the waste of fields with fire.

December 29th Gomez issued from his camp a proclamation advising the Cuban army against disbanding until the proceedings at Washington regarding the pay of the insurgent troops have been completed. It is dated December 29 and says:

"The moment has arrived to give a public explanation of my conduct and my purposes, which are always in accord with my sense of duty to the country I serve. The Americans, tacitly our allies, have terminated the war with Spain and signed a treaty of peace. But Cuba is not yet free or independent. Self-government is not yet constituted. For that reason we must dedicate ourselves to bringing about the disappearance of the cause for American intervention.

"But, above everything else, in the spirit of justice to the Cuban army, it is necessary that before the liberators of the people can dissolve, as a guaranty of order, that the debt which the country owes to its soldiers should be satisfied. Awaiting this result, I remain in my present position, always ready to help the Cubans finish the work to which I have dedicated my life."

During a masquerade at the Havana Club House on the night of January 20th in honor of the Cuban Assembly Major-General Ludlow, Military Governor of the Department of Havana, sent a staff officer to stop the discharge of fireworks in front of the clubhouse. The Cubans were at first disposed to be resentful, but, after some boisterous talk, gave up the display.

The Cubans of the sort of the alleged "Assembly" had from the first had the Junta characteristic of acute emotions about financial transactions. There was in January a muddle over the Spanish bank tax collection. The Cuban Assembly party were swift to ally themselves with Spaniards in sympathy as against Americans, but were stricken with horror regarding the Spanish Bank. There was some reason for agitation before the correct solution was reached, that the United States should have a fiscal system not transmitted from the Spaniards.

The privilege which the bank held from the Spanish Government of selling

stamped paper was not involved in the controversy, because under American control stamped paper was abolished. The tax collection had nothing to do with the legal proceedings which were commenced to test the responsibility of the Spanish bank for the billets or paper currency which was issued by direction of the Spanish Government during the insurrection. This action was foreseen, and when the issue was ordered the bank sought to protect itself from liability, and was thought to have done so successfully. Twenty million dollars of this money, called "writers' scrip," was known to have been issued, and a larger amount was suspected. Originally $3,000,000 in gold was held in the bank as a redemption fund. Afterward $6,000,000 in silver was substituted and 10 per cent of the customs duties was exacted in billets. This was said to have been canceled when paid in. During the blockade Blanco took all the silver reserve away from the bank. The billets reached a nominal quotation of 5 cents on a dollar. Speculators bought bushels of them, and they demanded that the bank be compelled to repay the alleged misappropriation of municipal and school funds during Weyler's time.

A dispatch from London February 2d says:

"A former captain of the Cuban army, Juan Fernandez, the London representative of General Maximo Gomez, issued, by order of the latter, to-day, previous to the receipt here of the Remedios dispatch showing the settlement of the Cuban difficulty, a long, bombastic statement purporting to explain the situation in Cuba. He said:

" 'The proffered $3,000,000 for the payment of the Cuban troops has been refused as totally inadequate to meet the expenses and losses of the troops, many of whom have lost all proofs that they are owners of property, which is now being monopolized by American capitalists and railroad magnates. Even twice the $6,000,000 demanded by General Gomez would not properly recoup the Cubans. We all respect President McKinley and the American Government, but we have no respect for the petty officials employed by the United States Government, who are exercising as bad tyranny toward the Cubans as did the Spaniards. This tyranny and lack of money is driving the Cubans headlong to rebellion. If the demands are not satisfied they will follow in the footsteps of the Filipinos and resist to the death the authority of the United States in Cuba. God knows how it will result, but carnage and the annihilation of the Cubans is inevitable. God forbid that it should come to that. I will even add "Vive la Republica de Americanos." '

"Fernandez recounts, in the course of his statement, as an example of the alleged tyranny of minor officials, the story of the alleged employment of himself by a United States naval attache in London to proceed to Spain on secret service

during the war. He relates the dangers he recounted and the success he achieved, and says that when he returned here the United States embassy refused to make him any further payments, although he was $250 out of pocket, above the traveling expenses given him. He further asserts that the United States Ambassador refused to see him, although he says he had a letter from the Department of State, in reply to his complaint, telling him to see the Ambassador."

How far the name of General Gomez was used without authority in this case the General alone can tell, but the sickening and bombastic style of Fernandez, willing to accept the money of the United States to pay for the fires kindled for Cuba Libre, making the fat land lean, is perceptible in every line.

President McKinley, after watching intently the course of the Cubans, whose conduct by the time the Spanish troops had left the island was threatening, while these demands were preposterous, sent Mr. Robert P. Porter to find Gomez and ascertain what his feeling was regarding the dissatisfaction among the Cubans which had developed dangers. In the last days of January the Special Commissioner met General Gomez at Remedios, Province of Santa Clara. When Mr. Porter arrived at the General's camp he was accompanied by Señor Gonzales Quesada, the special commissioner of the Cuban Junta at Washington; Captain Campbell of General Brooke's staff; Lieutenant Hanna of General Wood's staff, and a correspondent of the Associated Press.

General Gomez had gone to his camp this morning, but he returned accompanied by his staff and fifty horsemen on various kinds of mounts. They rode past the hotel where Mr. Porter was stopping, around the Plaza and to a side street to the Cuban headquarters. General Gomez was seen by Señor Quesada this afternoon, and after an hour's conference Mr. Porter, accompanied by Señor Quesada, Captain Campbell and Lieutenant Hanna, was received by General Gomez in his parlor, up one flight of stairs, and in the presence of his staff.

The old general wore no insignia of his rank. He was dressed in a linen coat and dark trousers, and had a silk handkerchief over his coat collar. He also wore a black tie, and showed a heavy silver watch and chain, with a silver cross attached to it.

The Cuban commander was cordial in greeting Mr. Porter and opened the interview by referring to the change for the better which had taken place in Cuba since he was last here in September. He also laid stress on the fact that some people were asking where was Cuba's promised liberty.

"The answer to this," said Mr. Porter, "is that Cuba now has commercial and industrial liberty, and that President McKinley has directed me in framing

the Cuban tariff to make no discriminations in favor of the United States in the manner that Spain favored herself. Cuba is free to-day to buy in the cheapest market. People are returning to the pursuits of peace, and our military government will give way to the civil government as fast as possible."

Mr. Porter also said that the purpose of the American Government was to lay a firm foundation for a stable government for Cuba, to give the Cubans all the liberty they had fought for, and that General Gomez must remember that, and more still. For instance, there were 25,000 or 30,000 Spanish soldiers at Cienfuegos who had not left Cuba; we had only been a month on the island, and President McKinley needed and was entitled to the co-operation of all interested in the welfare and future of Cuba, and he needed the co-operation of General Gomez above all others.

The first problem, Mr. Porter then pointed out, was the disbandment of the Cuban army and the return of the Cuban soldiers to work. This was the specific mission which had brought Mr. Porter to Remedios and in which President McKinley expected General Gomez' aid.

The Cuban Commander-in-Chief replied that he was ready and willing to give the aid required, but asked how he could do so.

To this Mr. Porter replied that President McKinley would be glad to have him go to Havana and co-operate with General Brooke in disbanding the Cubans and in paying over the $3,000,000 appropriated for that purpose.

General Gomez said the amount was too small, but that was not his fault, and he would make it go as far as possible, likening it to the miracle of the loaves and fishes.

"No man in history," said Mr. Porter, "has done so much with such small resources as you have done. Hence your co-operation with General Brooke will bring good results."

General Gomez especially requested the money, for which Mr. Porter had orders in his pocket, should be paid over to General Brooke and not to himself, as he did not want the personal responsibility of keeping it.

The Cuban general then assured Captain Campbell of his good feeling toward General Brooke, and the formal compact was presented by Mr. Porter and assented to by General Gomez. This compact was in these terms:

"1. The Cuban officers in each province shall assist the American officers in distributing the funds.

"2. These officers shall at once meet at some convenient point and devise when and where the settlements are to be made and arrange any other details.

"3. The sum paid to each man shall not be regarded as part payment of salary or wages due for service rendered, but to facilitate the disbandment of the army, as a relief of suffering and as an aid in getting the people to work.

"4. The Cubans shall surrender their arms to the Cuban Assembly or to its representatives.

"5. The committee on distribution shall use its best endeavors to distribute it among the population so that all may secure work.

"6. The $3,000,000 shall be placed subject to the order of General Brooke and action in the matter shall be immediate."

Mr. Porter declined to be interviewed February 1st except to say that he had received orders from President McKinley one week ago to-day to bring General Gomez and General Brooke together, and, having accomplished this, he was now returning home.

Immediately after conference General Gomez wrote the following letter to President McKinley in Spanish:

"Republic of Cuba, Headquarters of the Army, Remedios, February 1, 1899.—President McKinley, Washington: It has been a great pleasure to me to confer with your commissioner, Mr. Porter, introduced by my friend, Quesada, and I am now aware of and pleased with your wishes. In a short time I shall go to Havana and confer with General Brooke, so that everything will go well. Following your advice, I willingly co-operate in the work of reconstructing Cuba.

"MAXIMO GOMEZ, General."

A dispatch from Remedios, Santa Clara Province, February 2nd stated:

"General Maximo Gomez, Commander-in-Chief of the Cuban army, placed himself squarely in position to-day as an active ally of the United States Government in the work of the reconstruction of Cuba.

"As a result of the conference which Robert P. Porter, the special commissioner of President McKinley, has had with General Gomez, the latter cabled to President McKinley this afternoon assuring him of his co-operation in disbanding the Cuban army and in distributing among the Cuban soldiers the $3,000,000 appropriated for the purpose of enabling them to return to their homes. General Gomez also telegraphed to Major-General Brooke, saying he would accept the latter's invitation to go to Havana.

"The success of Mr. Porter's mission greatly simplifies the returning of the military Cubans to the pursuits of peace. In view of General Gomez' supposed attitude of hostility toward the United States Mr. Porter came here clothed with absolute authority, and the tender of the $3,000,000 was practically a verbal ultimatum.

"Mr. Porter made plain the purpose of the Government and was gratified

at the ready response of General Gomez. The conference took place at the house here occupied by the Cuban general as his headquarters since coming to town.

"Gomez at once began to prepare for his trip to Havana, and his attitude was more cordial than Mr. Porter expected. He told the latter he was proud to meet the special commissioner of the President, and he is evidently much gratified at the prospect of the early solution of the disbandment problem. The money will be sent on Commissioner Porter's order to General Brooke and will be paid out as called for by distribution through sub-committees of Cuban and American officers in the various provinces. As agreed upon at the conference, the entire amount will be paid in silver. Mr. Porter met General Wood on his return from Remedios, at Colon, and Wood was delighted to hear of the outcome of the conference. Cuban officers who boarded Mr. Porter's special car in the province of Santa Clara expressed their satisfaction at the attitude Gomez had taken.

"General Monteagudo, commander of the Cubans in Santa Clara province, who went on board the train, outlined a plan for policing Santa Clara with Cuban troops after the disbandment. He told Mr. Porter he had 3,000 men in the province now doing police duty and even guarding American supplies."

February 24th, nearly two months after the Spanish flags disappeared at Havana, General Gomez arrived at her doors—the beautiful suburb of Mariano being the gate. All the way from Matanzas his journey was a veritable triumphal procession. His train was the best that Cuba affords, the engine and cars being festooned with laurels and decorated with the Cuban coat of arms. The car in which Gomez and his staff rode is the one formerly placed at the disposal of the Spanish Governor-General. In it Weyler was wont to travel about the island as far as railroads went.

At Guines a battalion of American troops was drawn up under orders of General Douglass. Gomez answered their salute with much grace, but was soon compelled to pay attention to the Cubans. He stood on the rear platform of the train, where he was mobbed by women, young and old, who demanded the privilege of throwing their arms about the old chief's neck and kissing each of his cheeks. To this he submitted so willingly that the onlookers were compelled to believe that he liked it.

The train stopped only long enough to permit the party to take a light lunch. Between that village and Cienaga, just outside of Havana, half a dozen stops were made to give the people a chance to see their hero. At each stop Gomez appeared on the platform and made a short address, promising under Cuba libre full liberty and protection for all classes.

He declared the Cubans who carried the animosities of the war into civil life to be traitors to the country, and promised speedy punishment for outlawry

of any sort. He studiously avoided mentioning the United States or American troops.

At Cienaga several thousand had gathered, and as the train came into sight one long cry, "Viva Maximo Gomez!" went up, and for fifteen minutes that was all that could be heard. Again at this village hundreds of women boarded the train, and the old man was hugged and kissed by fair adorers.

At Buena Vista the train stopped long enough for Gomez and Lee to shake hands. As it started the American soldiers were cheering Gomez, while from the cars hundreds were shouting "vivas" for Lee.

As Gomez stepped from the train at Mariano he was pelted with roses and laurel wreaths until he cried for mercy. It required half an hour for the insurgent troops to extricate their chief from the crowd, which was mad with enthusiasm. Then he was escorted by the Cuban and American troops to the residence which had been prepared for him, and where he dined with General Lee. The procession which escorted Gomez to the hidalgo's house was made up as follows: The One Hundred and Sixty-first Indiana Regiment, Major Russell Harrison, Provost Marshal of the Province of Havana, a mounted detail, a company of Cuban cavalry, General Gomez in a carriage with General Mayia Rodriguez, members of the Cuban Military Assembly and other prominent Cubans in carriages, the Cuban generals and their staffs, a long line of Cuban cavalry and infantry, and finally a company of the First Maine Artillery.

General Gomez reached Havana February 24th, escorted by General Ludlow and his staff and Troop A of the Seventh United States Cavalry. He was at the head of 2,000 armed Cuban horsemen and footmen. The people of the city were wild with enthusiasm, throwing themselves in front of the General's horse, impeding its progress, and pelting him with flowers.

General Gomez arrived on the edge of the town from Marianao at 12:30 P. M., escorted by the Second Illinois band and three battalions. These battalions then returned to their camp and did not enter the city.

It was the fourth anniversary of beginning the successful insurrection.

At 12:30 o'clock in the afternoon General Gomez left Cerro, the suburb from which the march was to be made, with a procession in the following order of formation:

The band of the Seventh Regiment, mounted, playing the Cuban hymn and national airs; Company L of the Seventh United States Cavalry; the staff of General Gomez, with escort; General Mayia Rodriguez and staff, General Maximo Gomez, upon whose right was Major-General Ludlow; the members of Major-

General Ludlow's staff, then a great number of Cuban generals and officers, some mounted and some in carriages, and, finally, 2,000 Cuban cavalry and infantry.

As General Gomez passed the crowd went wild with vivas, hats were flung in the air and women showered flowers on all sides. He bowed and raised his hat incessantly as the crowds struggled to get near his horse and clung to the animal's sides as long as possible.

The procession stopped frequently, eventually filing into the main street of the city, passing Central park and arriving at the palace at 2:30 o'clock. The Prado and other avenues were lined with patriotic clubs, taking up various positions of vantage and then joining the procession as it passed on from the palace, from a balcony of which it was reviewed by General Gomez.

Once at the palace, the Cuban Commander-in-Chief was welcomed by Federico Mora, the Civil Governor; Mayor Perfecto Lacoste, the members of the city council, the Junta Patriotica, the members of the Assembly, the officials of all classes and numerous patriotic clubs. The palace was beautifully decorated, all previous efforts in the display of banners and bunting surpassed by the showing of silk embroidered standards and flags, hundreds of which were carried by Havana's daughters.

Following the procession were many private carriages, filled with women representing the best society, some allegorically dressed and others waving flags. The Cuban bands played the Cuban national hymn, varying this with "Dixie," "The Star-Spangled Banner," "The Stars and Stripes Forever," and popular American marches.

There were many allegorical floats expressing the friendship between Cuba and the United States. Two attracted particular attention, each drawn by three yoke of cattle. One represented the Cuba of yesterday, a woman standing with manacled hands—a broken wheelbarrow and other signs of desolation at her feet; the other, the Cuba of to-day, a woman under a palm, smiling and surrounded by evidences of prosperity. The contrast was very effective and everywhere applauded. There was one representative float in honor of the country of Gomez. Several figures dressed as North American Indians were conspicuous. No fewer than 25,000 people were in line, requiring three hours to pass a given point.

After the review at the palace General Gomez, accompanied by his staff, proceeded to El Vedado to visit Governor-General Brooke. In the evening he attended the charity ball at the Tacon theater, where the best Havana society was present. Boxes for the function sold at a high premium.

As the darkness approached the streets were still crowded, fireworks exploding

and the returning bands playing over and over again the national hymn. The theaters gave patriotic performances and there were fireworks and music in Central park.

A dispatch from Havana February 28th said:

"This afternoon the Prado and park were crowded with merrymakers, it being the last carnival Sunday. People wearing masks and throwing flour were everywhere. General Gomez, in a four-horse drag, with Miss Herrara seated on his right, drove up and down the Prado thrice and around the park, followed by crowds on foot and horseback, and was greeted with vivas and loud cheers. The drag was covered with bright-colored paper streamers, and the carnival license allowed the merrymakers to throw flour upon the General.

"The presence of General Gomez in Havana and his participation in the carnival demonstrations has increased the feeling and the open talk in favor of independence and of a brief continuance of the military occupation. Cuban opinion, however, is so inconsistent that not much importance can be attached to this.

"The banquet at the Tacon theater proved a brilliantly successful affair. Governor-General Brooke and Major-General Lee spoke. Cubans generally regard the occurrences at the function as the most promising auguries of Cuban independence since the peace protocol was signed. The theater was crowded to overflowing with spectators and more than 200 covers were laid for the banqueters. Besides the Governor-General and General Lee the company included Major-General Ludlow, General Chaffee, the Governor-General's chief of staff, the staffs of Generals Lee and Ludlow and other army and navy officers, together with many prominent citizens and Havana officials. General Andrade sat on the right of General Gomez and Mayor Lacoste on his left.

"The boxes were filled with people representing Havana's best society. As the American generals entered a trumpeter at the door blew once, whereupon a concealed band played the "Star Spangled Banner." When the Cuban commanders entered the trumpet was sounded twice and the band played the Cuban hymn. Among the speakers were Señor Pedro Llorento, Colonel Carlos Garcia, Cualberto Gomez and Dr. Lanuza, Secretary of the Department of Justice. The tendency of all the speeches was toward independence for Cuba, with eulogy of General Gomez and assertions that he must never more leave the island. The spectators called vociferously for a speech from Major-General Lee. His remarks and those of General Brooke were translated for the benefit of the Assembly by Señor Pablo Desvernines, Secretary of the Department of Finance.

"Both the American generals repeated former statements of the military administration, chiefly along the lines of assurance that the United States intended to establish a stable government in the island and then to deliver it to the Cubans themselves. These assurances were vociferously applauded.

"Colonel Garcia explained the disinterested position of American military officers in Cuba. General Gomez himself did not speak, owing to the hoarseness from which he was suffering. General Andrade expressed thanks on his behalf, adding in his name that the banquet had done much to bring the Cuban and American elements to a clear understanding and to define the position, work and aims of the United States military administration in Cuba. General Gomez withdrew from the theater about midnight, crowds in the street applauding him wildly as he emerged and following his carriage for blocks.

"General Gomez, much in need of rest, said to a friend: 'This popularity is killing me.'"

Of the scenes on the 24th of February in Havana a cable from that city ran as follows:

"Cuban patriotism is satisfied. The insurgent soldiers have marched through Havana streets bearing their arms, and General Gomez has been received with military honors by the American military commanders. Surrounded by them, he watched 2,500 of his soldiers defile in the Plaza of Arms past the palace.

"At the Cuban celebration expressions of good-will toward Americans were universal. The events of the day were creditable to the Cubans, and were also significant in the lack of resentment toward the Spanish classes. It was not a day of rejoicing for Spaniards, yet they could not fail to be gratified at the care taken to avoid wounding their susceptibilities.

"The fiestas were not solely in honor of Gomez, as this was the fourth anniversary of the beginning of the revolution, but Gomez was the hero. There could be no doubt of his popularity. It seemed to partake more of gratitude than of personal affection, but the acknowledgment of his leadership was universal. Some scenes were tropical in their emotional effusiveness. The climax was reached when Gomez arrived at the palace, and was received by General Ludlow and other American commanders.

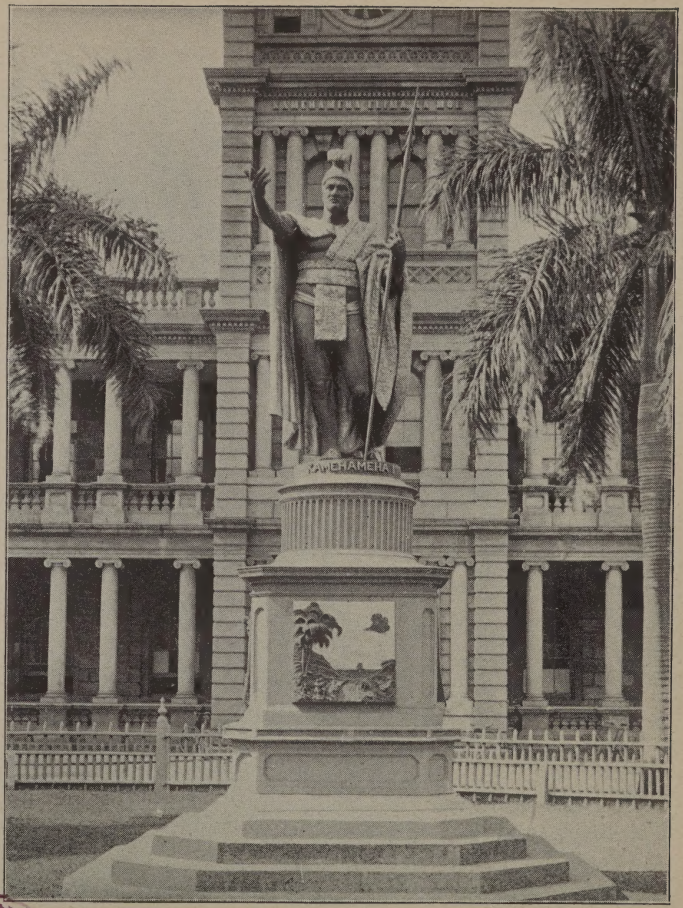
"The parade itself gave a good opportunity to judge of the sentiments of the people. The Americans remarked with satisfaction that the Stars and Stripes were seen everywhere. They floated over buildings along with the Cuban emblem, were interwoven in the triumphal arches, and among some of the patriotic and

TRAVELER'S TREE, HONOLULU. A PLANT CURIOSITY.

BANANA PLANT, HAWAII, SHOWING FRUIT ON TREE.

OSTON
UBLIC
BRARY

PRINCESS KAIULANI AT AINAHAU, HONOLULU.



STATUE OF KAMEHAMEHA I, HONOLULU.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

workingmen's societies appeared to be more numerous than the Cuban flags. When the band played 'The Hymn of Bayamo' the people were delirious, but they also went wild over 'The Star Spangled Banner' and 'Dixie.' Boys from an orphan asylum were paraded by an instructor, and at regular intervals cried 'Long live the Americans.' A banner carried by little girls bore the mottoes, 'Gratitude to the Americans' and 'Cuba for the Cubans.'

"Several Dominican flags were carried out of compliment to General Gomez. Three Cuban flags, soiled and torn, were carried by Cuban soldiers, and one, which was said to have been Maceo's, stirred the deepest emotions. The Cuban troops themselves received fewer evidences of popular feeling than might have been anticipated.

"The incident which attracted the most attention in the celebration was the blending of the American, Cuban, and Spanish flags. These three flags were surmounted by an emblematic banner, with the motto, 'Peace, Harmony and Union.' No unfriendly demonstration met this suggestion. It was received in respectful silence at some places, and at others was cheered. Spanish ribbons were also displayed, and one squad of men marching among the civilian societies was pointed out as composed of peninsulars, or Spaniards. Many of the banners bore titles such as 'Peace and Concord' and 'Now We Struggle for Peaceful Industry.'

"The celebration has left a pleasing impression. No disorder occurred, and the absence of rancor toward the Spanish classes is causing favorable comment. These, while quiet, are not as sullen as on January 1, when the American occupation began. They are pleased at the consideration shown to their feelings.

"The Spanish newspapers tell Gomez that they can not greet him as either victor or liberator because the Americans are the real conquerors and Cuba is not liberated, but they are grateful for his influence in establishing peace and concord, and promise their adhesion in helping him to get rid of the conquerors."

The fact that the President of the United States sent a special commissioner to meet Gomez and promise that his army should be fairly paid modified his views as to the Americans. As late as February 4th he authorized the publication of a letter that praised his soldiers and continued:

"It is wonderful that any are left alive after such a horrible struggle and pains. We warn you that we may not yet have finished the strange destiny that presents this last trial and humiliation. We are strangers in our own country, still wet with our blood.

"Forced guidance is hateful to us. It appears that the Americans are reimbursing themselves for their spontaneous intervention in our war for independ-

ence. Their delay in that intervention is still a shame upon them. The Americans, instead of aiding, are obstructing the establishment of a free and independent republic.

"This is our house. We are to live in it. We should furnish it to our own liking. I say to you there cannot be peace in Cuba while there lasts that transitory government, imposed by force, and which is hateful in the eyes of our people.

"I had hoped to bid farewell to Spain's heroic soldiers, inviting them to return and join us as brothers in upbuilding Cuba, but the Americans embittered the joy of conquerors by the guidance they impose upon us. Embittering us, they have also added grief to the conquered.

"In order to put an end to this abnormal and unjust situation every one of us must render his aid, tendering anew all his energies to his country, I, first of all, offer myself without restriction for the accomplishment of the great undertaking of the revolution—the erection of a republic in Cuba."

The Spaniards did not rejoice to see Gomez triumphant in Havana, for they believed the rebellion would, if it had not been for him, have been abandoned before American intervention happened. The most graphic account of the Cuban troops in the celebration in the capital is this by Dr. Charles Fisher:

"The insurgents were, perhaps, the most interesting characters in the parade. They were mostly negroes, though occasionally a fair sprinkling of lighter-faced Cubans was to be seen. They showed hard usage. Their garments were old, ragged, dirty and torn. Their guns were of most ancient style, most of them the discarded Springfields of our Civil War. Their feet were for the most part shoeless, their hats of the pattern made for the bush, a heavy braided straw, turned back over the head in front and coming down over the neck; they had almost no camp equipage, carried no commissary stores; their ponies were half-starved, undersized, equipped mostly with rope bridles and with all styles and ages of saddles, and but few of them shod, many only on one, two or three feet. Some of the insurgents were mere boys. Others were stalwart fellows who had seen many a guerrilla raid and skirmish with the Spanish. They looked like fighters, like men who would do as they were told if they died in the attempt. Their march was utterly without formation or step, their curiosity at the sights around them was unbounded. It was but a remnant of an army which had seen the hardest kind of service, the poorest kind of equipment, the meanest kind of subsistence and nothing whatever in the nature of army comforts or pay."

On the last day of February General Gomez visited the graves of General Antonio Maceo and of Lieutenant Gomez, the son of the Cuban commander, who

was killed at the time Maceo was drawn into an ambush and slain. The graves are situated at Punta Brava, twelve miles from Havana.

The Cubans have not, as a rule, been allowed by the Spaniards to do much business in Cuban cities. It has been Spanish policy to reserve the best things for themselves, but the Cuban organizers of their government, and their self-constituted Assembly have been mad to turn their situations into ready money. They wanted to borrow $40,000,000 to pay off the troops, and the transaction, if they could have raised the cash, would have been one of the most corrupt ever entered into through conspiracy. The wretched soldiers would not have gained riches out of the pool, but there would have been a Spanish festival of finance. The fact that General Gomez was not to be included in this deal, and he had been pleased to accept the well-considered and entirely reasonable offer of three million dollars from the United States, filled the fiery soul of the organized Cuban—prepared to mortgage the island to turn the Government over to themselves—with a horrible fury. Of course Gomez, in cutting down the impossible forty millions to three actual millions in hand, was and is discussed as a traitor, and so on through the vocabulary of denunciation inherited, along with other valuables, by the islands from the Peninsulars; and the Assembly, in one of the sessions in which pecuniary passions were torn to tatters, removed General Gomez from command—to such an extent as they had power, but they have little of it in contrast with and opposed to the gigantic prestige of Gomez, who philosophically said he "enjoyed the situation." Whether the Cuban Assembly can prevent the payment of the real Cuban troops is the question. There has been a rush of Americans to the island with capital, and this movement, enormously advantageous to Cuba, will wither like a green thing cut down if the island is to be governed in the Junta and Assembly style. The coveted concessions, if the American rule is to be continued, will be wanted, but unless it is assumed Americans are to rule the land until the "stable government" of Cuba is realized there will be no capital to invest. The President of the United States has marked out a plain way for the establishment of Cuban order and liberty, and the full expression when that is possible of a free people to determine the form of government, its powers and limitations will be respected. However, there must be a people, not a Junta, for a faction—a Government founded on solid public opinion wrought into law, not a group of self-constituted law-givers and providers of bonds to be handled on large margins by financiers just now, to be redeemed after awhile, if at all, by the industry of those not yet consulted. It is not a matter of capricious will

to put an end to this "feenance," but of definite duty to perform an obligation to the people by one trusted by them.

That Maximo Gomez is, since the death of Maceo and Garcia, the hero of the Cuban war with Spain, and that the people of the island know it and hold him in esteem beyond all others is the most important fact in the present Cuban situation. It is a happy circumstance that the military chieftain who in the Cuban story is first and has no second, under the most trying circumstances shows qualities not discovered in any other man of his race and generation. He received with dignity and serenity becoming a sure position, in his convictions and determination of conduct, the information that the Assembly had attempted to degrade him, and placed himself in the letter following on an elevation unattainable by those who sought in vain to cover their futile iniquities with his glory. The old general issued the following manifesto to the country and the army:

"Using its extraordinary powers, the Assembly of Representatives, which represents the army, not the people, has deposed me from my rank of Commander-in-Chief of the Cuban army, a place to which I was appointed by the revolution, and in which I always did my duty.

"The Assembly considers it a breach of discipline and as showing lack of respect that I should refuse to support its efforts to raise loans and enlarge the debt of the country. I think that the great financial and political interests of Cuba would be compromised by such loans.

"The country ought to begin to exercise its sovereignty in the new republic inspired by the concord proclaimed in the manifesto issued at Monte Cristo, free from all financial burdens, and with its national honor safe. Because I think so the Assembly has deposed me.

"I thank the Assembly, because it frees me of great duties. Now I can withdraw to my home, which I abandoned, this being my only ambition after a thirty years' struggle for the good of this country I love so much.

"Foreigner I am, but I did not come hired or with mercenary purposes to defend Cuba. After Spain withdrew I sheathed my sword because my mission was ended. You owe me nothing. I withdraw satisfied that I did all I could for my brothers, and wherever it is my fate to plant my tent, Cubans will have a friend."

This is a noble letter. It has the merit of striking the mark with precision and crushing force. The Cuban Assembly, in assailing Gomez, represented the war government of debt makers, whose sole policy is to snatch customs revenues and put out bonds, helping themselves and associates to load the island with

a debt, five-sixths without value received, and thus put fetters upon the industry of the people and work up a system of profligate financiering for the benefit of the few against the many. The people of Cuba are with Gomez. The popular demonstrations in his favor as against the Assembly in Havana were overwhelming, and those who would place the liberated people again in bondage to a Junta Assembly are powerless, while the old hero of the war, still leading in a righteous cause, is again a conqueror.

CHAPTER II.

THE ISLAND OF CUBA.

Official Information About the Island That Is of the Greatest Importance to Public Intelligence—Some Historical Facts—The Insurrections and Rebellions That Have Prevented the Development of the Island's Resources—The Military and Civil Governments—Climate, Soil and Productions—Sanitary Conditions and Prevailing Diseases—Abundance of Pestiferous Insects—Extensive Mineral Resources—Island Abounds in Valuable Woods—Classification of the Inhabitants.

The military notes on Cuba issued from the office of the Adjutant-General of the Army of the United States, published in June, 1898, though containing a great deal of important information, were found imperfect and have been carefully enlarged and perfected. The intention of the compilers and producers of the book is that it shall be used in connection with the Official Atlas of Cuba. This work is an example of the thoroughness of the Adjutant-General's office that would be held in high esteem even by the painstaking Germans, who make preparation for war the most serious business of the country.

In proportion as our army is small, compared to its duties, is the necessity that the material shall be of the best and that there shall be minute and intimate knowledge of countries where our armies may be required by the national honor and the material necessities of the powers that are influential on the earth. We quote liberally from the historical introduction of the matter that is military in character:

"The Island of Cuba was discovered October 28, 1492, by Christopher Columbus, who took possession of it in the name of Spain. The first attempt at a permanent settlement was made in 1511 by Don Diego Columbus, a son of Christopher Columbus, and Diego Velasquez, who landed at Baracoa with 300 men. The first settlement, at Santiago de Cuba, was made in 1514, and the following year a settlement was made at Trinidad.

"The island was first called Juana, then Fernandina, and later Ave Maria. It received its present name from the natives of the island, whom Columbus described as a peaceful, contented, and progressive race. Habana was founded

on its present site in 1519. It was totally destroyed in 1538 by French privateers, but was immediately rebuilt. The capital of the island was located at Santiago de Cuba until 1550, when it was moved to the city of Habana. The first governor of the island was Fernando de Soto, afterwards famous as an explorer. In 1554 the city of Habana was again destroyed by the French.

"The early settlers devoted themselves principally to raising cattle, but in 1580 the cultivation of tobacco and sugar cane was commenced, and this led to the introduction of negro slavery.

"During the seventeenth century the island was kept in a state of perpetual fear of invasions by the French, Dutch, English, and the pirates who infested the seas.

"In 1762 the English, under Lord Albemarle, attacked the city of Habana, and on August 14, after a siege of two months, the city and island capitulated. By the treaty of Paris, February, 1763, Cuba was returned to Spain.

"In 1790 Las Casas was appointed Captain-General, and during his régime the island passed through an epoch of prosperity and advancement. He inaugurated a system of public improvements, built macadamized roads, laid out parks, erected many public buildings, and constructed fortifications, many of which are standing to-day.

"In 1796 the Count of Santa Clara succeeded Las Casas, and he also took a great interest in the welfare of Cuba.

"A royal decree was issued in 1825 giving the Captain-General of Cuba absolute control, making him subject only to the reigning power of Spain. The consequence has been that since that time Cuba has been ruled by a succession of autocrats, sent from the Peninsula, with no interest whatever in the welfare of the island or its people, save to raise a revenue for the crown greater than that of his predecessor, pay the expenses of his régime, enrich his own purse, and then return to Spain to be the envy of the grandees.

"During the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth century a number of insurrections and revolts were instituted, but were successfully put down by the Spaniards. The most important of these occurred in 1827-29, when Cuban refugees in Mexico and the United States planned an invasion of Cuba. They organized throughout Mexico, the United States, and Colombia branches of a secret society known as the "Black Eagle." On account of the anti-slavery sentiment, which was beginning to show itself in these countries, the scheme proved a failure.

"A more serious insurrection occurred in 1844, when the slaves on the sugar

plantations, especially in the Province of Matanzas, revolted. They were finally subdued, and over 1,300 persons convicted and punished.

"President Polk made a proposition in 1848 for the purchase of the island by this Government for $100,000,000, but the proposition was withdrawn on account of the anti-slavery sentiment of the North and West.

"In 1854 preparation was made in Cuba and the United States for another attempt at insurrection, but before the plans of the revolutionists were fully matured the leaders were betrayed, arrested, and executed.

"During the next fourteen years the island enjoyed a period of comparative quiet and prosperity.

"In 1868 a revolution broke out in Spain, and in October the natives of Cuba took up arms and declared their independence. During this period many of the nations of the Western Hemisphere recognized the Cubans as belligerents. Spain did not succeed in putting down this rebellion until 1878.

"About this time Spain was engaged in wars with Morocco, Chili, Mexico, Peru, and Cochin China, and for the purpose of keeping up these wars Cuba was called on to furnish the larger portion of the means. Revenues were raised, and the poor Cubans taxed to the utmost, each paying from three to six dollars per capita. At one time the Cuban debt reached nearly a billion and a quarter of dollars, and for the past twenty years the island has been paying an annual revenue to the Crown of from $25,000,000 to $40,000,000. It was during this war that the American ship Virginius was captured by the Spaniards, her cargo confiscated, and many of her passengers executed as revolutionists. This act nearly brought on a war between Spain and the United States.

"In 1880 slavery was totally abolished in the island.

"During the latter part of the year 1894 another revolution broke out on the island. At first the Spaniards considered it nothing more serious than a riot, but they soon found the revolution to be general throughout the island and backed by the most influential of its citizens. It was a down-trodden people fighting for independence.

"On February 15, 1898, the United States battleship Maine was blown up in the harbor of Habana.

"So much sympathy had been shown by the citizens of this country for the Cubans and their cause that the Administration soon took a decisive step in the matter. By an Act of Congress, approved April 25, 1898, it was declared that war did exist, and had existed since April 21, 1898, between the United States and the Kingdom of Spain, whereupon the President, in a proclamation dated April

26, 1898, declared and proclaimed the existence of war. After an unprecedented campaign by the United States, Spain asked for terms of peace, and on August 12 an agreement was signed by representatives of the two countries for a suspension of hostilities, and a committee appointed from each country to arrange the terms of peace.

"Cuba is larger than all the rest of the Antilles put together. Its length, following a curved line through its center, is 730 miles, and its average breadth is 80 miles. Its area is 43,319 square miles. It is irregular, shaped somewhat like a half moon, long and narrow, extending from east to west, its convex part facing the north. It has a coast line of about 2,200 miles, or, including all indentations, nearly 7,000 miles.

"It lies between 74° and 85° west longitude and 19° and 23° north latitude. It is situated at the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico and divides that entrance into two passages, that to the northwest being 130 English miles wide at the narrowest part, between the points of Ycacos, in Cuba, and Sable, on the Florida coast, and the southwest passage of nearly the same width, between the Cabo de San Antonio of Cuba, and the Cabo de Catoche, on the most salient extremity of the Peninsula of Yucatan. It is bounded on the north by the Florida, Ocampo, and Old Bahama channels; on the east by the Strait of Maisi; on the south by the Strait of Colon and the sea of the Antilles; and on the west by the Strait of Yucatan. The neighboring countries are: On the north, Florida, 100 miles distant; on the east, Haiti or San Domingo, 48 miles distant; on the south, Jamaica, 87 miles distant, and on the west, the Peninsula of Yucatan, 124 miles distant.

"Cuba and her adjacent islands are of the utmost strategic importance. Situated as the islands are, where the Caribbean Sea and Gulf of Mexico join, they are the keys which control that vast body of water between the two Americas. And when the great canal of Nicaragua is completed, the occupancy and possession of Cuba will not only give us the control of the western Atlantic, but make us sovereigns over the eastern Pacific, as far as situation is concerned.

"In case of war, during the invasion of our country by a foreign foe, our control of these islands would become almost a necessity for the protection of our southern coast.

"The extent of the Cuban coast line, its numerous harbors, and the many directions from which it can be approached, are especially advantageous, for they convey power. They decrease the danger of a total blockade, to which all islands are subject, to a minimum.

"Regarded as a naval base, Cuba renders itself self-supporting by its own

products, and by the accumulation of foreign imports. Its peculiar shape is such that supplies can be conveyed from one point to another according to the needs of the fleet, on short notice, and its many magnificent bays and harbors could be used as a refuge for vessels where they could make repairs, obtain supplies, and concentrate their forces, safe from the scrutinizing gaze of the enemy, and at the same time protect the American ports along the gulf. On account of the close proximity of the island to the United States, its possession by a foreign power would be advantageous to its fleet in sustaining a blockade of our southern coast. On the other hand, our possession of the island would render such a blockade very difficult.

"The island being situated midway between North and South America, and being within easy sailing distance of the most important Atlantic ports of both Europe and America, as shown by the table of distances given below, makes it a good rendezvous for the mobilization of our naval forces, should it ever become necessary to establish a patrol of the Atlantic.

TABLE OF DISTANCES FROM HABANA.

	Miles.
Key West	100
New Orleans	690
Mobile	640
Tampa	350
Savannah	613
Charleston	662
Philadelphia	1,137
New York	1,215
Boston	1,348
Quebec	2,421
Vera Cruz	809
Rio de Janeiro	3,536
Buenos Ayres	4,653
Montevideo	4,553
Port of Spain	1,521
Bermuda	1,150
Gibraltar	4,030
Plymouth (Eng.)	3,702

"Cuba has enjoyed representation in the Spanish Cortes since the passage of the act of January 9, 1879. The Province of Habana sends three senators to Madrid, and each of the other five provinces two. The archbishopric of Santiago sends one, the University of Habana sends one, and the Society of the Friends of the Country one. Thirty deputies, allotted according to population, are sent to the House of Deputies. These are elected by popular ballot, in the ratio of one

representative for every 50,000 inhabitants. It is said that out of 30 deputies elected in 1896, 26 were natives of Spain, and therefore the natives were in a hopeless minority, worse than the Irish members in the British Parliament. The divisions of provinces and their parliamentary representation are regulated by the decree of June 9, 1878.

"The military government has at its head a captain-general (ipso facto governor-general) with a Spanish army of 13,000 troops, paid out of the Cuban budget.

"The captain-general is appointed by the Crown, usually for three or five years, with rank of lieutenant-general and full title of governor and captain-general. He is the supreme head of the civil, ecclesiastical, military, and naval organizations in the island. He has a council of administration of 30 members, 15 appointed by the Crown and 15 elected by the provinces, according to population. These elections, however, are so controlled as to give the Spanish Government a safe majority of 25 to 5. To make this majority still more safe, the governor-general may suspend from one to fourteen at will, or all upon consulting a peculiar body called the "Council of Authorities." The members of this council serve without pay. Its duties are to prepare the budget and pass resolutions (quasi acts) on all necessary public matters. If the governor-general likes these resolutions he gives effect to them.

"The council of authorities is composed of the archbishop of Santiago (when present), the bishop of Habana, the commanding officers of the army and navy, the chief justice of the Supreme Court of Habana, the attorney-general, the head of the department of finance, and the director of the local administration. The heads of executive departments are not members of this council, but the heads of departments are. They do not hold regular sessions, but are called together as occasion may require, but their conclusions have no binding effect.

"The administration in each province is conducted by a governor, appointed by the Crown, who is an officer of the army of the rank of major-general or brigadier-general, and is directly responsible to the governor-general. There is also in each province an elective assembly of not less than twelve nor more than twenty members, according to population. They are elected for four years, and one-half the number are replaced every second year. The elections are held in the first half of September, and sessions twice a year. On meeting, the first business is to ballot for three candidates, from which list the captain-general appoints one as speaker. He may, however, disregard the names presented and appoint any other member. Moreover, the governor of the province may, at his pleasure, preside and vote; and

if, in his judgment, the public interest demands it, he may prorogue the assembly and report his action to the governor-general. The latter has the authority to suspend any of the provincial assemblies and report the fact to the Government at Madrid.

"The provincial governor nominates five members of the assembly, to be appointed by the governor-general as a local council or cabinet. As, however, the powers and duties of the provincial governments are only equal to those of county boards in the United States, it is easily seen that the home rule accorded to Cuba has its limits.

"City governments are formed on the same general plan as the provincial. The board of aldermen may consist of any number, from five to thirty inclusive, according to population. They elect one of their number as mayor, but the governor-general may substitute any other member.

"The judicial system of Cuba includes two superior courts (audiencias), one sitting at Puerto Principe, for the two eastern provinces, and the other at Habana for the four western provinces. Inferior to these is a network of judicial districts and local magistracies. The judicial system is less important, because under the decree of June 9, 1878, the governor-general has authority to overrule any decision of any court, and even to suspend any law or order emanating from the Government at Madrid.

"Cuba is generally low and swampy along its coast. Especially is this true of the southern coast, while the interior of the island is high table-land.

"There are many mountain ranges in the interior, some reaching an elevation of over 6,000 feet above sea level. There are also a few ranges close to the coast in the provinces of Santiago de Cuba and Pinar del Rio. While the mountain ranges as a rule run east and west, there are numerous short spurs at either extremity of the island which take a northeasterly and southwesterly direction, and a few run north and south. There are no known volcanoes in Cuba or in the Isle of Pines.

"The various ranges will be described under the provinces in which they are located.

"On account of the peculiar shape of the island, being long and narrow, with its highlands in the interior, nearly all of the rivers flow to the north or south, and are therefore necessarily short. The majority of them are mere streams and creeks, rising in the mountains of the interior, and emptying into the sea on the north or south coast. There are few navigable rivers, and these for but a short distance from their mouths, and only for small coasters and canoes. The longest

and most important river of Cuba is the Cauto, in the province of Santiago de Cuba.

"In the interior there are many pretty lakes and bayous, and, while some of them are very picturesque, like the rivers, they are of little importance commercially. Many of these lakes and bayous are salt-water bodies.

"Situated within and near the border of the northern tropical zone, the climate of the low coast lands of Cuba is that of the torrid zone, but the higher interior of the island enjoys a more temperate atmosphere. As in other lands on the border of the tropics, the year is divided between a hot, wet season, corresponding to the northern declination of the sun, and a cool, dry period. From May to October is called the wet season, though rain falls in every month of the year. With May spring begins, rain and thunder are of almost daily occurrence, and the temperature rises high, with little variation. The period from November to April is called the dry season. For seven years the mean annual rainfall at Habana in the wet season has been observed to be 27.8 inches, and of the dry months 12.7, or 40.4 inches for the year. The eastern part of the island receives more rain than the western. There are seldom over twenty rainy days in any one month, the average being from eight to ten. The rainfall is generally in the afternoon, and on an average there are only seventeen days in the year in which it rains in both forenoon and afternoon. At Habana, in the warmest months, those of July and August, the average temperature is 82° F., the maximum being 88° and the minimum 76°; in the cooler months, December and January, the thermometer averages 72°, the maximum being 78° and the minimum 58°. The average temperature of the year at Habana, on a mean of seven years, is 77°; but in the interior, at elevations of over 300 feet above the sea, the thermometer occasionally falls to the freezing point in winter. Hoar frost is not uncommon, and during north winds thin ice may form, though snow is unknown in any part of the island. It hails frequently. The prevailing wind is the easterly trade breeze, but from November to February cool north winds, rarely lasting more than forty-eight hours, are experienced in the western portion of the island, by which is added a third seasonal change. From 10 to 12 o'clock are the hottest hours of the day; after noon a refreshing breeze sets in from the sea. Hurricanes may occur from August to October, but sometimes five or six years pass without such a storm.

"The following table shows the meteorological conditions at Habana:

Months.	Temperature.	Humidity.	Rainy days.	Rainfall.	Condition of sky.	
					Cloudy days.	Clear days.
	° F.	Per cent.		Inches.		
January	71	82	8	2.5	5	26
February	74	84	7	2.1	8	20
March	74	82.8	6	2.4	7	24
April	76	82.4	4	1.2	5	25
May	78	85.4	8	3.6	8	23
June	81	85	10	5.1	6	24
July	82	87.6	12	5.6	6	25
August	82	88.2	12	4.8	6	25
September	80	88.2	14	6	7	23
October	79	85.2	9	3.2	7	24
November	75	86.2	8	3.3	8	22
December	73	84.8	6	1.2	7	24
Means or totals	77	85.15	104	41.0	80	285

"The worst place for foreigners on their arrival in Cuba is the coast, and the important cities are generally located along the worst part of the coast. It is better to arrive in a cool season, and even then the heat will necessitate the changing of all woolen garments for those of linen or cotton. The sickly or indolent appearance of the whites of the country is soon acquired, activity and spirits diminish, the body becomes heavy, and the skin becomes covered with abundant perspiration, due to anæmia, all of which shows that the person is becoming acclimated. This period will not usually exceed a year, during which time one should guard against any excess of work or pleasure, late evenings, bodily or mental fatigue, exposure to the sun, or rapid cooling off, or any cause that might produce illness. Exposure to the sun in an unhealthy country may bring on fever, which generally assumes the character of yellow fever; sudden cooling off is also the cause of many diseases. When the skin is covered with perspiration it should not be exposed to a draft of cold air, nor should clothes saturated with water or perspiration be left on, but should be changed, if possible, the body being first wiped dry and rubbed with cane brandy or rum.

"Exercise on foot, horseback, or in a carriage is necessary for one who is visiting this land for the first time, but only in the morning and evening; washing and bathing are also very good, first in tempered and after a few days in cold water; baths should not be taken after hard work, and the best time is the morning or at noon, after the body has been at rest.

"While ready perspiration is one of the essentials to the preservation of health, danger also lurks in it, for when in such a condition, a few moments in the shade, exposed to a breeze, will bring on a cold more quickly here than in any other place outside the tropics. If it is noticed that the perspiration is stopping on a warm day, a physician should be consulted immediately, and also in the case of giddiness, headache, etc.

"Cotton garments are much better than those of linen, for they absorb less perspiration and render the skin less susceptible to chills. The soldiers of the French and English armies in the Antilles use flannel waistcoats to guard the body as much as possible, and prevent evaporation, by keeping it always at an even temperature; this article of clothing is very suitable for those who are predisposed to chest ailments.

"The best field outfit is a light-weight poncho of such proportions that it can be used for an external blanket, or, when spread over a hammock, forms a protection from dew at night. This hammock cover should be a very light blanket, preferably of some other material than woolen, in order to discourage vermin.

"As to food, the visitor should neither imitate the sober habits of the Creole, nor continue the diet observed at home, but he should adopt a medium, and use wholesome and nutritious meats, and the salt and fresh water fish that abound in these regions. He should not disdain the vegetables and plants which the Creoles do not like. It is also well to use certain condiments, such as pepper, cloves, allspice, cinnamon, and others that heighten and flavor food and aid digestion; though used, they should not be abused. The moderate use of certain tropical fruits to which northerners are accustomed, such as oranges, lemons, limes, and pineapples, is advantageous without question, but there are hosts of others, mostly of a soft, squashy nature, and a sweet, sickish taste, such as the mango, sapote, alligator pear, etc., that it is wise to avoid. The combination of alcohol with them is almost deadly, and here, on its native heath, it is well to let the banana alone.

"Persons from the north are always anxious to taste Cassava bread. It is wise, therefore, to warn those not fully acquainted with the poisonous character of the root from which it is made not to try experiments in this direction unless satisfied that the product is made by some loyal Cuban who is familiar with the substance that is being dealt with.

"Excess in eating and drinking should be avoided, as it produces intestinal disorders which result in grave diseases. The slow and continuous use of alcohol causes a marked deterioration in the constitution, being one of the greatest

obstacles to acclimatization; it diminishes the appetite and retards acclimatization. However, a little rum mixed with water is a stimulating and wholesome drink, especially on hot days. Soft drinks and lemonade are not good, as they cause a kind of plethora which turns into diarrhœa. Fruits produce the same effect, and it is necessary to be careful of the least indisposition which tends toward diarrhœa.

"In Cuba the slightest wounds on the legs or feet quickly ulcerate. A scratch, which might be cured by two or three days' rest, turns into an ulcer from continual marching and friction, and a soldier is soon unfitted for service.

"The following suggestions regarding health will be found useful:

"Never start out early in the morning without having taken at least a cup of coffee, but do not eat heartily at that time.

"Breakfast should be taken before the troops are called upon for marching, work, or exercise of any kind. Meals should be taken at regular hours, and should be warm. No raw food of any kind should ever be eaten. Hot coffee and a biscuit should be eaten by each man before going on guard at night.

"Only boiled water should be used for drinking; if one must march during the day, he should fill his canteen with coffee or tea before starting out; this will insure the water having been boiled. No intoxicating liquor of any kind should be drunk. Drink cocoanut milk in preference to anything else.

"Do the hardest work of the day between 6 and 11 in the morning, then eat breakfast, take a siesta, and remain quiet until 3 P. M. Avoid the midday sun as much as possible, but if exposed to it, be careful in cooling off. All marching should, if possible, be avoided during the heat of the day.

"Dress lightly, avoiding woolen, medical statements to the contrary notwithstanding. Protect the legs, preferably with canvas leggings.

"Always examine your bed and blankets before retiring. If possible, bedding should be aired daily.

"Always have quinine and antiseptics with you. The former should be taken every morning before breakfast.

"Men should not be allowed to sleep on the ground, if it can possibly be avoided; a hammock should be used, on which a poncho should be placed beneath the other bedding.

"If occupying a house, the windows and doors should be closed at dusk.

"Avoid getting wet, and change wet clothes as soon as possible; never put on damp clothing. Alternate with two suits of underclothing, allowing the undersuit worn one day to hang and dry during the next.

VIEW OF THE BUGASONG RIVER, IN THE PHILIPPINES, NOTED FOR ITS AURIFEROUS SAND.

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A BATHING PLACE IN THE FALLS OF THE ULIAN Y TAGBACAN RIVER, IN THE PHILIPPINES.

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"Straw hats should be worn during the day, but at night the men should wear some sort of cap which they can keep on their heads while sleeping.

"When in camp all refuse from the kitchen should be burned; latrines should be inspected daily, and disinfected as far as possible.

"The gravest as well as the most common of the diseases in Cuba are the following:

"Yellow fever, diarrhœa, dysentery, and paludism (swamp or malarial fever), to which must be added liver complaints, which often accompany them, and diseases produced by certain insects and worms. Traumatic and infantile tetanus, convulsions, intermittent fevers, smallpox, and phthisis are frequent, as well as cardiac affections. Cases of pneumonia, strangles, and hydrophobia are rare.

"Every foreigner, upon arriving in Cuba, should observe a severe régime in his manner of living until he has become acclimated. He must impoverish his blood to an extent which in other climates might cripple his health, but rich blood, so enviable in northern countries, is injurious in Cuba. He will inevitably have to suffer the "vomito" or acclimating fever; in order to prevent this from turning into yellow fever (vomito negro), he must purge himself thoroughly upon his arrival, preferring for the purpose acid purgatives. He must drink no coffee or alcoholic drinks. At his meals, which ought to be as plain as possible, he should drink water mixed with a little wine. Orangeade or lemonade are very good if taken before breakfast or between meals, but they are very injurious if taken during the process of digestion. He should bathe frequently in lukewarm water; cold water may be more agreeable, but it is very injurious.

"Fear and apprehension are fatal to this disease. One should remember that, if hygiene be observed, "the vomito" is not always dangerous, and that many have passed through it without realizing serious effects.

"The symptoms of this disease are always alike. The first day there is a great headache and sometimes dizziness. On the second day all the bones of the body ache as in the grip, and when the pain fixes itself in the hips and about the waist the pulse becomes altered. Upon feeling the first headache, one should refrain from eating. If it is three hours since the last meal, there should be taken immediately, even before the doctor's arrival, a strong purgative of oil, although a purgative of lemonade or citrate of magnesia may have been taken the day before. One or the other of the above remedies should be taken once a week after arriving in Cuba. The day on which the weekly purgative is taken a strict diet should be observed. Until acclimated it is well not to dance or become overheated in any way.

"It may be stated of yellow fever that, if properly treated, less than 8 per cent of the patients die. The remedies ordinarily used are citrate of magnesia or castor oil and lime juice. In general, the yellow fever epidemic appears every ten years. It is well, if possible, to leave the coast regions and go to the mountainous ones, as the fever seldom goes beyond certain altitudes.

"Tetanus, or lock jaw, is the most fatal of the diseases which attack unacclimated persons, especially those whose work involves much exposure to the weather. Injuries to the feet are exceedingly prone to result in tetanus. Any injury to the foot should be very carefully looked after, and open sores should be guarded from the wet.

"Intermittent fever is usually contracted in the swampy districts. There is little use in keeping the patient on the island after the fever has been contracted; he should be gotten away as soon as possible. This is also true of all the forms of malaria.

"Leprosy is a disease that prevails to a considerable extent, and it is said there are more lepers in Cuba than in the Sandwich Islands. In the opinion of a physician from Toledo, Ohio, no white man is liable to its attacks, though he advised avoiding too close contact with those afflicted, especially with the Chinese, who frequently have it, but who conceal the fact as long as possible. That form of it known as elephantiasis, producing abnormal swelling of the lower extremities, is frequently seen in the streets of Habana, and is in no sense considered contagious.

"While much that has been written concerning Cuba would seem to indicate that it is a veritable pest hole, such descriptions actually cover only the worst conditions, and comparatively a small portion of the island, for probably at least two-thirds of it is as healthy, even in the summer, as any country in the world.

"Cases of longevity are not wanting; there are numerous instances where natives have attained 100 years, some 130 years, and there is even one known to have lived to the age of 150. Longevity is most frequent among the colored population.

"The sickly season, according to the latest edition of 'The Navigation of the Caribbean Sea and Gulf of Mexico,' is as follows:

"Fevers, more or less malignant, prevail from May to November.

"Baracoa.—Remittent fever is at times prevalent at Baracoa, but the place is generally healthy, owing to the exposed position.

"Nuevitas del Principe.—The health of the city is good, the sickly season being from April to September.

"Habana.—Yellow fever is endemic. The sickly season is from June to Octo-

ber. As there is little ebb and flow of the tide in the harbor, the water is filthy and foul smelling. The water should not be used for washing decks or clothing.

"Bahia Honda.—The health of the place is good, except in the sickly season, which commences in April and lasts through the summer.

"Port Mariel.—It is generally healthy, the sickly season being from April to September.

"Santiago de Cuba.—The place is healthy, but in summer yellow fever occurs. The mornings and afternoons are pleasant. Liberty to go ashore should not be given here.

"Cienfuegos.—The sanitary condition is good, the city being clean.

"Yellow fever has appeared in the island at various times and points as follows:

"1. Habana.—Annual prevalence since 1761, the chief center of infection, and most dangerous to shipping.

"2. Matanzas.—Annual prevalence since 1828, and probably much longer; an important center of infection, but less dangerous to shipping than Habana.

"3. Cardenas.—Annual prevalence certainly since 1836, and it was not founded until 1828. It is an important center of infection, but not specially dangerous to shipping, because of the distance at which vessels anchor from shore.

"4. Cienfuegos.—Annual prevalence since at least 1839, and it was not founded until 1819-1825. It is a dangerous center of infection, but, like Matanzas, has a very large harbor, and is less dangerous than Habana to shipping.

"5. Sagua.—Some cases of yellow fever occur annually, but vessels are very rarely infected, as these anchor several miles distant from the coast, and Sagua is ten miles inland.

"6. Baracoa.—Yellow fever occurs occasionally, but not annually as an epidemic.

"7. Caibarien.—Cases of yellow fever occur frequently, but not every year. Very little danger to vessels, as these anchor many miles distant.

"8. Trinidad.—Annual prevalence certainly since 1838, and probably longer. The harbor is not believed to be specially dangerous to vessels.

"9. Santiago de Cuba.—Annual prevalence certainly since 1851, and probably very much longer. It is a noted center of infection, and its small harbor is more dangerous to the shipping than any other port in the whole island.

"10. Manzanillo.—Annual prevalence. It is in constant communication with Santiago de Cuba, Trinidad, and Cienfuegos. As vessels anchor in the open sea several miles from shore, they probably suffer little.

"11. Las Nuevitas del Principe.—Annual prevalence. Vessels anchor a mile or more distant, and are in but little danger.

"12. Guantanamo.—Annual prevalence. The town is about seven miles from the harbor, and vessels are probably little exposed to infection.

"13. Gibara.—Cases of yellow fever do not occur every year. Vessels anchor distant from the shore, and are in little danger.

"14. Zaza.—Cases of yellow fever do not occur every year. Vessels are probably in very little danger.

"15. Santa Cruz.—Cases of yellow fever occur in the majority of years. Vessels anchor far from shore, and are in little danger.

"16. Bahia Honda.—Yellow fever is not endemic; it is even said to be 'unknown,' and to present no cases 'either indigenous or imported.'

"17. Batabano.—Very few cases occur.

"18. Cabanos.—Cases occur very rarely, and the disease is not endemic.

"19. Isla de Pinos.—Cases occur very seldom, and it is as remarkably free as Bahia Honda from the disease.

"20. Mariel.—Yellow fever is not endemic here.

"21. Puerto Padre.—The disease is not endemic.

"22. Bayamo.—Occasionally epidemic, but not annually endemic.

"23. Bejucal.—Suffers little from yellow fever.

"24. Ciego de Avila.—Not endemic.

"25. Cobre.—Yellow fever is not endemic.

"26. Colon.—Yellow fever is not endemic.

"27. Guanabacoa.—Cases occur annually.

"28. Guanajay.—Cases occur in the majority of years.

"29. Guines.—Yellow fever is not endemic.

"30. Holguin.—Several epidemics since 1851, but cases do not occur every year.

"31. Jucaro.—Endemic.

"32. Marianao.—Endemic.

"33. Mayari.—Not endemic.

"34. Palma Soriano.—Not endemic.

"35. Pinar del Rio.—Not endemic.

"36. Puerto Principe.—Endemic.

"37. Remedios.—Endemic.

"38. San Antonio.—Endemic.

"39. Sancti Spiritus.—Endemic.

"40. San Jose de las Lajas.—Endemic.
"41. Santa Clara.—Cases occur in the majority of years.
"42. Santiago.—Endemic.
"43. Victoria de las Tunas.—Cases occur in the majority of years.

"The above forty-three places are all those from which trustworthy information was secured, and it appears that of twenty-one seaports, yellow fever occurs annually in ten of them and does not occur annually in the remaining eleven, while in the twenty-two inland towns its prevalence varies in proportion to the extent of their commerce with permanently infected centers and with the number of immigrants, so that the above list tends very strongly to prove that seaports in Cuba are no more liable to yellow fever, solely because located on the sea, than are inland towns. Yet the contrary has long been taught.

"The Isle of Pines, Bahia Honda, Cabanas, Mariel, Zaza, and other preeminently maritime places in Cuba suffer little, if at all, with yellow fever.

"Among the poisonous insects are centipedes, tarantulas, scorpions, mosquitoes, and sand flies.

"Of flies alone over 300 species are known. The one most to be dreaded is called rodador (the roller), thought by the people to be a mosquito, which fills itself with blood like a leech and when satiated drops off and rolls away. Still worse is the jejen (another supposed mosquito), so small as not to be visible to the naked eye, but its sting is felt. Neither nets, smoke nor any other defenses are of any avail against it. The only recourse is flight.

"An annoying and dangerous pest is found in the chigoe or jigger, a small insect closely resembling the common flea. The female burrows under the skin of the foot or under the finger or toe nails, and soon acquires the size of a pea, its body being distended with eggs. If these eggs be allowed to hatch underneath the skin, irritating and dangerous sores result. The insect must be extracted entire and with great care as soon as its presence is discovered. Similar precautions must be taken in regard to common ticks, which abound especially in fields where hogs have been allowed to run at large. The wound made by extracting a chigoe or a tick should be carefully washed, coal oil applied, and outside moisture excluded for at least forty-eight hours.

"The only peculiar animal in the island is the jutia, shaped like a rat and from twelve to eighteen inches long, exclusive of the tail. A few deer are found about the swamps, but they are supposed to have been introduced from Europe. The woods abound in wild dogs and cats, sprung from those animals in a domestic

state and differing from them only in form and size. Of domestic animals, the ox, the horse, and the hog are the most valuable and form a large proportion of the wealth of the island; sheep, goats, and mules are less numerous. There are some 4,000,000 head of the domestic animals just mentioned. The manati (sea-cow) frequents the shore. The domestic fowls include geese, turkeys, peacocks, and pigeons. There are over 200 species of indigenous birds, and more than 700 kinds of fish in the rivers, bays and inlets. Numerous insects and nonvenomous reptiles inhabit the woods and mountains. Oysters and other shellfish are numerous, but of inferior quality. Turtles abound, and the cayman (crocodile) and iguana (a kind of lizard) are common. Snakes are not numerous. The maja, twelve or fourteen feet in length, and eighteen or twenty inches in circumference, is the largest, but is harmless; the juba, which is about six feet long, is venomous.

"The domestic animals let loose in the island from the earliest period of its occupation have found a place favorable for their reproduction; but, while increasing, they have also undergone certain modifications. Cuban horses of the Andalusian race have lost in stature and breadth of chest, but they have gained in sobriety, endurance, and vitality. Before the great insurrection of 1868 they were so numerous throughout the island, and especially in the central and western regions, that nobody traveled afoot. To-day the number of saddle animals has greatly diminished in proportion to the inhabitants, and nowhere are wild horses found, as they formerly were in Romano Cay, in the Nipe savannas, and other isolated regions. Asses are not numerous, being kept mainly for breeding purposes. Mules are used for transportation in the mountainous regions. The camel of the Canaries, which was introduced at one time, did not succeed, owing to the niguas, a species of insect which wounded its feet. In certain parts of the island, especially in the district of Baracoa, the ox is used both as a beast of burden and in driving. Goats and sheep have not thrived so well in Cuba as hogs and cattle; the goat has lost its vivacity, while the sheep, being poorly cared for, has replaced its fleece by a coat of hair.

"The larger portion of the following description is taken from Humboldt's Narrative, Vol. VII. Although the work is old, yet it is still the best authority on the above subjects obtainable:

"The Island of Cuba, for more than four-fifths of its extent, is composed of low lands. The soil is covered with secondary and tertiary formations, formed by rocks of gneiss, granite, syenite, and euphotide. The island is crossed from east-southeast to west-northwest by a chain of hills, which approach the southern coast between the meridians of the cities of Puerto Principe and Villa Clara;

while more to the west, near Alvarez and Matanzas, they stretch toward the northern coast, going from the mouth of the Rio Grande to Villa de la Trinidad. The hills of San Juan on the northwest form needles or horns more than 900 feet high, from which declivities go regularly toward the south. This calcareous group has a majestic aspect, seen from the anchorage near Cayo de Piedras. Sagua and Batabano are low coasts, and west of the meridian of Matanzas there is no hill more than 1,200 feet high, with the exception of Pan de Guaixabon. The land of the interior is generally undulating, and rises from 250 to 325 feet above sea-level.

"The decreasing level of the limestone formations of the Island of Cuba toward the north and west indicates a submarine connection of those rocks with the lands equally low of the Bahama Islands of Florida and of Yucatan.

"It is probable that the alluvial deposits of auriferous sand, which were explored with so much ardor at the beginning of the Spanish conquest, came from the granite formations in the western part of the island. Traces of the sand are still to be found in the Holguin and Escambray rivers.

"The central and western portions of the island contain two formations of compact limestone, one of clayey sandstone, and another of gypsum. The former is white, or of a clear ochre yellow, with dull fractures, sometimes conchoidal, and sometimes smooth, and furnishes petrifications of pecten cardites, terebellidæ and madrepores. No oolitic beds are found, but porous beds almost bulbous are seen near Batabano. Yellowish, cavernous strata, with cavities from three to four inches in diameter, alternate with strata altogether compact and poorer in petrifications.

"The chain of hills that borders the plain of Güines towards the north belongs to the latter variety, which is reddish-white and almost lithographic. The compact and cavernous beds contain pockets of brown ochraceous iron. Perhaps the red earth so much sought after by the planters of coffee is produced by the decomposition of some superficial beds of oxidized iron mixed with silica and clay, or, perhaps, by reddish sandstone superposed on limestone. The whole of this formation might be designated as the limestone of Güines, to distinguish it from another much more recent. It forms, in the hills of San Juan, steep declivities, resembling the mountains of limestone of Coripe in the vicinity of Cumana. They contain great caverns, the most prominent being near Matanzas and Jaruco. There are numerous caverns, and where the pluvial waters accumulate and disappear in small rivers, they sometimes cause a sinking of the earth.

"To the secondary soil belongs the gypsum of the island. It is worked in several places. We must not confound this limestone of Güines, sometimes

porous, sometimes compact, with another formation so recent that it seems to have augmented in our days, i. e., the calcareous agglomerates, on the islands that border the coast between Batabano and the Bay of Xagua.

"At the foot of Castillo de la Punta are shelves of cavernous rocks, which are covered with verdant alvæ and living polypiers. Enormous masses of madrepores and other lithophyte corals are set in the texture of those shelves. This would lead one to the conclusion that the whole of this limestone rock, which constitutes the greater part of the island, is due to the uninterrupted action of productive organic forces, an action which is still in operation in the depths of the ocean; but these limestone formations soon vanish when the shore is quitted, and series of coral rocks are seen, containing formations of different ages—the muschelkalk, the Jura limestone, and the coarse limestone. The same coral rocks as those of Castillo and La Punta are found in the lofty inland mountains, accompanied by petrifications of bivalve shells, very different from those which are actually seen on the coasts of the Antilles. There is no doubt as to the relative antiquity of that rock, with respect to the calcareous agglomerates of the Cayos. The globe has undergone great revolutions between the periods when those two soils were formed, one containing the great caverns, the other daily augmenting by the agglomeration of fragments of coral and quartzous sand.

"On the south of the Island of Cuba the latter of these soils seems to be superposed, sometimes on the Jura limestone of Güines, and sometimes immediately on the primitive rocks.

"The secondary formations on the east of Habana are pierced in a singular manner by syenitic and euphotide rocks, united in groups. The southern bottom of the bay, as well as the mouth, are of Jura limestone, but on the eastern bank of the Ensenadas de Regla and Guanabacoa the whole is transition soil. In going from north to south we find syenite, composed of a great quantity of amphibole, partly decomposed, a little quartz, and a reddish-white feldspar, seldom crystallized. Farther south, toward the small bays of Regla and Guanabacoa, the syenite disappears, and the whole soil is covered with serpentine, rising in hills from 190 to 255 feet high, and running from east to west.

"This rock is much fissured, externally of a bluish brown, covered with detritus of manganese, and internally of a leek and asparagus green, crossed by small veins of asbestos. It contains neither granite nor hornblende, but metalloide diallage is disseminated throughout the mass. Many of the pieces of serpentine have magnetic poles. In approaching Guanabacoa, the serpentine is crossed by veins

from twelve to fourteen inches thick, filled with fibrous quartz, amethyst, fine mammelones and stalactiform chalcedonies.

"Some copper pyrites appear among these veins, accompanied, it is said, by silvery gray copper. In some places petroleum runs out from rents in the serpentine. Springs of water are frequent, containing sulphureted hydrogen, and a deposit of oxide of iron.

"Volcanic rock of a more recent period, as trachyte, dolerite, and basalt, has not been discovered on the island.

"The Island of Cuba has a great variety of minerals, gold, silver, iron, copper, lead, asphaltum, antimony, platinum, petroleum, marble, jasper, etc., being found in a greater or less quantity. As yet, no coal has been found, although a substance resembling it is much used as fuel, and generally called coal by the natives. Gold and silver have not been found in paying quantities, although the early settlers mined a considerable amount of each.

"Lead.—So little seems to be produced that it is unnecessary to consider the output.

"Iron.—Large deposits are found in the province of Santiago de Cuba and Pinar del Rio. Its output to the United States is very large.

"Copper.—Large deposits are founded in Santiago de Cuba, but have not been much mined, on account of the revolution and heavy taxes.

"Asphaltum.—Deposits of asphaltum are of frequent occurrence in various parts of the island, and have been mined and exported to some extent.

"Antimony.—Antimony, with lead, is said to exist near Holguin.

"Petroleum.—Crude oil is found, but the mineral oil in use comes from the United States in the crude state. There are several refineries near Habana.

"Sulphur.—Deposits of pure sulphur probably do not exist, but the presence of sulphur is shown in the various mineral springs.

"Salt.—Salt is deposited in great quantities in various parts of the island.

"Quicksilver.—It is said that in former times some quicksilver was found near Remedios.

"Clays.—Valuable deposits of clays are found, especially in the Isle of Pines.

"Lime.—Most of the soft limestones make excellent lime, and about Habana are many limestone quarries and amongst them kilns for burning.

"Building Stone.—A soft carbonate of calcium is very common, and is much used for building material on the island.

"Ochre.—Some ochre is found in Manzanillo, Santiago de Cuba, Santa Maria del Rosario, and Guanabacoa.

"Chrome.—Deposits of this pigment have been worked near Holguin.

"Chalk.—Chalk is found near Manzanillo and Moron.

"Marble.—This is found in great abundance in many places.

"Loadstone.—Large quantities of loadstone also exist.

"Molding Sand.—Near Nueva Filipina a fine quality of molding sand is found.

"Talc.—Talc is also found in the island.

"It is estimated that there are about 20,000,000 acres of wild and uncultivated land in the Island of Cuba, 12,000,000 acres of which are virgin forest. These forests are to a great extent dense and almost impenetrable in some sections, especially the eastern portion of Santa Clara Province, Puerto Principe, and some parts of Santiago de Cuba. The Isle of Pines is also heavily wooded. The forests preserve their verdure throughout all seasons of the year.

"The palm is the most common of all the Cuban trees, and, perhaps, the most valuable. There are a great many varieties. Of these the Palma Real (Royal Palm) is the most common, and, like the maguey of Mexico, is the mainstay of the natives. The other woods of importance are the mahogany; ebony; cedar; acana, a tree with a hard reddish wood; ginebrahacha, a kind of fir; guayacan; jigui; maranon, a tree which yields a gum resembling gum arabic; oak; pino de tea, a torch pine; evergreen oak; sabicu; ocuje, a wood much used for construction purposes; sabina; nogal; walnut; majagua, a tree from which very durable cordage is made; Brazilian wood; capeche wood: fustic; cocoa: banana, and the magnificent cieba.

"The lands most celebrated for their fertility are the districts of Sagua, Cienfuegos, Trinidad, Matanzas, and Mariel. The Valley of Güines owes its reputation to artificial irrigation. Notwithstanding the want of great rivers, and the unequal fertility of the soil, the Island of Cuba, due to its undulating surface, its continually renewing verdure, and the distribution of its vegetable forms, presents at every step the most varied and beautiful landscape.

"The agriculturists of the island distinguish two kinds of earth, often mixed together like the squares of a draft board, black earth, clayey and full of moisture, and red earth, more silicious and mixed with oxide of iron.

"The black earth is generally preferred for the cultivation of the sugar cane, because it conserves humidity better, and the red earth for coffee; nevertheless, many sugar plantations are established in red soil.

"The section around Habana is not the most fertile, and the few sugar plantations that existed in the vicinity of the capital are now replaced by cattle farms

and fields of maize and forage, on which the profits are considerable, on account of the demand from the city.

"The principal agricultural products of Cuba are sugar cane, coffee, tobacco, cocoa, cotton, sarsaparilla, vanilla, copal, China root, Cassia, Palma Christi, mustard, pepper, ginger, licorice, balsam de Guatemala, india rubber, etc. The three most important are sugar, tobacco, and coffee.

"The fruits of Cuba are numerous and delicious. Among them are the pineapple, custard apple, cocoanut, plum, guava, banana, orange (the Cuban orange is not particularly fine), citron, lemon, mango, etc.

"While the area of Cuba and its dependent islands is nearly as great as that of the State of Pennsylvania,* it has less than one-third as many inhabitants. Yet, when it is borne in mind that the desert sand-keys that skirt the island, the impassable swamps that line its south coast, and the rugged and unexplored uplands of its eastern extremity, altogether occupy fully one-fifth of its area, it is seen that Cuba is fairly well inhabited. Estimating its habitable area at 32,500 square miles, it is seen to be twice as densely populated as the State of Missouri,† or in about the same ratio as Virginia.‡

"Of the aboriginal inhabitants of Cuba, none survived to see the seventeenth century. The present population may be divided into five classes:

"1. Natives of Spain—'Peninsulars.'

"2. Cubans of Spanish descent—'Insulars.'

"3. Other white persons.

"4. Persons wholly, or in part, of the African race.

"5. Eastern Asiatics.

"By reckoning the first three classes together and excluding the fifth entirely the usual division of whites and negroes is obtained. It has been customary to reckon among negroes persons having one-fourth, one-half, or three-fourths white blood, and there is no end to the subdivision. This is philosophically unjust and makes the negro element appear larger than it really is. It is also to be remembered that the blood of the Latin nations mingles with that of other races more readily than does the Saxon. The following statistics of the two main races at different dates show the percentage of negroes:

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*Area of Pennsylvania, 45,215 square miles; estimated population 1894, 5,550,550. Area of Cuba, 43,124 square miles; estimated population in 1894, 1,723,000.

† State of Missouri: Area, 69,415 square miles; population, 1,875,900.

‡ State of Virginia: Area, 42,450 square miles; population, 1,705,198.

Year.	White.	Negro.	Per cent.
1804	234,000	198,000	45.8
1819	239,830	213,203	47
1830	332,352	423,343	56
1841	418,291	589,333	58.4
1850	479,490	494,252	50.75
1860	632,797	566,632	47
1869	797,596	602,215	43
1877	985,325	492,249	33
1887	1,102,689	485,187	30.55

"It is especially worthy of note that for thirty or forty years the negro element has been both relatively and absolutely decreasing, and probably at the present time it composes a little more than one-fourth of the whole population.

"The number of white persons of other blood than Spanish is trifling, and has been estimated at 10,500.

"There is yet another class of population—the coolies, or Asiatic laborers imported from the Philippines. The statements of their numbers are so conflicting as to be a mere guess; but that guess would put them at 30,000 to 40,000.

"The most recent official census is that of December, 1887. The figures in the following table are taken from it, and give the population by provinces, as well as the density of population (number of inhabitants per square kilometer) in each:

Provinces.	Inhabitants.	Square Kilometers.	Density.
Pinar del Rio	225,891	14,967	15.09
Habana	451,928	8,610	52.49
Matanzas	259,578	8,486	30.59
Santa Clara	354,122	23,083	15.34
Puerto Principe	67,789	32,341	2.10
Santiago de Cuba.....	272,379	35,119	7.76
Totals.....	1,631,687	122,606	13.31

"The only language spoken in the island is Spanish.

"The Roman Catholic has been the only religion tolerated. There are no Jewish or Protestant places of worship, while a person complying with all the requirements might be permitted to remain on the island, he would not be allowed to promulgate doctrines at variance with those of the established church. Catholicism is supported by the general revenues of the island, and all the items of expense are determined at Madrid. The amount estimated in the Cuban budget of 1893-94 is $385,588.

"The educational system of Cuba, under Spanish rule, is under the direction of the governor-general and rector of the University of Habana, both being natives of Spain and appointed by the Crown."

CHAPTER III.

THE CITIES OF THE QUEEN OF THE ANTILLES.

Santiago de Cuba, the Ancient City of the Island—Location and Commercial Importance—Its Strategic Position and Defenses as Set Forth in the United States Military Notes—Havana, the Capital and Largest City in Cuba—Its Defenses, Water Supply and Sanitary Condition—Density of Population.

There was the fortune of good judgment in attacking the Spaniards in Cuba at Santiago and Porto Rico, the points of Spanish possession in the West Indies farthest south and east, instead of striking at the west, landing at Pinar del Rio, the western province, and moving upon the fortifications of Havana, where the difficulties and dangers that proved so formidable at Santiago would have been quadrupled, and our losses in the field and hospital excessive. The unpreparedness of this country for war has not even up to this time been appreciated except by military experts and the most intelligent and intent students of current history. The military notes prepared in the War Department of the United States at the beginning of the war with Spain, contain the following of Santiago de Cuba:

This city was founded in 1514, and the famous Hernando was its first mayor. It is the most southern place of any note on the island, being on the twentieth degree of latitude, while Havana, the most northern point of note, is 23 degrees 9 minutes 26 seconds north latitude. The surrounding country is very mountainous, and the city is built upon a steep slope; the public square, or Campo de Marte, is 140 to 160 feet above the sea, and some of the houses are located 200 feet high. The character of the soil is reported to be more volcanic than calcareous; it has suffered repeatedly from earthquakes. It is the second city in the island with regard to population, slightly exceeding that of Matanzas and Puerto Principe. So far as American commerce is concerned, it ranks only ninth among the fifteen Cuban ports of entry. It is located on the extreme northern bank of the harbor of Santiago de Cuba, a harbor of the first class and one of the smallest; hence, as is believed, the great liability of its shipping to infection. According to the chart of the Madrid hydrographic bureau, 1863, this harbor is, from its sea entrance to its extreme northern limit, 5 miles long, the city being located 4 miles from its entrance, on the northeastern side of the harbor. The entrance is for some little distance very narrow—

not more than 220 yards wide—and may be considered about 2 miles long, with a width varying from one-eighth to five-eighths of a mile. For the remaining 3 miles the harbor gradually widens, until at its northern extremity it is about 2 miles wide. The city is so situated in a cove of the harbor that the opposite shore is only about one-half mile distant. At the wharves from 10 to 15 feet of water is found, and within 300 to 500 yards of the shore from 20 to 30 feet. This, therefore, is probably the anchorage ground. Three or more so-called rivers, besides other streams, empty into this harbor, and one of these, the Caney River, empties into the harbor at the northern limit of the city, so that its water flows from one island extremity through the whole harbor into the sea. The difference here, as elsewhere in Cuba, between low and high tide is about 2 feet. Population in 1877 was 40,835, and 5,100 houses. This city is one of the most noted yellow-fever districts in the island. The population in 1896 was 42,000.

The following has been reported:

Preparations for mounting new and heavy ordnance is now going on at the entrance of the bay (March 5, 1898).

New and heavier guns are also ordered for Punta Blanca, on the right of the bay near Santiago City.

Plans have been made for constructing two batteries in the city of Santiago, one about 25 yards in front of the American consulate and the other about two blocks in rear.

Cayo Rolones, or Rat Island, located near the middle of the bay, is the Government depository for powder, dynamite, and other explosives.

The elevation on the right of the entrance, where stands Castle Morro, is 40 yards above the sea level, while the hill on the left is 20 yards.

"La Bateria Nueva de la Estrella" is mounted with four revolving cannons.

The fortifications of Havana were carefully covered in the military notes, and thus enumerated:

There are fifteen fortifications in and about the city of Havana, more or less armed and garrisoned, besides a work partly constructed and not armed, called Las Animas, and the old bastions along the sea wall of the harbor. These works are as follows:

Nos. 1 and 2 are earthen redans on the sea coast, east of Havana.

Velazo Battery, just east of, and a part of, El Morro.

El Morro, a sea coast fort, with flanking barbette batteries, east of harbor entrance.

The Twelve Apostles, a water battery lying at the foot of Morro, with a field of fire across the harbor's mouth. It is a part of Morro.

La Cabana, a stone-bastioned work with both land and water front, in rear of El Morro, and directly opposite the city of Havana.

San Diego, a stone-bastioned work with only land fronts, east of Cabana.

Atares, a stone-bastioned work on hill at southwestern extremity of Havana Bay, near the old shipyard called the arsenal.

San Salvador de la Punta, a stone-bastioned work west of harbor entrance, with small advanced and detached work, built on a rock near harbor mouth.

La Reina, a stone work, in shape the segment of a circle, placed on the seacoast, at western limits of city, on an inlet called San Lazardo.

Santa Clara, a small but powerful seacoast battery of stone and earth, placed about 1½ miles west of harbor.

El Principe, a stone-bastioned redoubt west of Havana.

Nos. 3 A, 3 B, and 4 are earthen redans on the seacoast west of Havana.

There are, in addition, several works built for defense, but now used for other purposes or abandoned. These are:

The Torreon de Vigia, a martello tower placed on the inlet of San Lazaro opposite La Reina.

The old fort called La Fuerza, built three hundred and fifty years ago, near the present Plaza de Armas, and now used for barracks and public offices.

The work called San Nazario, situated north of El Principe, but now used in connection with the present cartridge factory, abandoned for defensive purposes.

The partially constructed fort called Las Animas, southeast of Principe, lying on a low hill, partly built but useless and unarmed.

The old sea wall extending from near La Punta to the Plaza de Armas, unarmed, and useless except as a parapet for musketry.

The old arsenal, on the west of the inner bay, now used as repair works for ships, useless for defense.

The old artillery and engineer storehouses near La Punta, probably once used as strongholds, now mere storehouses for munitions of war.

There are, besides, in the vicinity of Havana, three old and now useless stone works—one at Chorrera, the mouth of the Almendarez River, about 4 miles from Havana harbor; another at Cojimar, on the coast, about 3 miles eastward of Cabana, and the third at the inlet called La Playa de Mariano, about 7 miles west of Havana.

Batteries Nos. 1 and 2 were equipped with, No. 1, four Hontoria 6-inch guns; two Nordenfeldt 6-pounders; No. 2, two Krupp 12-inch guns; four Hontoria 3-inch mortars. The 12-inch Krupps were to stand off battleships attempting to force the harbor, or to bombard the Morro. The Valago battery, a part of the Morro, an out-work on the edge of the cliff, mounting four 11-inch Krupp guns separated by earth traverses.

The Morro, commenced in 1589 and finished in 1597, is important for historical associations. It is a most picturesque structure, and is useful as a lighthouse and prison, and is mounted with twelve old 10-inch, eight old 8-inch, and fourteen old 4-inch guns.

Cabana, finished in 1774 at a cost of $14,000,000, lies some 500 yards southeast of El Morro, on the east side of Havana Bay. Toward the city it exposes a vertical stone wall of irregular trace, with salients at intervals. Toward the Morro is a bastioned face protected by a deep ditch, sally port, and drawbridge. Eastward and southward a beautifully constructed land front incloses the work. This front is protected by ditches 40 or more feet deep, well constructed glacis, stone scarp, and counterscarp. Cabana is a magnificent example of the permanent fortifications constructed a century ago. Probably 10,000 men could be quartered in it.

The entrance to Cabana is by the sally port that opens upon the bridge across the moat lying between Cabana and El Morro. Upon entering, the enormous extent of the work begins to be perceived, parapet within parapet, galleries, casemates, and terrepleins almost innumerable, all of stone and useless. There are no earth covers or traverses, and no protection against modern artillery.

Cabana is the prison for offenders against the State, and the scene of innumerable executions. From an exterior or salient corner of the secretary's office of the headquarters there leads a subterranean passage 326 meters long, 2.5 meters wide, and 1.86 high, excavated in the rock. It conducts to the sea, debouching at the mouth of a sewer, 87 meters from the Morro wharf. At exactly 132 meters along the road rising from the Morro pier or wharf to the Cabana, there will be found by excavating the rock on the left of the road, at a depth of 3 meters, a grating, on opening which passage will be made into a road 107 meters long, 1.6 high, and 1.42 wide, leading to the same exit as the Cabana secret way. These passages are most secret, as all believe that the grating of the sewer, seen from the sea, is a drain.

The battery of Santa Clara is the most interesting of the fortifications of Havana, and one of the most important. It lies about 100 yards from the shore of the gulf, at a point where the line of hills to the westward runs back (either naturally or

ENTRANCE THROUGH GROVE OF TROPICAL TREES TO QUEEN'S HOSPITAL, HONOLULU.

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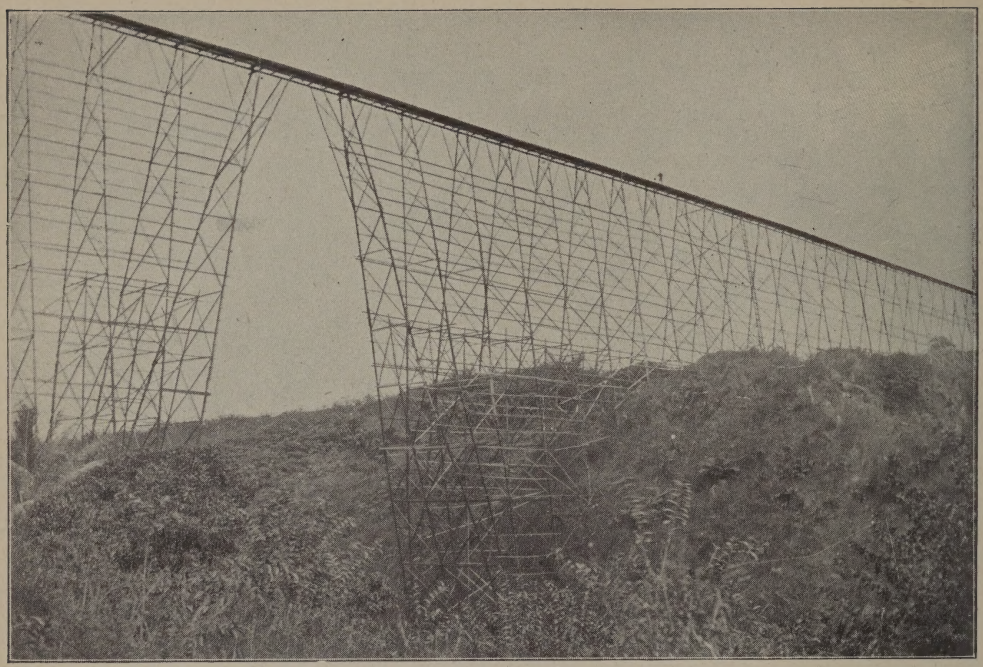

SECTION OF FLUME TO CONVEY WATER TO SUGAR MILLS IN HAWAII.

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LAVA FORMATION AT KILAUEA CRATER, 4,040 FEET HIGH, ISLAND OF HAWAII.

artificially) into quarries, thus occupying a low salient backed by a hill. Here are three new Krupp 11-inch guns, designed to protect El Principe, the land side of Havana. It is 187 feet above sea level and completely dominates Havana, the bay, Morro, Cabana, the coast northward, Atares, and from east around to south, the approaches of the Marianao Road, Cristina, and the Western Railroad for about 3 kilometers, i. e., between Cristina and a cut at that distance from the station. Principe gives fire upon Tulipan, the Cerro, the Hill of the Jesuits, and the valley through which passes the Havana Railroad, sweeping completely with its guns the railroad as far as the cut at Cienaga, 2½ to 3 miles away. It dominates also the hills southward and westward toward Puentes Grandes and the Almendarez River, and country extending toward Marianao, also the Calzada leading to the cemetery and toward Chorrera; thence the entire sea line (the railroad to Chorrera is partly sheltered by the slope leading to Principe). This is by all means the strongest position about Havana which is occupied. Lying between it and the hill of the Cerro is the hill of the Catalan Club, right under the guns of the work and about one-half mile away. The Marianao Road is more sheltered than the Havana, as it runs near the trees and hill near the Cerro. The only points which dominate the hill of the Principe lie to the south and southeast in the direction of Jesus del Monte and beyond Regla. On its southern, southeastern, and southwestern faces the hill of Principe is a steep descent to the calzada and streets below. The slope is gradual westward and around by the north. From this hill is one of the best views of Havana and the valley south. El Principe lies about one-half mile from the north coast, from which hills rise in gradual slopes toward the work. It is Havana gossip that El Principe is always held by the Spanish regiment in which the Captain-General has most confidence. The military notes pronounce El Principe undoubtedly the strongest natural position about Havana now occupied by defensive works. Its guns sweep the heights of the Almendares, extending from the north coast southward by the hills of Puentes Grandes to the valley of Cienaga, thence eastward across the Hill of the Jesuits and the long line of trees and houses leading to the Cerro. The country beyond the Cerro is partly sheltered by trees and hills, but eastward El Principe commands in places the country and the bay shore, and gives fire across Havana seaward.

The most vulnerable spot in the defenses of Havana is the aqueduct of Isabella II, or the Vento. The water is from the Vento Springs, pure and inexhaustable, nine miles out of Havana.

All three of the water supplies to Havana, the Zanja and the two aqueducts of

Ferdinand VII and of the Vento, proceed from the Almendares and run their course near to each other, the farthest to the west being the Zanja and to the east the Vento.

At Vento Springs is constructed a large stone basin, open at the bottom, through which springs bubble. From this reservoir the new aqueduct leads. It is an elliptical tunnel of brick, placed under ground, and marked by turrets of brick and stone placed along its course.

From the Vento Reservoir the new aqueduct crosses the low valley south of Havana, following generally the Calzada de Vento, which becomes, near the Cerro, the Calzada de Palatino, to a point on the Western Railway marked 5 kilometers (about); hence the calzada and the aqueduct closely follows the railway for about a mile, terminating at a new reservoir.

The Vento water is the best thing Havana has, and indispensable. The old sources of supply are intolerable. The main water supply is the Zanja. Throughout the most of its course this river flows through unprotected mud banks; the fluids of many houses, especially in the Cerro ward which it skirts, drain into them; men, horses, and dogs bathe in it; dead bodies have been seen floating in it, and in the rainy season the water becomes very muddy. In fine, the Zanja in its course receives all which a little brook traversing a village and having houses and back yards on its banks would receive. The water can not be pure, and to those who know the facts the idea of drinking it is repulsive. This supply had long been insufficient to the growing city, and in 1835 the well-protected and excellent aqueduct of Ferdinand VII was completed. It taps the Almendares River a few hundred yards above filters mentioned, hence carried by arches to the east El Cerro, and for some distance nearly parallel to the Calzada del Cerro, but finally intersecting this. These works are succeeded by the Famous Vento. When Havana is fought for hereafter the fight will be at the Vento Springs. This remark is not made in the military notes, but the military men know it well. When General Miles expected to attack Havana he procured all the accessible surveys and detail of information, official and through special observation and personal knowledge obtainable of the water works. Life could not be sustained many days in the city of Havana without the water of the adorable Vento.

A special interest attaches to Havana, as it is to be a city under the control of the United States. The surface soil consists for the most part of a thin layer of red, yellow, or black earths. At varying depths beneath this, often not exceeding 1 or 2 feet, lie the solid rocks. These foundation rocks are, especially in the northern and more modern parts of the city toward the coast of the sea and not of the

harbor, Quarternary, and especially Tertiary, formations, so permeable that liquids emptied into excavations are absorbed and disappear.

In other parts of the city the rocks are not permeable, and pools are formed. In proportion as the towns of Cuba are old, the streets are narrow. In Havana this peculiarity is so positive that pedestrians cannot pass on the sidewalks, nor vehicles on the streets. Less than one-third of the population live on paved streets, and these are as well paved and kept as clean, it is believed cleaner, than is usual in the United States. The remainder live on unpaved streets, which, for the most part, are very filthy. Many of these, even in old and densely populated parts of the city, are no better than rough country roads, full of rocks, crevices, mud holes, and other irregularities, so that vehicles traverse them with difficulty at all times, and in the rainy season they are sometimes impassible for two months. Rough, muddy, or both, these streets serve admirably as permanent receptacles for much decomposing animal and vegetable matter. Finally, not less, probably more, than one-half the population of Havana live on streets which are constantly in an extremely insanitary condition, but these streets, though so numerous, are not in the beaten track of the pleasure tourist.

In the old intramural city, in which live about 40,000 people, the streets vary in width, but generally they are 6.8 meters (about 22 feet wide, of which the sidewalks occupy about 7.5 feet. In many streets the sidewalk at each side is not even 18 inches wide. In the new, extramural town, the streets are generally 10 meters (32.8 feet) wide, with 3 meters (nearly 10 feet) for the sidewalks, and 7 meters (23 feet) for the wagonway. There are few sidewalks in any except in the first four of the nine city districts.

More than two-thirds of the population live in densely inhabited portions of the city, where the houses are crowded in contact with each other. The average house lot does not exceed 27 by 112 feet in size. There are 17,259 houses, of which 15,494 are one-story, 1,552 are two stories, 186 are three stories, and only 27 are four stories, with none higher. At least 12 in every 13 inhabitants live in one-story houses; and as the total civil, military, and transient population exceeds 200,000 there are more than 12 inhabitants to every house. Tenement houses may have many small rooms, but each room is occupied by a family. Generally the one-story houses have four or five rooms; but house rent, as also food and clothing, is rendered so expensive by taxation, by export as well as import duties, that it is rare for workmen, even when paid $50 to $100 a month, to enjoy the exclusive use of one of these mean little houses; reserving one or two rooms for his family, he rents the balance. This condition of

affairs is readily understood when it is known that so great a necessity as flour cost in Havana $15.50 when its price in the United States was $6.50 per barrel.

In the densely populated portions of the city the houses generally have no back yard, properly so called, but a flagged court, or narrow vacant space into which sleeping rooms open at the side, and in close proximity with these, at the rear of this contracted court are located the kitchen, the privy, and often a stall for animals. In the houses of the poor, that is, of the vast majority of the population, there are no storerooms, pantries, closets, or other conveniences for household supplies. These are furnished from day to day, even from meal to meal, by the corner groceries; and it is rare, in large sections of Havana, to find any one of the four corners of a square without a grocery.

The walls of most of the houses in Havana are built of "mamposteria" or rubble masonry, a porous material which freely absorbs atmospheric as well as ground moisture. The mark of this can often be seen high on the walls, which varies from 2 to 7 feet in the houses generally. The roofs are excellent, usually flat, and constructed of brick tiles. The windows are, like the doors, unusually high, nearly reaching the ceiling, which, in the best houses only, is also unusually high. The windows are never glazed, but protected by strong iron bars on the outside and on the inside by solid wooden shutters, which are secured, like the doors, with heavy bars or bolts, and in inclement weather greatly interfere with proper ventilation. Fireplaces with chimneys are extremely rare, so that ventilation depends entirely on the doors and windows, which, it should be stated, are by no means unusually large in most of the sleeping rooms of the poor. Generally in Havana, less generally in other cities, the entrances and courtyards are flagged with stone, while the rooms are usually floored with tile or marble. With rare exceptions the lowest floor is in contact with the earth. Ventilation between the earth and floor is rarely seen in Cuba. In Havana the average height of the ground floor is from 7 to 11 inches above the pavement, but in Havana, and more frequently in other Cuban towns, one often encounters houses which are entered by stepping down from the sidewalk, and some floors are even below the level of the street. In Havana some of the floors, in Matanzas more, in Cardenas and Cienfuegos many are of the bare earth itself, or of planks raised only a few inches above the damp ground.

The narrow entrance about 400 yards in width and 1,200 in length, opens into the irregular harbor, which has three chief coves or indentations, termed "ensenadas." The extreme length of the harbor from its sea entrance to the limit of the most distant ensenada is 3 miles, and its extreme breadth 1½ miles; but within the

entrance the average length is only about 1, and the average breadth about two-thirds of a mile. However, because of the irregularly projecting points of land which form the ensenadas, there is no locality in the harbor where a vessel can possibly anchor farther than 500 yards from the shore. Its greatest depth is about 40 feet, but the anchorage ground for vessels drawing 18 feet of water is very contracted, not exceeding one-half the size of the harbor. The rise and fall of the tide does not exceed 2 feet.

The Cuban city next in celebrity to Havana is Matanzas, and it is one likely to become a favorite of Americans, as the country in the vicinity is distinguished by beauty as well as remarkable for fertility. Matanzas was first regularly settled in 1693. It is in the province of Matanzas, 54 miles west of Havana, by the most direct of the two railroads which unite these two cities, and is situated on the western inland extremity of the bay of Matanzas, a harbor of the first class. Matanzas is divided into three districts, viz, the central district of Matanzas, which, about half a mile in width across the center of population, lies between the two little rivers, San Juan to the south, and the Yumuri to the north; the Pueblo Nuevo district, south of the San Juan, and around the inland extremity of the harbor; and the district of Versalles, north of the Yumuri, nearest to the open sea, as also to the anchorage ground, and, sanitarily, the best situated district in the city. About two-thirds of the population are in the district of Matanzas, and the Pueblo Nuevo district has about double the population of Versalles. Pueblo Nuevo stands on ground originally a swamp, and is low, flat, and only 3 or 4 feet above the sea. The Matanzas district has many houses on equally low ground, on the harbor front, and on the banks of the two rivers which inclose this district; but from the front and between these rivers the ground ascends, so that its houses are from 2 to even 100 feet above the sea; however, the center of population, the public square, is only about 20 feet above sea level. Versalles is on a bluff of the harbor, and its houses are situated, for the most part, from 15 to 40 feet above the sea. The district of Matanzas has ill constructed and useless sewers in only two streets, and no houses connected therewith. So much of this district and of Versalles as is built on the hill slope is naturally well drained, but the Pueblo Nuevo district, and those parts of Matanzas built in immediate proximity to the banks of the river, are very ill drained.

Since 1872 Matanzas has had an aqueduct from the Bello spring, 7 miles distant. The supply is alleged to be both abundant and excellent. But of the 4,710 houses in the city 840 stand on the hills outside the zone supplied by the waterworks, while of the remaining 3,870 houses within this zone only about 2,000 get their water

from the waterworks company. Hence more than half of the houses of Matanzas (2,710) do for the most part get their supply in kegs by purchase in the streets. There are a few public fountains, as also some dangerous wells. The streets are 30 feet wide, with 24 feet wagon way. Few of them are paved, some are very poor roads, but, for the most part, these roads are in good condition. In the Matanzas district some of the streets are of solid stone, and natural foundation rock of the place, for the superficial soil is so thin that the foundation rocks often crop out. Of this very porous rock most of the houses are built. The houses have wider fronts, larger air spaces in rear, are not so crowded, and are better ventilated than the houses of Havana. As is usual in Cuba, the ground floors are generally on a level with the sidewalk, and some are even below the level of the streets. A heavy rain floods many of the streets of Matanzas, the water running back into and beneath the houses. The porous limestone of which the houses are built greatly favors absorption.

The population of Matanzas and suburbs was about 50,000 at the beginning of the war.

BOOK III.

HAWAII.

INTRODUCTION.

The imperial Japanese and American sugar kings, next to the royalists of Honolulu—the owners of opiate and lottery franchises—crown land, and other affiliated rings, around them—were the most bitterly disappointed personages and people when the American flag, after an up and down unforgotten, ascended the flagstaff of state in the Hawaiian capital to remain, significant of the sovereignty of the greater American Republic. Honolulu is 1,200 miles from San Francisco and has long been, in its material interests and customs and principles, Americanized. The teachings of its most influential inhabitants have had this auspicious result. There were many American flags left when Commissioner Blount removed the one disapproved by President Cleveland, who believed the United States had covertly conquered the kingdom, depriving the queen of the royal rights she had asserted. The flag controversy and the question of the restoration of the monarchy have disappeared together. The American element in the archipelago is established in law to rule. We are under obligation to defend Honolulu just as much as if the city was on the Pacific coast of the American continent. A disposition to contention has been noted in various quarters to the effect that the prosperity in worldly goods of the missionaries and their descendants, is to be regarded as acquisitiveness, rather than an illustration of Christian virtue. But a slight examination of available facts is convincing that many of the accumulations pointed out for criticism may be attributed rather to the original inheritance of intelligence and industry that improved legitimate opportunities, than to the organization of monopolies through Christian endeavor. It is possible, perhaps we should say palpable, that the missionaries and their children and grandchildren, have qualities that energize their activities and that their right to say according to what they do is considerably greater than the percentage they make in the census records of the mass of the population. We are not aware that the missionaries have done anything in the course of their labors for two generations that would rationally explain, much less justify, the persecution of their posterity. There is a certain latitude allowed descendants of ministers of the gospel even in New England, because it is assumed they are subjected by the retroactive tendencies manifest in mankind, to especial temptation. But so long as the privilege is not a prerogative

there is no evident occasion to rise up and turn and overturn to the extent of disturbing the civic repose of orderly communities. Before the missionaries arrived there was a good deal of testimony that the natives needed other instruction in Christian civilization than that which they got from the sailors. Captain Cook and Vancouver and other navigators who discovered the islands and explored them on the way to seek what was known as "the north-west passage" have been blamed for dispensations that were disastrous. It is not regarded as certain, however, that Captain Cook had not Spanish predecessors. Just as it was the policy of Spain to falsify on the charts the depth of water in Manila bay—Admiral Dewey ploughed with ships drawing twenty-five feet without scraping bottom, to get at Montejo's squadron, where the official Spanish map recorded fifteen feet. This sort of deception influenced the surveys and reports of the Spanish voyages in the Pacific Ocean, furnished ground for belief that they might have discovered the "Sandwich Islands" a good while before Captain Cook was born.

The Hawaiians are so soft a race that they seem to require the help of races of tougher fiber and greater energy. The grievance of the natives most lamentable in their complaints is that the "poy" they once wound around their fingers and swallowed without effort—a paste made of a prolific tuber with a certain sourness of fermentation in it—a food that is a luxury to a cultivated taste somewhat hard to acquire, owing to the use of fingers and fancies of uncleanliness, is not as plentiful and cheap as once upon a time. The native theory of objection to the progress found fault with for this privation is therefore that life is not as easy living as in other days when the abundance of succulent food that was produced with little care and almost cooked itself, was greater. The advance in the cost of living is the saddest of native sorrows. It is held to favor a tendency to food monopoly. It is necessary to say that the trouble is with the natives themselves. If there is any commandment the Hawaiian does not understand or at all apply to himself, it is that in the sweat of the face shall bread be eaten. In fact, that never applied to "poy." The requirement that perspiration induced by labor goes before eating is not approved by the native. The tuber that is converted into the paste that is the favorite and fattening food of the common people, who are rounded out into fair proportions with it, if they eat it early and often, though indigenous, and of abounding proclivity, has to be planted, and there must be some place to plant it and the toil of a few minutes preliminary to the production of a crop implies irksome forethought; and a great deal of land is taken up by agriculturists who know not the tuber. It is dreadful that the task of planting

the vegetable that freely yields the "poy" is not gratuitously carried on by the government, or even by the missionaries who are charged with having a great deal of good land. Somebody has to look after the welfare of the islanders, for they are inattentive, and the field is open for the production of the food of the people as a matter of beneficence. It is not loyalty to royalty or repining about political rights, that troubles the gentle airs of the ever-blowing trade winds—whose moisture is condensed into showers by the mountain peaks and delivered through arches of rainbows—for the sun will shine when it rains, and the valleys are spanned with bows of promise—but it is the iron grasp of progressive civilization holding the principles that reliable food products are dependent upon the disturbance of the soil! It is the native contention that the advocacy of this principle in Hawaii is an error. It is a hardship even to plant cocoanut palms, bananas and the tubers that are so facile and fattening. We may say in the simplest terms that the bed rock of the legal and social structures in which the natives of Hawaii must be preserved, or if neglected perish, is that somebody must take care of the natives and cherish them. It is a bad thing when a man and woman of the Hawaiian race are married. They have to look out for themselves. It is much the better way for the native woman to marry a Chinaman, a Japanese or a Portuguese, and that the native man should find a wife outside his race, for if there is an outsider, so to speak, in each house, there is somebody to take care of folks, keep house and feed the children, and that sort of thing.

The Japanese took the annexation of Hawaii to the United States very hard. They wanted the islands for themselves. Driven from the Asian continent by Russia, they need, according to their estimation, all the Pacific archipelagoes. They have not been able to do much in Formosa, but swallowing that island, instead of satiating them, has increased their appetite. It is a very good thing to have the consent of the governed all the time about everything, but there has been latitudinarianism touching the application of this dogma in our own country, not in territories so much as in states. We began to discriminate against Asiatics some time ago, and the importation under contract of labor from China and Japan, and the conditions of Hawaii in this matter are phenomenal, as so many Asiatics have come—from that sometimes frosty part of Asia it is notable, above the tropics—with so small a per cent of women that there is no sign of home life, and this situation calls for the adoption and execution of regulations to associate suffrage, at least with the possibility of families, and to be slow in demanding or consenting that those who are ignorant of all the experiences of peoples in governing themselves shall have political equality, particularly if they are residing upon our

land under contracts necessarily transient and opposed to our laws and customs and to the instincts of the preservation of respect for citizenship. There must in Hawaii be restraint upon the exercise of suffrage.

Hawaii comes to us after a generation of American predominance without universal suffrage. This new possession has not cost us a war; it will help us to keep the peace. It would have been preposterous for us not to take it, for the appropriation was according to the indisputable logic of the presence of our states looking upon the Pacific Ocean. We should have made the Allegheny or the Rocky Mountains or the Mississippi river our western boundary if we had not meant, so far as the course of enterprise and empire had a meaning, to become a power in the Pacific Ocean and a factor in the future of Asia. If the expansion of the United States over our new possessions is to be found fault with, our tendencies to imperialism in the acquisition of territory should have been checked before we broke over the boundaries of the original thirteen colonies. Mischief was afoot when Tennessee, Kentucky and Ohio were accepted as new possessions! Let us exalt the purchase of Louisiana by Thomas Jefferson as a public service in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, an accomplishment worthy of the author of that document, and ranking with it for all time, magnifying his glorious memory. It was under his direction that Lewis and Clarke ascended the Missouri, descended the Columbia, and standing on our soil looked upon the surf of the Pacific Ocean. There were those who thought then, as, perhaps, some think now, that this was going too far, that it is inconsistent with the farewell address and the Declaration of Independence! There were many who believed that if we ventured upon expansion to the Pacific the policy would dissolve the Union. It was contended then that the distance from the Atlantic to the Pacific was so tremendous, six months being the shortest time within which we could cross the continent, that our magnificent Republic would break in pieces, if we planted ourselves on the sundown side of North America. The same alarm about distance is heard in the outcry against our permanency in the Philippines. This cry was raised in warning against our authoritative occupation of Hawaii. Great men in New England before this generation had deep misgivings of the policy of "grasping" Oregon and California. Now we may name those glorious states as precedents of expansion justifying "imperial" enterprise then as now; and we may with confidence point to them, and follow the illustrious example of the venerated Fathers, whose primary ambition when they achieved independence was to get new land for the people.

CHAPTER I.

HAWAII AS ANNEXED.

The Star Spangled Banner Up Again in Hawaii, and to Stay—Dimensions of the Islands—What the Missionaries Have Done—Religious Belief by Nationality—Trade Statistics—Latest Census—Sugar Plantation Laborers—Coinage of Silver—Schools—Coffee Growing.

The star spangled banner should have been waving in peaceful triumph over our central possessions in the Pacific for five years. Now Old Glory has ascended the famous flag-staff, from which it was mistakenly withdrawn, and is at home. Its lustrous folds are welcomed by a city that is strangely American, in the sense that it is what the world largely calls "Yankee," and does not mean bad manners by the most expressive word that has so vast a distinction. The shops of Honolulu are Americanized. There is a splendid blossoming of the flag of the country. The British parties of opposition have faded out. There is the wisdom in English statesmanship to be glad to see us with material interest in the Pacific Ocean. In this connection there is something better than a treaty.

Do not mispronounce the name of the capital city of the Hawaiian Islands. Call it Hoo-noo-luu-luu and let it sing itself. Remember that this city is not on the larger of the islands, but the third in size. The area of Hawaii, the greater island, is 4,210 square miles. Oahn, the Honolulu island, has 600 square miles, with a population of 40,205, and Hawaii has 33,285 people. The area of the islands, told in acres is, Hawaii, 2,000,000; Nani, 400,000; Oahu, 260,000; Kauai, 350,000; Malokai, 200,000; Lauai, 100,000; Nichan, 70,000; Kahloolawe, 30,000. The dimensions of the tremendous volcanoes that are our property now are startling:

DIMENSIONS OF KILAUEA, ISLAND OF HAWAII.

(The largest active Volcano in the World.)

Area, 4.14 square miles, or 2,650 acres.
Circumference, 41,500 feet, or 7.85 miles.
Extreme width, 10,300 feet, or 1.95 miles.
Extreme length, 15,500 feet, or 2.93 miles.
Elevation, Volcano House, 1,040 feet.

DIMENSIONS OF MOKUAWEOWEO.

(The Summit Crater of Mauna Loa, Island of Hawaii.)

Area, 3.70 square miles, or 2,370 acres.
Circumference, 50,000 feet, or 9.47 miles.
Length, 19,500 feet, or 3.7 miles.
Width, 9,200 feet, or 1.74 miles.
Elevation, 13,675 feet.

DIMENSIONS OF HALEAKALA.

(The great Crater of Maui, the Largest in the World.)

Area, 19 square miles, or 12,160 acres.
Circumference, 105,600 feet, or 20 miles.
Extreme length, 39,500 feet, or 7.48 miles.
Extreme width, 12,500 feet, or 2.37 miles.
Elevation of summit, 10,032 feet.
Elevation of principal cones in crater, 8,032 and 7,572 feet.
Elevation of cave in floor of crater, 7,380 feet.

DIMENSIONS OF IAO VALLEY, MAUI.

Length (from Wailuku) about 5 miles.
Width of valley, 2 miles.
Depth, near head, 4,000 feet.
Elevation of Puu Kukui, above head of valley, 5,788 feet.
Elevation of Crater of Eke, above Waihee Valley, 4,500 feet.

Honolulu's importance comes from the harbor, and the favor of the missionaries. As to the general judgment of the work of the missionaries, there is nothing better to do than to quote Mr. Richard H. Dana's "Two Years Before the Mast." He said in that classic:

"It is no small thing to say of the missionaries of the American Board, that in less than forty years they have taught this whole people to read and write, to cipher and to sew. They have given them an alphabet, grammar and distionary; preserved their language from extinction; given it a literature and translated into it the Bible, and works of devotion, science and entertainment, etc. They have established schools, reared up native teachers, and so pressed their work that now

the proportion of inhabitants who can read and write is greater than in New England. And, whereas, they found these islanders a nation of half-naked savages, living in the surf and on the sand, eating raw fish, fighting among themselves, tyrannized over by feudal chiefs and abandoned to sensuality, they now see them decently clothed, recognizing the law of marriage, knowing something of accounts, going to school and public worship more regularly than the people do at home, and the more elevated of them taking part in conducting the affairs of the constitutional monarchy under which they live, holding seats on the judicial bench and in the legislative chambers, and filling posts in the local magistracies."

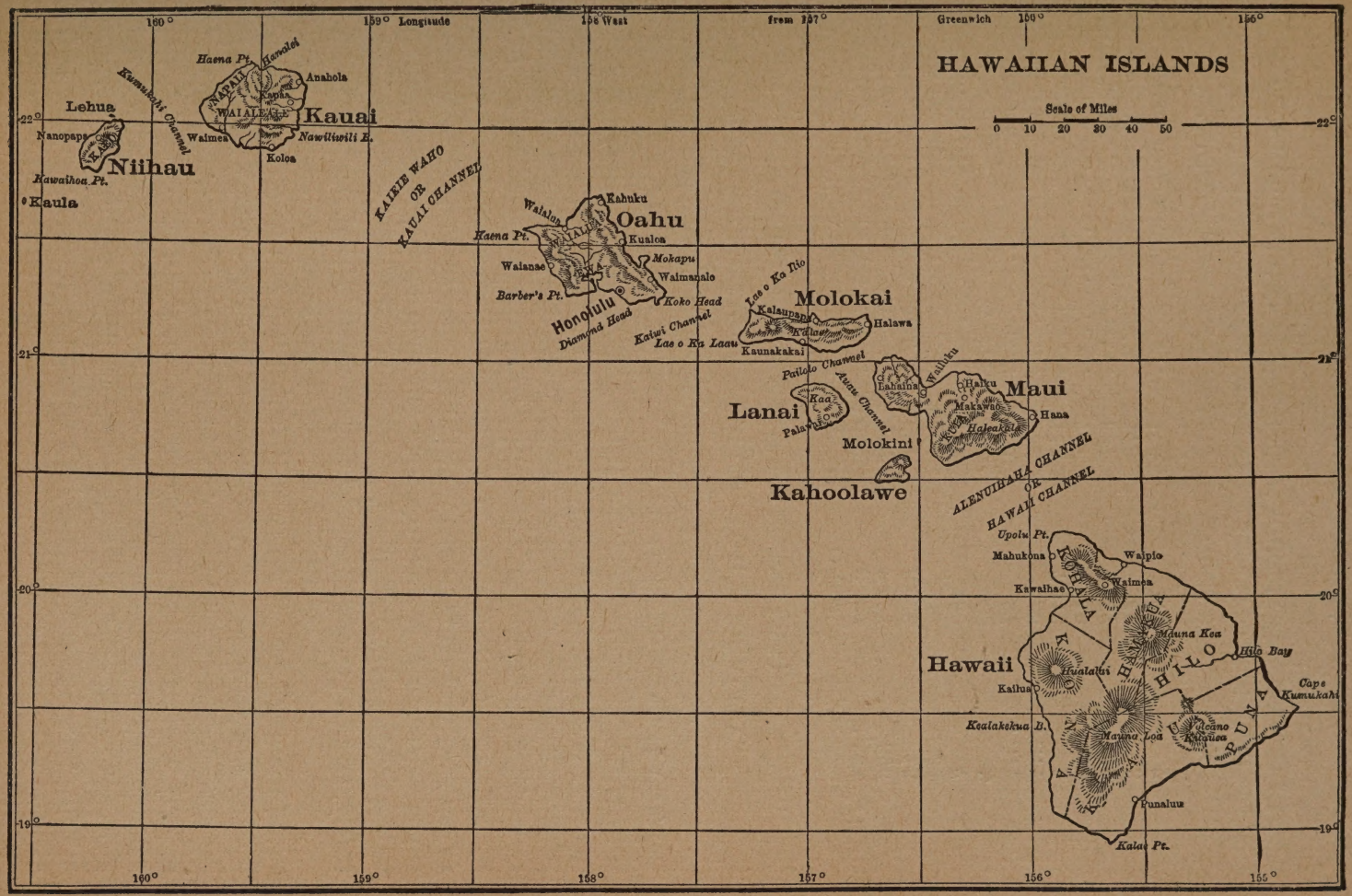
Take away the tropical vegetation and the gigantic scenery and we have here, in our new Pacific possessions, a new Connecticut. The stamp of New England is upon this lofty land, especially in Honolulu, where the spires of the churches testify. There is much that is of the deepest and broadest interest in the possible missionary work here, on account of the remarkable race questions presented. Here are the nations and the people of mixed blood—the Chinese, Japanese and Portuguese—a population immensely representative of Oriental Asia. The measure of success of the missionaries under our flag in dealing with these people can hardly fail to be accepted by the world as a test of the practical results of the labor with the Asiatica. In this connection, the figures following, from the Hawaiian Annual of 1898, furnish a basis of solid information for study:

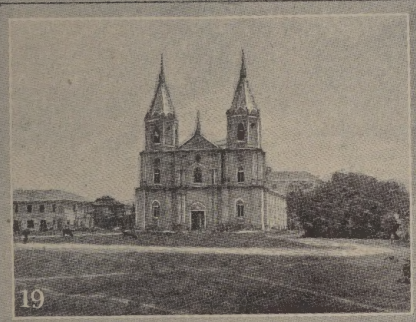
TABLE OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF, BY NATIONALITY.

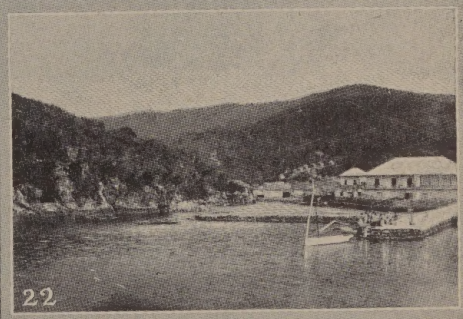
(So Far as Reported in Census Returns, 1896.)

Nationalities.	Protestants.	Roman Catholics.	Mormons.
Hawaiians	12,842	8,427	4,368
Part Hawaiians	3,242	2,633	396
Hawaiian born foreigners	1,801	6,622	15
Americans	1,404	212	34
British	1,184	180	7
Germans	592	83	2
French	6	57	.....
Norwegians	154	8	.....
Portuguese	146	7,812	1
Japanese	711	49	4
Chinese	837	67	49
South Sea Islanders	178	42	3
Other nationalities	176	171	7
Totals	23,273	26,363	4,886

NOTE.—This table shows but 54,522 of the population (just about one-half) to have made returns of their religious belief. With 21,535 Japanese and 18,429


HAWAIIAN ISLANDS
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50
Longitude from 160° Greenwich 160° West
160°
159°
158°
157°
156°
155°
22°
21°
20°
19°
Lehua
Nanopapa
Niihau
Kaula
Kaumukahi Channel
Haena Pt.
Hanalei
NAPALI
WAIALEALE
Kapaa
Anahola
Kauai
Waimea
Nawiliwili B.
Koloa
Hawaihoa Pt.
KAIEIE WAHO OR KAUAI CHANNEL
Waialua
Kahuku
Oahu
Kualoa
Haena Pt.
Waianae
Mokapu
Waimanalo
Barber's Pt.
Honolulu
Diamond Head
Koko Head
Kaiwi Channel
Lae o Ka Laau
Lae o Ka Ilio
Molokai
Kalaupapa
Halawa
Kaunakakai
Pailolo Channel
Lanai
Kaa
Palawai
Auau Channel
Molokini
Kahoolawe
Waihiku
Hamakua
Maui
Makawao
Hana
Haleakala
ALENUIHAHA CHANNEL OR HAWAII CHANNEL
Upolu Pt.
Mahukona
Waipio
Kawaihae
Waimea
KOHALA
KAU
Mauna Kea
Hilo Bay
Hamakua
Hilo
Hualalai
Hawaii
Kailua
Cape Kumukahi
Kealakekua B.
Mauna Loa
Volcano Kilauea
PUNA
Puna
Kau
Punaluu
Kala Pt.





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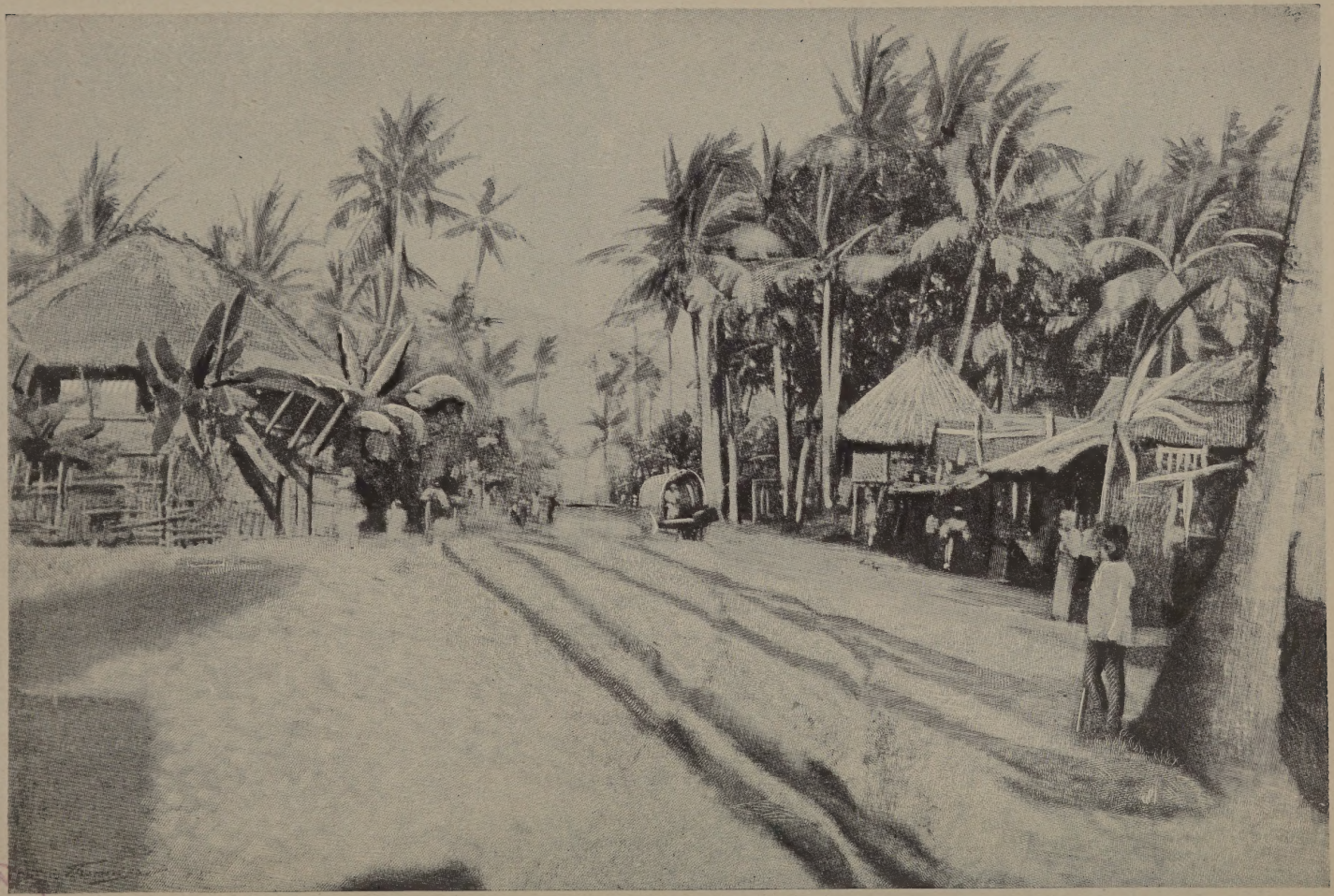
17. Royal Street in Lipa, Batangas Province. 18. School of Arts and Commerce in Ilo-Ilo. 19. Molo Church in Ilo-Ilo. 20. A Filipino Funeral Party in Ilo-Ilo, Grouped Around the Tomb. 21. A View of the San Sebastian Highway, Manila. 22. Romblon—Capital of the Island of Su Nombre. 23. View of the Paseo de Aguadas, Manila. 24. Filipino Carpenters of Ilo-Ilo at Work.

VIEWS FROM THE PHILIPPINES



LANDSCAPE VIEW SHOWING BEAUTY AND LUXURIANCE OF VEGETATION IN THE PHILIPPINES.

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Chinese (probably Buddhists and Confucians) unreported because not provided for in the schedules, the great difference is largely accounted for.

The latest census returns show that of the whole population, 109,020, there are: Males, 72,517; females, 36,503. The latest information of labor, under contract for sugar-making, make the number of males on the island more than double that of the females. There has been an increase of population of more than 50,000 in the eighteen years from 1878 to 1896. The census of the several islands, taken September 27, 1896, shows:

	Population.			Dwellings.			
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Inhabited.	Uninhabited.	Building.	Total.
Oahu	26,164	14,041	40,205	6,685	1,065	60	7,010
Hawaii	22,632	10,653	33,285	5,033	955	35	6,027
Molokai	1,335	972	2,307	651	92	3	746
Lanai	51	54	105	23	13	..	36
Maui	11,435	6,291	17,726	3,156	650	18	3,824
Niihau	76	88	164	31	3	..	34
Kauai	10,824	4,404	15,228	2,320	299	8	2,627
Totals	72,517	36,503	109,020	17,099	3,081	124	21,104

Hawaii's annual trade balance since 1879 is a notable record:

Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Excess Export Values.	Custom House Receipts.
1880	$3,673,268.41	$4,968,444.87	$1,295,176.46	$402,181.63
1881	4,547,978.64	6,885,436.56	2,337,457.92	423,192.01
1882	4,974,510.01	8,299,016.70	3,324,506.69	505,390.98
1883	5,624,240.09	8,133,343.88	2,509,103.79	577,332.87
1884	4,637,514.22	8,184,922.63	3,547,408.41	551,739.59
1885	3,830,544.58	9,158,818.01	5,328,273.43	502,337.38
1886	4,877,738.73	10,565,885.58	5,688,146.85	580,444.04
1887	4,943,840.72	9,707,047.33	4,763,206.61	595,002.64
1888	4,540,887.46	11,903,398.76	7,362,511.30	546,142.63
1889	5,438,790.63	14,039,941.40	8,601,150.77	550,010.16
1890	6,962,201.13	13,142,829.48	6,180,628.35	695,956.91
1891	7,438,582.65	10,395,788.27	2,957,205.62	732,594,93
1892	4,028,295.31	8,181,687.21	4,153,391.90	494,385.10
1893	4,363,177.58	10,962,598.09	5,599,420.51	545,754.16
1894	5,104,481.43	9,678,794.56	4,574,313.13	524,767.37
1895	5,714,017.54	8,474,138.15	2,760,120.61	547,149.40
1896	7,164,561.40	15,515,230.13	8,350,668.73	656,895.82

The percentage of imports from the United States in 1896 was 76.27; Great Britain, 10.54; Germany, 2.06; France, .25; China, 4.17; Japan, 3.86. In 1895 the export of sugar was 294,784,819 pounds; value, $7,975,500.41.

NATIONALITY OF VESSELS EMPLOYED IN FOREIGN CARRYING TRADE, 1889-1896.

Nations.	1889. No.	1889. Tons.	1890. No.	1890. Tons.	1891. No.	1891. Tons.	1892. No.	1892. Tons.
American	185	125,196	224	153,098	233	169,472	212	160,042
Hawaiian	44	56,670	35	43,641	21	26,869	11	4,340
British	22	21,108	16	22,912	33	52,866	30	58,317
German	5	3,337	9	7,070	9	9,005	5	5,978
Japanese	..	.....	...	.....	5	8,239	3	4,701
All others	9	12,268	9	9,980	10	8,401	11	8,201
Total	269	218,579	293	236,701	311	274,852	722	242,579

BONDED DEBT, ETC., HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, JUNE 30, 1897.

	Per Cent.	
Under Loan Act of 1876	7	$ 1,500.00
" " " 1882	6	67,400.00
" " " 1886	6	2,000,000.00
" " " 1888	6	190,000.00
" " " 1890	5 and 6	124,100.00
" " " 1892	5 and 6	82,100.00
" " " 1893	6	650,000.00
" " " 1896	5	222,000.00
		3,337,100.00
Due Postal Savings Bank Depositors		782,074.25
Total		$4,119,174.25

NUMBER AND NATIONALITY OF SUGAR PLANTATION LABORERS.

(Compiled from latest Report of Secretary Bureau of Immigration, December 31, 1897.)

Islands.	Hawaiians.	Portuguese.	Japanese.	Chinese.	S. S. Isl'ders.	All Others.	Total.
Hawaii	594	980	6,245	2,511	24	232	10,586
Mauai.	580	526	2,010	1,114	45	110	4,385
Oahu.	197	211	1,331	973	16	55	2,783
Kauai	244	551	3,307	1,691	30	203	6,026
Total, 1896	1,615	2,268	12,893	6,289	115	600	23,780
Total, 1895	1,584	2,497	11,584	3,847	133	473	20,120
Increase, 1896	31	....	1,309	2,442	....	127	3,660
Decrease, 1899	....	231	.....	....	18	....	.....

The number of day laborers, 11,917, or a little over one-half of the total force engaged. The Japanese and South Sea Islanders are about evenly divided in their numbers as to term and day service, while Hawaiians and Portuguese show each but

a small proportion of their numbers under contract. Minors are reducing in number. Women laborers, numbering 1,024 in all, show a gain of 89 over 1875. Only thirty Hawaiian females are engaged among all the plantations, and confined to one plantation each in Oahu, Kauai and Maui.

The Hwaiian Annual of 1898 makes this annotation:

During the year various changes have occurred in the labor population of the country, and under the working of the present law, requiring a proportion of other than Asiatic of all immigrant labor introduced, there has already arrived one company of Germans, comprising 115 men, 25 women and 47 children, all of whom found ready engagements with various plantations.

Chinese arirvals in 1897 to take the place of Japanese whose terms were expiring, will alter the proportions of these nationalitis of plantation labor, and by the new law Asiatic laborers must return to their country at the expiration of their term of service, or re-engage; they cannot drift around the country, nor engage in competition with artizans or merchants.

The islands comprising the Hawaiian territory are Hawaii, Mauai, Oahu, Kauai, Molokai, Lauai, Niihau, Kahaalawe, Lehua and Molokini, "The Leper Prison," and, in addition, Nihoa, or Bird Island, was taken possession of in 1822; an expedition for that purpose having been fitted out by direction of Kaahumanu, and sent thither under the charge of Captain William Sumner.

Laysan Island became Hawaiian territory May 1st, 1857, and on the 10th of the same month Lysiansky Island was added to Kamehameha's realm by Captain John Paty.

Palmyra Island was taken possession of by Captain Zenas Bent, April 15th, 1862, and proclaimed Hawaiian territory in the reign of Kamehameha IV., as per "By Authority" notice in the "Polynesian" of June 21st, 1862.

Ocean Island was acquired September 20th, 1886, as per proclamation of Colonel J. H. Boyd, empowered for such service during the reign of Kalakaua.

Necker Island was taken possession of May 27th, 1894, by Captain James A. King, on behalf of the Hawaiian Government.

French Frigate Shoal was the latest acquisition, also by Captain King, and proclaimed Hawaiian territory July 13th, 1895.

Gardener Island, Mara or Moro Reef, Pearl and Hermes Reef, Gambia Bank, and Johnston or Cornwallis Island are also claimed as Hawaiian possessions, but there is some obscurity as to the dates of acquisition, and it is of record in the Foreign Office articles of convention between Hon. Charles St. Julien, the Commissioner and Political and Commercial Agent of His Majesty the King of the Hawaiian

Islands, and John Webster, Esq., the Sovereign Chief and Proprietor of the group of islands known as Stewart's Islands (situated near the Solomon Group), whereby is ceded to the Hawaiian Government—subject to ratification by the King—the islands of Ihikaiana, Te Parena, Taore, Matua Awi and Matua Ivoto, comprising said group of Stewart's Islands. But the formalities do not seem to have been perfected, so that we are not certain that the Stewart's Islands are our possessions. The latest thorough census of the Hawaiian Islands was taken in September, 1896, but the population was closely estimated July 1st, 1897.

	Natives.	Chinese.	Japanese.	Portuguese.	All Other Foreigners.	Total
Population as per Census, September, 1896.....	39,504	21,616	24,407	15,191	8,302	109,020
Passengers—Arrivals— Excess over departures, 4th quarter, 1896.....	.....	1,377	1,673	.....	339	3,389
Excess over departures, 6 mos. to July 1, 1897.	.....	2,908	396	58	207	3,569
Total	39,504	25,901	26,476	15,249	8,848	115,978

The following denominations of Hawaiian silver were coined during the reign of Kalakaua, at the San Francisco mint, and imported for the circulating medium of the islands in 1883 and 1884. They are of the same intrinsic value as the United States silver coins and were first introduced into circulation January 14th, at the opening of the bank of Claus Spreckles & Co. in Honolulu. The amount coined was $1,000,000, divided as follows:

Hawaiian Dollars.....	$ 500,000
" Half Dollars.....	350,000
" Quarter Dollars.....	125,000
" Dimes.....	25,000
Total.....	$1,000,000

SCHOOLS, TEACHERS AND PUPILS FOR THE YEAR 1896.

		—Teachers.—			—Pupils.—	
	Schools.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.
Government	132	111	169	280	5,754	4,435
Independent	63	72	130	202	1,994	1,840
	195	183	299	482	7,748	6,275

NATIONALITY OF PUPILS ATTENDING SCHOOLS FOR THE YEAR 1896.

Nationality.	Male.	Female.
Hawaiian	3,048	2,432
Part-Hawaiian	1,152	1,296
American	219	198
British	105	151
German	152	136
Portuguese	2,066	1,534
Scandinavian	51	47
Japanese	242	155
Chinese	641	280
South Sea Islanders	15	13
Other foreigners	57	33
	7,748	6,275

Of the Japanese, 8.5 per cent. were born on the islands; of the Chinese, percentage born here, 10.3. Of a total of 41,711 Japanese and Chinese, 36,121 are males and 5,590 females. The figures show that the Asiatics are not at home.

The sugar industry in our new possessions has had great prominence agriculturally. The sugar interest of these islands has had a formidable influence in the United States. Recent events and the ascertained certainties of the future show that the people of the United States will soon raise their sugar supply on their own territory. The annexation of these sugar islands was antagonized because there was involved the labor contract system. As a matter of course, the United States will not change the labor laws of the nation to suit the sugar planters of Hawaii, who have been obtaining cheap labor through a system of Asiatic servitude. There is but one solution—labor will be better compensated in Hawaii than it has been, and yet white men will not be largely employed in the cultivation of sugar cane in our tropical islands. The beet sugar industry is another matter. There will be an end of the peculiar institution that has had strength in our new possessions, that brings, under contract, to Hawaii a mass of forty thousand Chinese and Japanese men, and turns over the majority of them to the plantations, whose profits have displayed an unwholesome aggrandizement. Once it was said cotton could not be grown in the cotton belt of our country without slave labor, but the latter trouble is, the cotton producers claim, there is too much of their product raised. A ten-million bale crop depresses the market. Already experiments have been tried successfully to pay labor in the sugar fields by the tons of cane delivered at the mills for grinding. This is an incident full of auspicious significance. A general feeling is expressed in

the current saying that coffee raising is "the coming industry." The confidence that there is prosperity in coffee amounts to enthusiasm. Here are some of the statistics of coffee growers, showing number of trees and area, trees newly planted and trees in bearing:

	NO. OF TREES OR AREA.		
	Newly Planted.	1 to 3 year old.	Trees in Bearing.
J. C. Lenhart, Kaupo	2,000 trs.	4,000 trs.	.....
Mokulau Coffee Co., Kaupo	2,000 trs.	10,000 trs.	2 acres.
E. E. Paxton, Kaupo	5,000 trs.	7,000 trs.	.....
Native Patches throughout Kaupo	10 acres.	.....	.....
Lahaina Coffee and Fruit Co., Ltd., Lahaina	10,000 trs.	100,000 trs.	30,000 trs.
H. P. Baldwin, Honokahua	35,947 trs.	4,669 trs.	2,641 trs.
Waianae Coffee Plantation Co., Waianae	7,500 trs.	23,000 trs.	36,000 trs.
C. A. Wideman, Waianae	10,000 trs.	8,500 trs.	.....
Makaha Coffee Co., Ltd., Waianae	112 acres.	.....	.....
Lanihau Plantation, Kailua	20,700 trs.	25,000 trs.	10,000 trs.
Kona Coffee Co., Ltd., Kailua	.....	.....	35 acres.
Geo. McDougal & Sons, Kailua	.....	176 acres.	105 acres.
H. C. Achi, Holualoa	.....	.....	10,000 trs.
E. W. Barnard, Laupahoehoe	.....	.....	30,000 trs.
J. M. Barnard, Laupahoehoe	.....	5,000 trs.	.....
John Gaspar, Napoopoo	.....	33,000 trs.	16,000 trs.
Manuel Sebastian, Kealakekua	.....	.....	8,000 trs.
J. G. Henriques, Kealakekua	.....	.....	3,000 trs.
C. Hooper, Kauleoli	.....	2 acres.	12 acres.
J. Keanu, Keei	5 acres.	10 acres.	16 acres.
A. S. Cleghorn	3 acres.	.....	100 acres.
Mrs. E. C. Greenwell	.....	8 acres.	25 acres.
J. M. Monsarrat, Kolo	.....	38 acres.	40 acres.
Queen Emma Plantation	.....	.....	25,000 trs.
L. M. Staples Plantation	.....	25,000 trs.	12,000 trs.
Olaa Coffee Co., Ltd	50 acres.	90 acres.	.....
Grossman Bros	100 acres.	30 acres.	.....
B. H. Brown	2,260 trs.	2,000 trs.	3,225 trs.
Herman Eldart	40,000 trs.	20,000 trs.	7,000 trs.

The list of coffee growers is very long. That which is of greater interest is the showing made of the immense number of new trees. The coffee movement steadily gains force and the pace of progress is accelerated.

Everybody has not been pleased with annexation. The Japanese are not in a good humor about it. The minister of Japan got his orders evidently to leave for Japan when the news arrived that the question had been settled in Washington, and he left for Yokohama by the boat that brought the intelligence. Japanese journals of importance raise the question as to the propriety of our establishing a coal station here. There is some dissatisfaction among the Hawaiians, who are bewildered.

They are children who believe stories in proportion as they are queer. Many of them feel that they have a grievance. The young princess who is the representative of the extinguished monarchy is affable and respected. If the question as to giving her substantial recognition were left to the Americans here, they would vote for her by a large majority. It would not be bad policy for the government to be generous toward her. She is not in the same boat with the ex-Queen. The Americans who have been steadfast in upholding the policy that at last has prevailed are happy, but not wildly so, just happy. Now that they have gained their cause, their unity will be shaken by discussions on public questions and personal preferments.

There should be no delay in understanding that in this Archipelago the race questions forbid mankind suffrage, and that our new possessions are not to become states at once, or hurriedly; that it will take generations of assimilation to prepare the Hawaiian Islands for statehood.

The objection to the climate of the marvelous islands of which we have become possessed is its almost changeless character. There is no serious variation in the temperature. There is a little more rain in "winter" than in "summer." There is neither spring nor fall. The trade winds afford a slight variety, and this seems to be manipulated by the mountains, that break up the otherwise unsparing monotony of serene loveliness. The elevations of the craters, and the jagged peaks are from one thousand to thirteen thousand feet. If you want a change of climate, climb for cold, and escape the mosquitos, the pests of this paradise. There are a score of kinds of palms; the royal, the date, the cocoanut, are of them. The bread fruit and banana are in competition. The vegetation is voluptuous and the scenery stupendous. There is a constellation of islands, and they differ like the stars in their glories and like human beings in their difficulties.

CHAPTER II.

THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII.

Report of the Hawaiian Commission—Description of the Islands—Their Resources —Commerce—Character of Their People—Detail of the Territorial Government—Recommended and Most Valuable Official Reports of the Features of Civilization and Material Resources of the Islands.

The report of the Hawaiian Commission, sent to the Senate December 6, 1898, was of remarkable interest, because it brought before Congress and the country the detail of government of our new possessions that are to be of our dominion, and yet apart from us in peculiar conditions and relations, requiring laws and forms of proceedings novel to our experience and applicable in many ways to Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines. The report of the Commissioners bristles with points that command attention, in the changes recommended in the laws of Hawaii to suit the existing conditions and conform to the Constitution and the policy of the United States. More than this, the information presented by the Commission is upon authority, and will have distinction in the history of this period of expansion, advancement and transition. These are the first distinct footsteps of the movement that is logical, and not unfamiliar in our progressive development, and yet is characterized as the new departure. The Commissioners were appointed and commissioned by the President pursuant to the joint resolution to provide for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States, which appeared July 7th, 1898. The joint resolution contained these passages:

"Until Congress shall provide for the government of such islands all the civil, judicial, and military powers exercised by the officers of the existing government in said islands shall be vested in such person or persons and shall be exercised in such manner as the President of the United States shall direct; and the President shall have power to remove said officers and fill the vacancies so occasioned.

"The existing treaties of the Hawaiian Islands with foreign nations shall forthwith cease and determine, being replaced by such treaties as may exist, or as may be hereafter concluded, between the United States and such foreign nations. The municipal legislation of the Hawaiian Islands, not enacted for the

fulfillment of the treaties so extinguished, and not inconsistent with this joint resolution nor contrary to the Constitution of the United States nor to any existing treaty of the United States, shall remain in force until the Congress of the United States shall otherwise determine."

The United States Commissioners, Senators Cullom and Morgan and Representative Hitt, effected a partial organization in Washington, July 16th. The second meeting was in Honolulu, August 18th, all the Commissioners present, the act of Congress providing for two residents of the island to serve, being present.

The Commission thereafter held its meetings in regular daily sessions in the former palace of the Hawaiian Government, now known as the "Executive Building," of which due public notice was given. Certain times were arranged for the hearing of suggestions from the public and for the receiving of petitions or other papers which might be presented. A number of societies or associations, as well as individuals, appeared and were heard through their chosen representatives by the Commission.

At designated times the Commission visited several of the most important islands of the Hawaiian group, in company with persons representing important agricultural and commercial interests and others representing the Government.

The elaborate and exhaustive report shows the incessant, thorough and intelligent industry of the Commissioners who visited the more important islands and spared no labor or pains in the course of their investigations. The documents they produced described the native Hawaiians as a kindly, affectionate people, confiding, friendly and liberal, many of them childlike and easy in habits, and manners, willing to associate and intermarry with the European or other races, obedient to law and governmental authority. Many of the Japanese are contract laborers, who are engaged upon the sugar plantations. Others are employed as day laborers. There are some, however, who have become merchants and mechanics, who conduct business for themselves, and who exhibit the national characteristics of skill, thrift, and ability.

There are about 700 Chinese who have been naturalized into the Hawaiian Republic. Many of the Chinese and Japanese on the islands are, or have been, brought there under permits by that Government and contracts under which they are bound to work for a term of years and to return at the expiration of the contract term of service. At the expiration of their terms they are either returned to their native country or renew their labor contracts, or become day laborers.

Nearly all Chinese laborers desire and expect to go back to China at death,

if not before. The Japanese are not so particular as to returning; but with their accumulative habits they frequently attain a position and standing in business which makes it desirable to them to remain in the islands.

The Americans, although in such a small minority, practically dominate the governmental affairs of the country, and, with the British and Germans, and part-blood Hawaiian-Americans together, constitute the controlling element in business. The Chinese and Japanese do not now possess political power, nor have they any important relation to the body politic, except as laborers. The Portuguese are largely immigrants from the islands and colonies of Portugal in the Atlantic, and have never been very closely tied to their mother country. With the certain attrition which is bound to exist between them and the Americans in Hawaii, and under the influence of the existing public-school system, which makes the study of the English language compulsory, they promise to become a good class of people for the growth of republican ideas.

It will, of course, be observed that this entire population of 110,000 is dominated, politically, financially, and commercially, by the American element.

It is duly stated in their report that the islands are distant from the equator about the same as that of Cuba. The climate would probably be the same as that of Cuba were it not modified and equalized by the northeast trade winds, which prevail for about nine months of the year, coming over thousands of miles of ocean uncontaminated by impurities. The Japanese gulf stream is a broad current of cool water, flowing like a river across the Pacific Ocean, which lowers the temperature within its vicinity materially. There are other somewhat permanent currents and winds which affect temperature, and these great natural agencies tend constantly to neutralize the tropical heat, which would otherwise seriously affect the temperature of the islands. The annual average of temperature at Honolulu is 72° or 73° F., while the lowest is 55° and the highest 88°. During the warmest month of the year, September, the temperature, except for about two hours at midday, stands at about 78°. There is never any frost or snow, except upon the high mountain peaks, where at the altitude of nearly 14,000 feet there are at times considerable snowfalls.

The report possesses rare value, as it follows personal examination not only of the islands, but of all the history and official records and bears the stamp of responsibility. We quote the passages especially that invite and occupy public attention:

"The frequent radical changes in the past years in the methods of control and of sales and leases and transfers of lands under the direction of the Crown—

some made by royal order or grant, some by law, and some without much legality or formality—have made it very difficult to arrive at exact figures. We have, however, from the best sources available, obtained the following statements, which are approximately correct, but subject to amendment when full opportunity may present for critical examination and computation.

"In 1894 the Crown lands, or the lands formerly belonging to the Monarch, were taken over to the Republic of Hawaii. They amounted on May 1, 1894, to 971,463 acres, valued at $2,314,250. Those lands are now nearly all held by tenants under long leases, and for the year ending March 31, 1894, the rentals received were $49,268.75. The leases in force when the transfer of sovereignty from the Monarchy to the Republic took place have been recognized and the rental treated as Government income. As these leases expire the lands become available for settlement or lease, under the public land system. An estimate by the Government, September 30, 1897, of all Government lands and their value, shows an aggregate of 1,762,330 acres, worth $4,147,700, to which is to be added the value of lots in Honolulu and Hilo—old lots unleased and sites of fish market, custom-house, and reclaimed lots—in all estimated at $1,481,000, making a total value of $5,629,500. Since September 30, 1897, and up to August 12, 1898, patent grants in fee simple, conveying 8,860 acres of agricultural land, valued at $48,500, have been issued, so that the present total area is 1,772,640 acres and the total value is $5,581,000.

"Values have, however, been rapidly appreciating, so that this estimate is a very moderate one. The leases now in force will expire at various dates and for various tracts from year to year until the year 1921, when all the leases issued under the Monarchy will terminate.

"Before noting the peculiarities and characteristics of the several principal islands it is proper to state, generally, that all, without exception, are of volcanic origin, while extinct craters, volcanic cones, and extensive fields of lava are almost universal.

"Kauai, the most northwesterly of the group, is nearly circular in form and about twenty-five miles in diameter, having an area of about 590 square miles. It is believed to be one of the oldest of the Hawaiian Islands; has a deeper soil and a greater proportion of naturally arable land. It seems to have been originally formed by eruptions of Mount Waialeale, the great central peak 6,000 feet in height, a volcano which has been extinct from time immemorial. There are several mountain streams flowing from an elevated natural reservoir or lake in the central plateau.

"The valleys between the mountain ranges, which radiate from the interior, are broad and deep, having large areas of rich bottom lands, very productive under the influence of irrigation, which is largely in use for the sugar plantations. Kauai was, in the remote past, a kingdom by itself, and the stories of kings and chiefs and warriors of Kauai are the traditional histories of the island. Lihue, the chief settlement, has about 3,500 inhabitants. The Falls of Wailua are romantically situated in the midst of a luxuriant forest, the river falling 180 feet in one unbroken sheet. Coffee, sugar, rice, and some other products are grown with profit. The inhabitants of Kauai take much pride in their fertile lands.

"Oahu, upon which is situated Honolulu, the capital city, is the most populous of the islands, having over 40,000 inhabitants. It is devoted largely to pasturage and agriculture. Several very profitable sugar plantations are now operated on this island, and the full development of the artesian water supply for the irrigation of growing sugar cane is here exhibited. During the past two years the yield of sugar upon one of the favorably situated plantations has exceeded expectation, amounting to from nine and one-half to ten and one-half tons of sugar per acre. Honolulu Harbor, although not large enough to accommodate a rapidly growing commerce, is a deep-water opening through the coral reefs at the mouth of the Nuuanu Valley, in front of the city of Honolulu. A few miles away is Pearl Harbor, a naturally excavated harbor, covering eight or ten square miles of water surface, and ranging from twenty to ninety feet deep.

"It is expected that by a small appropriation a coral reef, which bars the entrance from the ocean for large vessels, will be removed by the Government of the United States, whereupon this will furnish the best harbor on the Pacific. Some of the most beautiful and enchanting residence sites to be found are at Honolulu. A railway fifty-five miles in length connects Honolulu with Waialua and several intervening points. Several very prosperous business enterprises are established at Honolulu, and, altogether, the location, for many reasons, is a most desirable one for commercial and shipping facilities.

"Molokai is a long, narrow island, about forty miles in length and less than ten miles in width. The eastern half of Molokai has some very wild mountain scenery, and in some places a luxuriant vegetation. Recently much attention has been given to irrigation from artesian water, and a large area is expected soon to be brought under profitable culture. Still, most of the island is devoted to pasturage. Quite a large number of deer have their haunts on this island.

"The noted leper settlement is situated on the north side of Molokai. There are about 1,200 lepers in the settlement, fed, clothed, and cared for by the

Government of Hawaii. A few devoted monks and nuns of the Franciscan order have the immediate personal care of the lepers. The peninsula on which the lepers are maintained contains about 5,000 acres of land, which is completely surrounded and separated from the world by a turbulent ocean on the north and a range of impassable mountain heights on the south.

"Maui is believed to be one of the oldest volcanic islands. Much of the lava of which it is composed has become decomposed and available for easy cultivation, while the use of artesian water for irrigation has made the sugar lands the most profitable known. This island has upon it the great volcano of Haleakalau, now and for centuries entirely quiet, but which is the largest extinct volcano in the world. This crater is half a mile deep and twenty miles in circumference.

"On this island artesian water is pumped in quantities of 6,000,000 gallons daily, to the height of 400 feet, for sugar irrigation. The lands on the south and west sides of the island are mostly cattle ranches and pasture lands, while on the north and east the numerous streams furnish abundance of water for prosperous plantations of sugar and coffee. This island was once a kingdom. The town of Lahaina was its capital and contained the palaces of the king. Some of the plantations on this island were visited by us and were truly places of beauty. They evidenced great enterprise, and yield large profits from the great crops of sugar."

As official reporters the Commissioners have given most interesting reports of the great volcanic mountains—the greater one, "The House of Fire," sixty miles in circumference at the base—the distance from equator on the side to one on top being 25 miles. The reporters say:

"The side slopes of these great mountains comprise practically all the agricultural land upon this island. This can nearly all be cultivated after it is cleared from its luxuriant vegetation. Some of it, however, has such a rank growth of tree ferns, wild bananas, and all sorts of tropical trees and vines, as to require a cost of from $20 to $60 per acre to clear it. There are great fields of sugar cane on this island, the best of which yields under favorable conditions from 5 to 8 or more tons of sugar per acre.

"A large part of the volcanic soil is adapted to coffee growing, and produces the best coffee in the world. Many new plantations have been started in the last two or three years, and, as a rule, the older the trees the greater the yield of coffee, so that large profits are anticipated. Upon the sides of these great mountains, at the proper altitudes, almost all grades of temperature may be found, so that the vegetation of all countries may be grown by exercising care in the location selected.

Any desired amount of rainfall may be obtained by selecting the proper altitude and location. On this point it may be said that a rainfall varying from a few inches to 16 feet annually may be secured by using a little care in selecting a location. In addition to the various crop products, it should be stated that cattle raising is one of the principal industries upon some of the higher lands. There is much timber land also found on the mountain sides."

The great harbor of the great hereafter in the Pacific—the pearl harbor—is described in these terms:

"Although the harbor and limited roadstead of Honolulu have for a hundred years or so furnished the wharf privileges and anchorage ground for the numerous vessels of all classes which have visited the islands, there is already such a pressing demand for an early increase in harbor room, wharf area, and anchorage in the Honolulu harbor as to make necessary the immediate consideration of measures for additional harbors and wharves.

"Within 6 or 7 miles of Honolulu lies Pearl Harbor, a most valuable feature of our Hawaiian acquisition. It is the only place capable of use as a naval station in the North Pacific Ocean, except immediately upon the American coast. It consists of an inland lake containing 8 square miles of water, about half of which is from 5 to 10 fathoms deep, admitting the largest ships. The remaining portion has a depth of from 2 to 4 fathoms. It is accessible from the sea by a passage a third of a mile in width, which, after a small amount of dredging, will become a safe and excellent entrance for vessels.

"This harbor is many times larger than that of Honolulu, and it offers to the United States facilities for the increase of Pacific and Oriental commerce the value of which can not be estimated. If the United States shall develop this desirable place, as it may easily do, it will afford the American Navy the most advantageous spot for a coaling station and naval depot to be obtained anywhere.

"No other inclosed harbor exists in any group for thousands of miles north or south. One writer says:

" 'The naval power owning Pearl Harbor will therefore hold in complete monopoly the mastery of the Pacific Ocean north of the equator. Pearl Harbor is the chief jewel of the Hawaiian group.'

"Owned now by the United States, it offers us the key to the commerce of China, Japan, and Australia."

One of the most impressive passages of the report is this:

"Commercial conditions of a country are so readily influenced by what at first may appear to be remote and unimportant enactments that the utmost sagacity is

necessary in the preparation of laws for the promotion of commercial interests. The commerce between the United States and Hawaii, as well as the foreign commerce of both, should be so protected by our navigation laws and vessel registry and by our revenue legislation as to give to our country and to our newly acquired people all the advantages which should properly come to either. This is apparent. We can not ignore a territory which grows, exports, and sells more than $15,000,000 in value annually. The future of this new domain of industry can hardly yet be imagined. But when Pearl Harbor becomes the meeting place and the transfer depot of the ships of Russia, China, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and of the Atlantic liners which will steam through the Nicaragua Canal, commingling on the great Pacific with the vessels of the western coast of the American continent, the genius of our country will preside over the traffic which is certain to come in the near future. As the conduct of a four months' war has produced such a rearrangement of the methods and lines of the world's commerce, it is difficult to foretell what may be possible in a few years of peace in the future."

The fish are abundant and excellent, those caught and used by the islanders are all salt water fish, caught from the sea or the bays and harbors adjacent. There are nearly a hundred varieties, including shellfish, sold in the markets of the islands. Scarcely one of these varieties would be known or identified by Americans from its native name. Some of the varieties are of excellent quality, and the fisheries promise to become an important industry in the future of the islands.

The inventory of the real and personal property (exclusive of Government public lands) lately belonging to the Republic of Hawaii and now in possession of the several departments and offices of the Republic, which inures to the United States by the act of annexation, valued by the departmental and bureau officials of the Republic, amounts as follows:

Department of the interior	$4,612,766.66
Judiciary department	80,098.00
Finance office	5,100.00
Tax office	1,218.12
Customs bureau	3,456.25
Postal bureau	8,067.99
Audit bureau	557.00
Department of foreign affairs	60,625.00
Police department	17,351.00
Total	4,789,240.02

To this amount should be added the value of the Government or public lands, $4,147,700, and lots in Honolulu and Hilo, with unleased lots and sites of fish mar-

ket, custom-house, and reclaimed lots, worth $1,481,800, making the following aggregate valuation:

Government or public lands	$4,147,700.00
Government lots, sites, etc	1,481,800.00
Departmental property	4,789,240.02
Aggregate	10,418,740.02

It is officially stated that in the first six months of the year 1898 the Hawaiian Government collected from customs two hundred and forty thousand and thirty-eight dollars, eighty-eight cents. Under our tariff law there would have been collected on the same goods $669,636.97. The report goes largely into the discussion of the legislation recommended by the Commission. The first point being that the islands should be erected into "The Territory of Hawaii." The legislature is to be that of the territory of Hawaii, consisting of a senate and house of representatives. Section 4 of the bill provides that: "All white persons, including Portuguese, persons of African descent and all persons descended from the Hawaiian race on either the paternal or maternal sides who were citizens of the Republic of Hawaii immediately prior to the transfer of the sovereignty thereof to the United States are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States."

The houses of the legislature are to organize and sit separately, and is to be elected at a general election to be held on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November, 1899, and biennially thereafter. The supreme court is to be the judge of the legality of election to a seat in either house in cases of contest, and the sole judge of who has been elected. No member of the legislature is to be eligible for appointment or election to any office of the Territory, and no officer or employe, notary public, or agent of the Territory shall be eligible to election as a legislator; and no person who, having been entitled to qualify and vote prior to October, 1897, and since July, 1894, failed to register as such voter, shall have a vote, unless he shall take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States.

Every officer of the Territory and every member of the legislature shall take a prescribed oath to support the Constitution and laws of the United States.

Legislators shall receive $400 for each regular session, in addition to 10 cents a mile each way as mileage, and $200 for each extra session.

In voting for representatives in the legislature, each voter may cast as many votes as there are representatives to be elected from his district, and may cast them all for one representative, or apportion them among the representatives as he shall see fit, avoiding fractional divisions of a vote.

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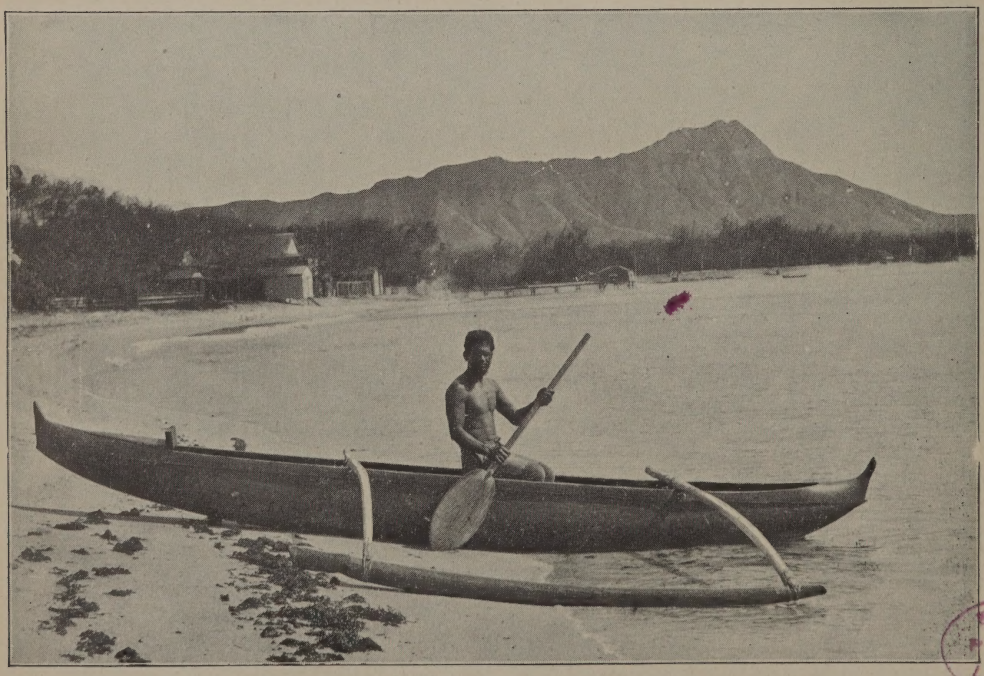
PINEAPPLE RANCH NEAR PEARL CITY, ISLAND OF OAHU, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

FLUME USED TO CONVEY WATER TO SUGAR MILLS IN HAWAII.



SURF BOAT USED BY THE NATIVES OF HONOLULU.

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The membership of the senate is fixed at 15, to hold office for four years, but providing that of the senators elected at the first general election 2 from the first district, 1 from the second, 3 from the third, and 1 from the fourth district shall hold for two years only. The districts are specifically described, and the following number of senators apportioned to each:

First district	4
Second district	3
Third district	6
Fourth district	2

A senator must be a male citizen of the United States, 30 years of age, have resided in the Territory three years, be the owner in his own right of $2,000 worth of property, or have during the preceding year received $1,000 income.

The membership of the house of representatives is fixed at 30, to be elected every second year from six districts, composed as specified, giving the first, second, and sixth districts each 4 representatives, and the third, fourth, and fifth districts each 6 representatives.

To be eligible for election as representative a person shall have attained the age of 25 years; be a male citizen of the United States; have resided in the Territory three years, and shall either own property in the Territory worth $500 or have received a money income of not less than $250 during the preceding year.

To be qualified to vote for representative, a person—

(1) Shall be a male citizen of the United States;

(2) Have resided in the Territory for one year preceding, and in the district three months preceding the time he offers to register;

(3) Shall have attained the age of 21 years;

(4) Prior to the election during the time prescribed by law have caused his name to be entered on the register of voters for representative for his district;

(5) Prior to such registration have paid on or before March 31 next preceding the date of registration all taxes due by him to the government;

(6) Be able understandingly to speak, read, and write the English or Hawaiian language.

To be qualified to vote for senators, a person must possess all the qualifications and be subject to all the conditions required by this act for voters for representatives, and, in addition thereto, shall own and possess in his own right real property worth $1,000, upon which valuation legal taxes shall have been paid for the year preceding that in which he offers to register, or shall have actually received a

money income of not less than $600 during the year next preceding the 1st day of April next preceding the date of such registration.

Five new boards of registration, of three members each, shall be appointed by the governor, with the advice of the senate, for terms of four years, for the five registration districts composed as specified, to take the place of the existing boards of registration. Such new registration boards shall meet to register persons entitled to vote for senators and representatives at such times between August 31 and October 10, 1899, and each second year thereafter, as may be necessary to enable them to register all persons entitled to registry. Personal appearance of an applicant is required to entitle him to registry.

The first session of the legislature shall convene at Honolulu on the third Wednesday in February, 1900.

Sessions not to continue longer than sixty days.

The offices of president, minister of foreign affairs, finance, public instruction, auditor-general, deputy auditor-general, surveyor-general, and marshal are abolished.

The bill contains provisions for the government of the Territory, giving it executive, legislative, and judicial officers. A governor, secretary of the Territory, a United States district judge, a United States district attorney, and a United States marshal are to be appointed by the President, and an internal-revenue district and a customs district are created.

The governor shall possess the veto power, and may veto specific items in bills which appropriate money for specific purposes. The two houses may override the veto by a two-thirds vote.

The legislature may create town, city, or county municipalities.

An appropriation of $5,000 is recommended to enable the United States Fish Commissioner to examine the status of the fishing rights and to report upon the fisheries of the Territory.

It also provides that foreign goods and articles imported into the islands after July 7, 1898, shall, if afterwards brought into the United States, pay the same duties charged upon like articles when imported from any foreign country.

It also provides for the election of a Delegate to the House of Representatives in Congress, for each Congress, by the voters qualified to vote for representatives in the legislature, this delegate to possess the same powers and privileges now accorded to other delegates in Congress.

The existing laws of Hawaii not inconsistent with the Constitution and the

laws of the United States or of this act shall continue in force, subject to repeal or amendment by the legislature of Hawaii or by Congress.

The laws of Hawaii relating to public or Government lands continue in force until changed by Congress. No leases of agricultural lands shall, however, be granted, sold, or renewed for a longer term than five years, unless Congress shall direct. The officers of the Territory shall be an attorney-general, with similar powers and duties as now possessed by the attorney-general of the Republic of Hawaii, except as changed by this act or by the legislature, and a treasurer, with similar powers and duties to the present minister of finance, and such powers and duties regarding licenses, corporations, companies, and partnerships, and registration of prints, labels, and trade-marks as are now possessed by the minister of the interior, except as changed by this act or by the legislature; also a superintendent of public works, a superintendent of public instruction, an auditor and a deputy auditor, a surveyor, with the powers and duties of a surveyor-general, and a chief sheriff to succeed to the duties of marshal of the Republic, are to be appointed by the governor.

The laws of Hawaii relating to agriculture and forestry are continued in force, except as they may be modified by Congress or the legislature. The Secretary of Agriculture is charged with the duties of examining the laws of Hawaii relating to agriculture, forestry, public lands, and public roads and reporting thereon to the President.

There shall also be appointed by the governor a chief justice and two associate justices of the supreme court, the judges of the circuit court, the members of the board of health, commissioners of public instruction, prison inspectors, boards of registration, inspectors of election, and other public boards that may be created by law, and all officers whose salaries exceed $2,000 per annum.

The bill provides that the Constitution and laws of the United States locally applicable shall have the same force and effect in the Territory of Hawaii as elsewhere in the United States. This is the usual provision found in the acts of Congress providing for the establishment of Territorial governments in the United States heretofore. Such a provision is very important in this bill for many reasons, among which may be mentioned the continued importation of coolie labor into Hawaii. It has been the policy of the Government of Hawaii, before and since the establishment of the Republic, to import men under labor contracts for a term of years, at the expiration of which they are to return to the countries from which they came. Those brought in are mainly from China and Japan.

Since the act of Congress annexing Hawaii was passed prohibiting Chinese

immigration the Hawaiian sugar planters have seemed to be making an unusual effort in securing the importation of Japanese laborers, fearing trouble and embarrassment on account of insufficient labor for the care and carrying on of their sugar plantations. Of course it becomes necessary to extend our labor laws over the islands, so as to prohibit all kinds of foreign contract labor from coming to the Territory, first, because it is the policy of this country to keep out all kinds of cheap foreign labor, including coolie labor, and thereby prevent such labor from interfering with the wages of American labor, and, secondly, to protect our manufactured products from competition with manufactured goods produced by cheap alien labor. The general laws of the United States will place the people of the Territory on the same footing with the people of the States and of other Territories of the United States in regard to foreign labor.

The question whether white labor can be profitably utilized in the sugar plantations is yet a problem; but the planters are preparing to give such labor a trial, and some of them believe it will prove superior to the labor of either Chinese or Japanese.

The majority of the commission have not been able to agree with the suggestions of those who favor the creation of a "cabinet," or "advisory council," to aid the Territorial governor in his administration of the affairs of the Territory of Hawaii. The commission hold however proper and convenient it might be to provide such an auxiliary as a "cabinet" for the governor of a State, or for the chief executive of a country, that it is unnecessary in a Territorial government, which is itself merely a subordinate and limited authority, under the close supervision of the President of the United States. The history of the Territories of the United States, covering many years of experience, has not, in the opinion of the commission, shown a necessity for the creation of any number of advisors. The powers of a Territorial governor are likely to be so clearly defined by the legislation of Congress and the laws of the Territory that there will hardly be need for such an establishment as an "executive" or "advisory" council.

The fact that such a proposition is urged by a gentleman of great experience and wisdom, who has been of the greatest service in the past history of Hawaii in behalf of order and good government, has called the most careful attention of the commission to the subject, but we are unable to see that there is a logical demand or need for such an addition to the Territorial establishment of the United States. The argument that the Territorial governor might, arbitrarily, at the close of a session of a legislature, remove the heads of departments, or other officials from office and commission new ones, whose commissions would be valid until the end of the

next session of the senate, or nearly two years, does not strike the commission as being a valid reason for staying the hand of a governor who is responsible directly to the President of the United States for his acts, and whose official existence is subject to the will of the President.

It is possible that the reasons presented by the minority of the commission might be deemed vital and important if the Territorial administration was sovereign and not subordinate in character. We believe, however, that if the system proposed by the bill shall in practice prove to be obnoxious to the claim of the minority it will then be ample time for Congress to change the proposed system.

Much has been said to the effect that the policy or scheme of government for the Hawaiian Islands will be taken and accepted as an index or precedent to be followed in the plan of government for Porto Rico and the Philippines. In view of this apparent expectation or belief on the part of many good people in the United States, the commission deem it proper to say that the people of Hawaii are capable of self-government, and have proven this by the establishment of the Republic of Hawaii and the adoption of a constitution and code of laws which will compare favorably with those of any other government, and under such constitution and laws have maintained a stable government for several years worthy of a free people. The people of those islands are more or less familiar with the institutions and laws of the United States, while the laws of the little Republic are largely taken from the laws of this country.

It can not be said that either the Porto Ricans or the Filipinos are at all familiar with our system of government, or with any other based on the principles of liberty.

The underlying theory of our Government is the right of self-government, and a people must be fitted for self-government before they can be trusted with the responsibilities and duties attaching to free government.

These remarks are made to negative the idea that because the people of the Hawaiian Islands can, in the judgment of the commission, be consistently given self-government to an extent almost equal to that given the people in the States, it can not be safely inferred that other insular possessions which the United States have, or may acquire by treaty with Spain, can be granted equal freedom in government.

In the organization of the commission, the following committees were raised to consider and report upon various matters of importance:

1. Agriculture—Mr. Dole.
2. Cables and Telegraphs—Mr. Morgan and Mr. Frear.

3. Claims—Mr. Frear and Mr. Hitt.
4. Corporations—Mr. Hitt and Mr. Dole.
5. Education—Mr. Cullom, Mr. Morgan, and Mr. Frear.
6. Finance—Mr. Cullom, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Hitt, Mr. Dole, and Mr. Frear.
7. Fisheries—Mr. Frear and Mr. Morgan.
8. Harbors and Coasts—Mr. Dole and Mr. Hitt.
9. Health and Quarantine—Mr. Morgan and Mr. Frear.
10. Immigration and Labor—Mr. Cullom, Mr. Morgan, and Mr. Dole.
11. Local Taxation—Mr. Frear and Mr. Hitt.
12. Postal Service—Mr. Hitt and Mr. Frear.
13. Public Debt—Mr. Dole.
14. Public Lands—Mr. Cullom, Mr. Morgan, and Mr. Dole.
15. Public Property—Mr. Frear.
16. Tariff and Internal Revenue—Mr. Hitt and Mr. Dole.
17. Judiciary—Mr. Morgan and Mr. Frear.
18. Local and Executive Offices—Mr. Dole and Mr. Frear.
19. Committee to Draft Bills—Mr. Cullom, Mr. Dole, and Mr. Hitt.

The reports made by these committees in part supplied the information which has enabled the commission to prepare and agree upon the bill which is herewith presented, "To provide a government for the Territory of Hawaii," and are printed in the appendix.

The commission also presents two additional bills, the passage of which is made necessary by the existing conditions. One of these is entitled "A bill relating to Hawaiian silver coinage and treasury notes." It provides that unmutilated Hawaiian silver coins shall be received at par value in payment of all dues to the government of the Territory of Hawaii and of the United States, and shall not again be issued, but shall on presentation in sums of $500 to either government be purchased and recoined as bullion at the United States mint at San Francisco. All Hawaiian silver certificates shall be redeemed by the Territory of Hawaii on or before January 1, 1902.

The other is entitled "A bill relating to postal savings banks in Hawaii," which repeals the Hawaiian laws establishing postal savings banks, and directs the Secretary of the Treasury to pay the amounts on deposit in the postal savings banks in Hawaii to the persons entitled thereto, terminating the interest on all deposits on and after the 1st of July, 1899, and forbidding further deposits after that date.

The commission has performed the work assigned to it by the President under

the joint resolution providing for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, and they venture to express the hope that it may be deemed satisfactory by Congress and the country. S. M. CULLOM, Chairman.

MINORITY REPORT.

BY PRESIDENT DOLE.

With the exception herein stated, I substantially indorse the majority report of the commission.

It has been a matter of sincere gratification to me that its work has been upon conservative lines, and that the Hawaiian civil system—the result of sixty years of growth—has been so slightly affected by its conclusions.

I have, however, been compelled to differ from my associates in relation to certain features of the executive power of the Territory as recommended by them.

The political troubles of the Hawaiian community, culminating in the downfall of the monarchy, were mainly due to the persistent effort of successive sovereigns to acquire unlimited personal power.

Upon the organization of the Republic of Hawaii great pains were taken to eliminate the possibility of a return of such source of public danger. The experience gained in the administration of the Provisional Government was of great assistance in working out this problem.

The system adopted placed the executive power in a council of five persons, made up of the President and the heads of the four executive departments. Action by the executive council requires a majority, including the president's vote. The heads of the executive departments are the constitutional advisers of the president upon questions of public policy, appointments, and other matters of importance, and are appointed and removed by him, with the approval of the senate. The president and three members of the cabinet may remove the fourth member. The heads of the executive departments have the appointment and removal of the heads of the executive bureaus in their respective departments, subject to the approval of the president. The heads of the bureaus have the appointment and removal of their subordinate officers, subject to the approval of the heads of the departments to which their respective bureaus belong.

It was considered impracticable to hold an executive officer responsible for the successful administration of his department or bureau without giving him substantially the selection of his immediate subordinates.

This system has worked satisfactorily, giving the government the confidence of the public.

While, with some misgivings, I have assented to the provisions of the majority report, which place the executive power of the Territory in the hands of one individual and do away with the executive council, I am unable to accept those which confer upon the governor the appointment of all subordinate officers, and which, while giving him the appointment of heads of departments, with the approval of the senate, permit him to remove them without such approval, a power not enjoyed by the President of the United States. Nor can I agree to the absence of any provisions whatever limiting or checking the governor's executive power under the laws, excepting as to the approval of the senate required in certain appointments.

The weight of these objections will be better understood in view of the recommendation of the commissioners that the legislature shall hold regular sessions but once in two years, as heretofore, which circumstance would furnish the governor with the opportunity, if he should choose to utilize it, of removing any or all heads of departments immediately after the termination of the regular session of the legislature and filling their places with persons whose commissions would be valid until the end of the next session of the senate, which might not occur for nearly two years. By this means a governor, acting within his authority, could substantially evade the provision requiring these appointments to be approved by the senate.

Performances of like character under the monarchy are too fresh in the minds of the Hawaiian community to permit them to contemplate without dismay the possibility of a repetition thereof.

The governor, under the provisions of the act recommended by the commission, will have less check to his administration of affairs than was the case with the sovereigns under the monarchy, excepting only in the matter of tenure of office. Moreover, the features of the existing Hawaiian civil system, which compel a certain amount of publicity in all administrative acts, are swept away, and the governor may act in absolute secrecy, or, if he shall be so inclined, with the advice and under the influence of any persons he may choose to admit to his deliberations.

This feature of the proposed executive status, it will be seen, might expose the governor to influence hostile to the public good, and possibly to great and constantly recurring temptations to subordinate public to private interests.

The provision of the Hawaiian system which compels the president to consult his constitutional advisers lessens this danger.

Besides, this beneficial result of the existing system is the safeguard that it guarantees to the administration of public affairs through the diminished liability of the best of men to make mistakes when assisted by the judgment of others.

Hawaiian administration of affairs includes the conduct of a land system which provides for the disposal of the public lands in different ways and in areas varying in extent and often of great value, which are sometimes so situated as to be of pronounced importance to the public interests of agriculture and forestry.

It is submitted that it is most desirable that the consideration of these questions should not be left to the private judgment of one man, unassisted save perhaps by the pressing demands of capitalists and corporations.

And President Dole submitted an amendment on these lines, recommending a board of advisors to the governor of the Territory, and he recommends that the treasurer, attorney general, superintendent of public works and the commissioner of public lands shall be constituted special counselors of the governor, to be consulted by him concerning all matters of public policy.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND LABOR.

At an early date there were occasional visits of Chinese people to Hawaii. A few individual Chinese had, as early as 1845, been permitted to intermarry with Hawaiians, and the interior department of Hawaii has records showing the naturalization of one "Arsing" in that year. An oath of allegiance was required before an alien could marry a Hawaiian. In the past fifty years there have been about 700 Chinese naturalized as Hawaiian citizens. The children of some of the earlier Chinese residents, resulting from their intermarriages with Hawaiian citizens, have become prominent in the social and business life of Hawaii, and, as stated by a well-known observer, the blending of the Chinese and Hawaiian bloods has produced beneficial results. Many of these children have been educated at the best English schools and in the colleges and universities of the United States. A large number have proved worthy of the education bestowed upon them, and not less than fifty have found employment in government and business offices and mercantile houses in Honolulu alone. Some of these earlier Chinese immigrants in Hawaii have, by naturalization and intermarriage, become land and property owners and good citizens. This element of Chinese origin must not, however, be confounded with or mistaken for those who came to Hawaii simply as laborers under contract for a specific term of years authorized, limited, and controlled by the government.

The immigration of Chinese laborers began in 1852, and grew out of what was thought to be the necessities of the people, owing to the decline of the number of Hawaiian laborers. About that time the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society issued a circular suggesting the introduction of Chinese coolie labor, and in Jan-

uary, 1852, the bark Thetis, brought, under agreement, 180 coolies from China. This experiment was deemed satisfactory by the society, and thereafter, up to January, 1866, there were 1,306 Chinese imported, of whom 54 were women and 5 were children. From 1866 to the present time, the Government and various organizations interested in the labor question have looked after the importation of laborers from other countries besides China. In all three nationalities, Chinese, Japanese, and the Portuguese colonies, have been drawn upon. The two former still continue to furnish large numbers of laborers, while Portuguese immigration has apparently ceased.

The Hawaiian Government, in 1864, passed an act creating a bureau of immigration for the purpose of superintending the inspection of imported foreign laborers and the introduction of immigrants as laborers. Ordinances were issued by the King authorizing the bureau of immigration to take steps to promote the introduction into the kingdom of free immigrants from the Portuguese colonies, the Azores, the Canary Islands, the Cape Verde Islands, and from "any of the islands of the Pacific Ocean." The Hawaiian bark R. W. Wood was ordered chartered to proceed to China to obtain a cargo of Chinese laborers, at the expense of the bureau of immigration.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CABLES AND TELEGRAPHS.

The committee on cables and telegraphs have investigated the subject of telegraphic cable communication between Hawaii and the Continent, and between the islands, and respectfully submit the following report:

JOHN T. MORGAN.
W. F. FREAR.

REPORT.

No calculation that is approximately accurate can now be safely made of the income of a postal-telegraph line to the Hawaiian Islands from the continent or between the islands.

It can be safely assumed, however, that the necessity for such a cable line is indispensable and that its cost will bear only a slight relation to the commercial and military advantages that must result from its construction.

In many other instances the income of our postal system has been quite below the cost of the transmission of the mails between certain distant commercial or strategic points, and such deficit has been supplied from the general Treasury, with the cheerful approbation of the country.

If the demand for a postal telegraph line to Hawaii is sufficient, on the general grounds of national policy, the question of the duty to take national control of the line can not be met by the suggestion that this is a new departure in furnishing the vehicles, or conduits, for the transmission of postal matter. It is not, in fact, a new thing for the United States to construct lines of telegraph, or conduits, for the purposes of the Army, or the Weather and Life Saving Service, or for the distribution of mails in large cities.

But the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands has created a new situation which requires new provisions for the quick dispatch of intelligence such as is ordinarily sent by the mails.

There is, indeed, no feature of the postal service that is more necessary, in peace or war, for the benefit of commerce, navigation, markets, and exchanges, or in conveying personal intelligence between the people, or in giving them protection against the ravages of infectious diseases, than a cable between the Pacific States and the Hawaiian Islands under the impartial and exclusive control of the Government of the United States.

In the outset of the new policy that we must inaugurate to meet the remarkable events of the year 1898 it is a fortunate situation that places these islands and others under the exclusive legislative control of Congress.

Congress can rightfully and successfully adjust the public institutions of a State in its formative period so as to prepare it for the highest usefulness to the Union when it shall acquire the sovereign rights and dignity of statehood.

Without attempting to state the many instances in which Congress should employ these powers, it is very clear that in matters relating to interstate and foreign commerce, to navigation, bays, harbors, wharves, and docks, and to postal facilities and post roads and lines of telegraphic communication, the power is clear and the duty is manifest.

An indispensable factor in all commercial, military, and diplomatic relations with countries that are beyond the seas is the telegraph cables that convey information with immediate dispatch.

This fact is too obvious and is too vital to the safety of every maritime country to admit of discussion.

It may be safely stated that at no point in the world is there greater need for a central cable station than at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, nor is there any point in either of the great oceans where the control of lines of telegraphic cables will give greater influence to the power that directs the use of them, either in commerce or war.

A central cable station in Hawaii will ultimately form a plexus of telegraphic lines in which the cables will meet from all ports of the great circuit of our coasts and from the Asiatic coasts as far south as Hongkong; and from Hawaii lines will radiate through the islands of the South Pacific to the Philippines, to Australia, and the coast of South America.

In these advantages the Hawaiian group has no competitor, and they could scarcely have been more advantageously placed as a point for the concentration of lines of telegraph cables. Through a long period of years these benefits will necessarily increase, and will furnish to the people facilities of cheap correspondence that no lines of steamers can afford.

In dispensing with the slow and costly methods of mail transmission for business correspondence, the rates will be reduced and the speed increased until it will attract the universal patronage of business men.

A single line of cable from the coast to Hawaii, exclusively authorized to convey messages as postal matter, would soon become a "trunk line," and would gather business from Asia and the islands of the South Pacific in such volume as to pay the interest on the cost and all expenditures for repairs and operation. It could have no competitor in business and could afford this facility to business at a rate of tolls that would be a great economy.

The five larger islands of the Hawaiian group are separated by three channels that aggregate about 118 miles in width. To maintain a rapid communication across these channels, which are rough water, not less than six vessels would need to be constantly employed, with a reserve of two or three vessels to meet emergencies. The crews for these vessels, and the fuel, to be supplied from the coast, would justify a heavy expenditure for mail service which could not probably be reduced by competition.

The conformation of these islands is such that a plateau connects all of them, on which a cable can be laid in water of shallow depths as compared with those of the adjacent seas.

The trend of the islands from Kaui Island on the northwest to the southern part of Hawaii virtually presents a frontage of about 350 miles to the Pacific Ocean on each side of the group, along the whole length of which the cable stations on the island would be so many outlooks upon the sea.

If this cable system is extended to Samoa, and to the Carolines and Manila, the security it would afford our coasts against sudden attack and the ravages of approaching storms and the visitations of epidemic diseases is a matter that is worthy of serious consideration.

The experience of European countries in the use of electric telegraphs as vehicles of the postal service demonstrates their importance and the wise economy of their use both to the people and the Governments that employ them.

With the distinctive power conferred upon Congress in the Constitution to establish post-offices and post-roads, and the exclusive power to provide for and regulate all mail communications, there can be no question of the power of Congress to select the best and most economical means for this work, or that the conveyance of mails may be extended into any part of the world, or that Congress may use a cable line under the seas as well as a post-road on the land.

This is the propitious time for the initiation of this service in the Pacific Ocean, and Hawaii is the central point in the great arc of the circle that describes the coast of North America.

At this central point all cable lines through the Pacific Ocean to points north of the equator must unite. Under the present state of the art in the construction and operation of transoceanic cable lines, this group of islands is the only place where a line can be successfully operated in the North Pacific Ocean. This fact, while it remains unchanged, gives to a cable connecting Hawaii with the continent an immense volume of work, which must yield a great revenue, if no other cable is constructed.

The annexed rough draft of the relative location of the islands (not including Neckar Island), prepared by a gentleman of much ability, shows the distances between them and the depth of water on the connecting plateaus, with an estimate of the cost of the cable to connect them.

The eagerness of private investors to lay cables to Hawaii and to connect the islands, under contracts with the Government for supplying cable service for official messages, is a convincing proof that under such conditions they would be valuable property.

Aside from the fact that in a few years the Government business would refund the cost of the cables, if paid for at ordinary rates, it is of supreme importance that the Government should have the absolute military control of the line that does its work.

To be able to control the working of the cable only through the enforcement of legal penalties for crimes incident to this responsible branch of the public service would be a serious defect that might result in much trouble and a dangerous exposure to treachery.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON FINANCE.

THE HAWAIIAN CURRENCY.

The gold coins of the United States are the only unlimited legal tender. (Civil Laws, sec. 665.)

Hawaiian silver coins are legal tender for amounts not exceeding $10. United States dimes and half dimes are also legal tender in limited amounts. (Civil Laws, secs. 666 and 667.)

COINAGE.

During the years 1884, 1885, and 1886 the following Hawaiian coins were put in circulation, having theretofore been coined at the United States mint in San Francisco (Biennial Report Minister of Finance, 1890, p. 7):

Dollars	500,000
Halves	350,000
Quarters	125,000
Dimes	25,000

This is the only Hawaiian coinage ever executed.

PAPER CURRENCY.

By Session Laws 1895, act 19 (Civil Laws, secs. 672-675), the Minister of Finance was authorized to issue gold and silver certificates of deposit, upon setting aside sufficient of the respective coins for the payment of such certificates. The act also provided for the retirement of all outstanding certificates of deposit.

Under this authority certificates of deposit have been issued to the amount of $272,500, for the redemption of which silver coin is now held in the treasury. These certificates have been issued in the following denominations:

5 dollars	$12,500
10 dollars	35,000
20 dollars	50,000
50 dollars	75,000
100 dollars	100,000

There remains outstanding of old [illegible]r certificates made under former laws a total amount of $39,500. No [illegible] remains in the office of the finance department showing the denominations of these certificates, but silver coins are on deposit in the treasury for their redemption.

Although authorized by the act above cited, no gold certificates have been

issued. The Hawaiian currency consists therefore of silver coins amounting to $1,000,000, of which $312,000 is in circulation in the form of silver certificates.

Hawaiian currency in the treasury at this date (August 23, 1898), exclusive of silver held for redemption of certificates, is approximately $101,500.

By the statutes authorizing coinage of silver (Session Laws 1880, chap. 37, and Session Laws 1892, chap. 8), all coins were required to be made of the same weight and fineness as the United States coins of the same value.

S. M. CULLOM.

Hon. Sanford B. Dole,

Of the Hawaiian Commission.

Sir: In the year 1883, by act of the Legislature of the Hawaiian Government, the sum of $1,000,000 was authorized to be issued in Hawaiian silver currency. This amount was coined by the United States mint of the same weight and fineness as the corresponding amount in United States silver currency. The denominations were:

1-dollar pieces	$500,000
50-cent pieces	350,000
25-cent pieces	125,000
Dimes	25,000
Total	$1,000,000

Of this amount the dime has practically gone out of circulation. Of the entire amount a fair estimate would be that $50,000 (including the dimes) have gone out of circulation and disappeared. There remains, therefore, the sum of $950,000, approximately, in Hawaiian silver currency that are legal tender under the present laws and institutions of this country to the amount of $10 in any one payment. This currency, however, is only of value to the remaining portions of the United States as its pure silver bears to the piece, based on the current value of silver for the day.

While your honorable body is considering the subject of the obligations of this Government, I desire to call your attention to the subject of its withdrawal from circulation and substitution by a coin that would be legal tender in all parts of the United States.

Owing to the nature of the population of this country silver will always be used here to a greater or less extent, and I desire to press upon your attention

the necessity of considering this important subject while the Hawaiian Commission is in session.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

S. M. DAMON,
Minister of Finance.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON FISHERIES.

Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, September 7, 1898.

Hon. Shelby M. Cullom,
Chairman of the Hawaiian Commission.

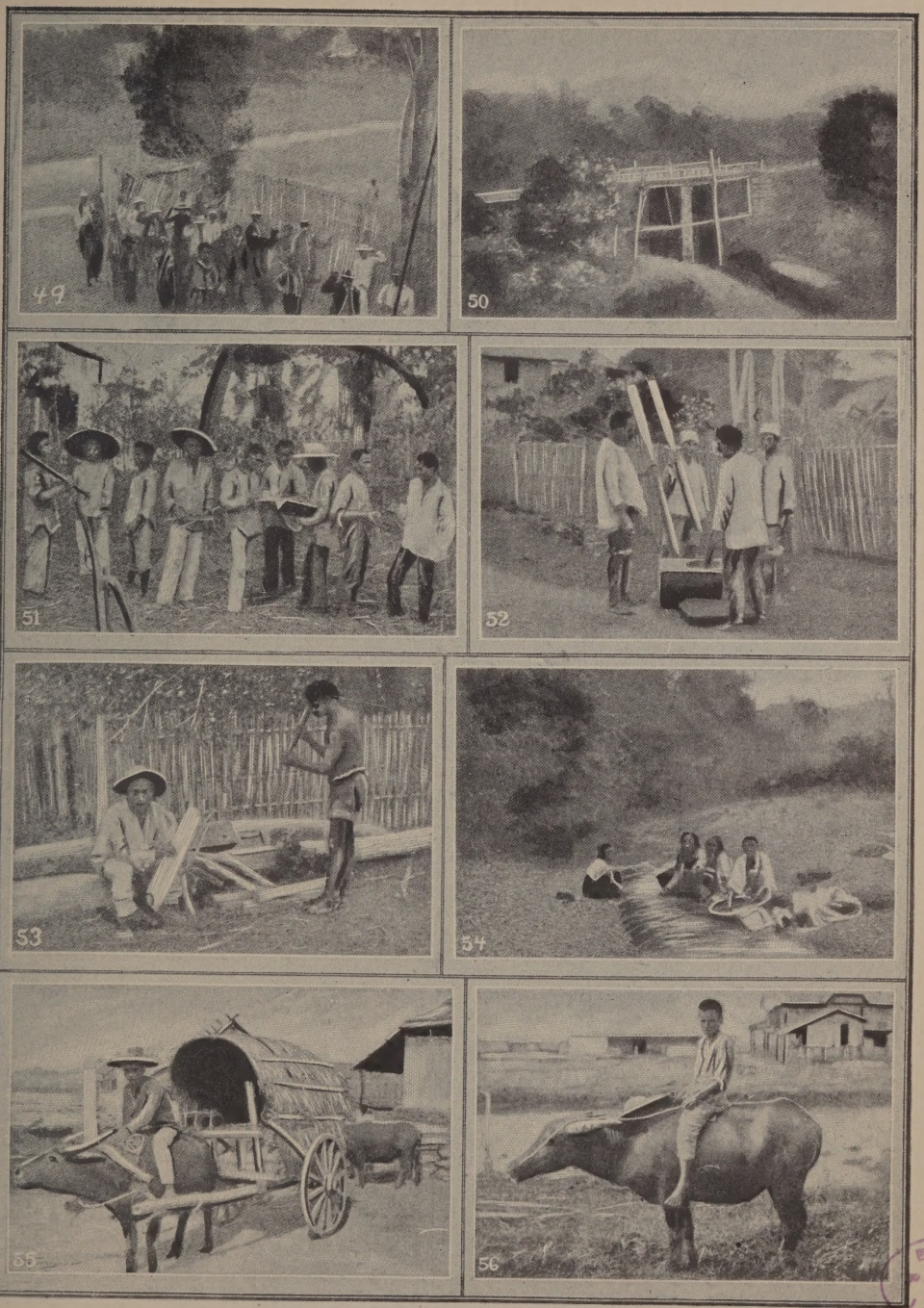
Sir: Your committee on fisheries respectfully submit the following report:

Each of these islands may be roughly described as consisting of one or more central lofty mountains with sides sloping rapidly toward the sea. There are naturally few lakes or ponds, and these are of inconsiderable size. The streams, while numerous, are of small volume, short and of rapid fall. Much of the coast line is skirted with a coral reef, between which and the shore there is a space of shallow water. From the reef, and where there is no reef from the shore, the water deepens rapidly.

As might be expected, there are few fish in the streams and lakes, and these are of little value. They belong, as at common law, to the owners of the soil under the streams and lakes.

There was formerly little animal food upon the land, and, consequently, the natives, who lived mostly along the coast, looked to the sea as their chief source of animal food. It followed that their sea fisheries were regarded as among their most valuable properties. These were closely connected with the ownership of land; indeed, they were regarded as appurtenances to the adjoining or neighboring lands, and the laws or customs governing them can be explained only by reference to the system of land tenures formerly existing, which was of a feudal nature.

Without going into too great detail, the land may be said to have been divided up into large tracts and small tracts. The large tracts commonly included a strip of land extending from the summit or well up on the slopes of the central mountain of an island to the sea. These were called ahupuaas and were owned by chiefs or lords, called konohikis. Within these were the smaller tracts, called kuleauas, occupied by the common people, who were regarded as tenants of the owners of the larger tracts. There were also other tracts, generally intermediate in size, called ilis, some of which were independent, like the larger tracts, and



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49. Group of Native Dancers in Ati-Ati. 50. Bridge over the Lagune in Santa Cruz. 51. Types of the Masses of the Filipinos. 52. Grinding Native Rice. 53. Native Wood Choppers. 54. Women of Balagas Washing Clothes. 55. A Sugar Cart in Batangas Province. 56. A Shepherd of Carabaos.

VIEWS FROM THE PHILIPPINES.

THE ROAD TO THE CEMETERY IN TANSA, PROVINCE OF ILO-ILO.

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others of which were subordinate, like the smaller tracts. The King was lord over all.

As lord paramount the King could take and redistribute the fishing rights as well as the lands of his subjects. This he did in 1839, taking all fishing grounds and giving one portion of them to the common people, one portion to the landlords, and reserving one portion for himself, at the same time prescribing certain restrictions and regulations under which the rights thus conferred were to be exercised. This was done by statute, the provisions of which, as amended from time to time, are still in force. In 1846 and the following few years the change was made from the feudal system to that of several ownership, and titles were awarded by commissioners to quiet land titles to those who proved ownership or right of occupancy under the pre-existing system. In a few cases titles to fisheries were awarded, or afterwards patented or allowed by commissioners of boundaries, by metes and bounds, but in most cases, where the award of patent referred to fisheries at all, it conferred merely a right of fishery as an appurtenance to the land without specifying the extent of the fishery, and left it to be determined either by the general provisions of the statute or the testimony of witnesses. In the majority of cases, however, no reference was made to fisheries, and the right rested solely on the statute. In 1848 the great division of lands was made by which the King gave to the Government a large number of royal lands, and upon the downfall of the monarchy the crown lands also became Government lands.

In shoal waters along the shores there are many fish ponds, made artificially by the construction of stone walls of semicircular form with the shore line as a diameter, and with small openings through the wall for the flow of the tide. These are found on Government lands as well as private lands.

Now, bearing in mind the foregoing facts, the sea fisheries of these islands, except as expressly awarded or patented, are governed as follows by statute:

All fishing grounds appertaining to government lands or otherwise belonging to the government, excepting fish ponds, are free for all persons. The minister of the interior may, however, for the protection of the fishing grounds, forbid the taking of fish at certain seasons. There has thus far been no occasion for the exercise of this power by the minister. The fish ponds owned by the government are leased to private persons. Their future disposition is an appropriate subject for consideration by the committee on public lands. Upon the sale of any government land the fisheries appertaining thereto remain free. No person residing without the islands may take fish within the waters of the islands for the purpose of sale without the islands. The fishing grounds from the shore to the reef, and where

there is no reef for a distance of one mile, belong to the konohikis, for the use of themselves and their tenants. Each konohiki may set apart one variety of fish for himself, or, on consultation with his tenants, may prohibit all fishing during certain seasons, and during the fishing season receive from his tenants one-third of all fish taken. The tenants may take fish either for themselves or for sale or exportation. No person shall use giant powder or other explosive substance in taking fish. No person shall take the young of the mullet and awa under four inches in length, except for the purpose of stocking ponds.

It will thus be seen that fisheries are governed here by principles recognized by the common law. There are common fisheries, commons of fishery, and several fisheries; but owing to the peculiar conditions that have existed here the two latter classes of fisheries exist here to a much larger extent than in other English-speaking countries. Rights of fishery here are, as at common law, subject to rights of navigation. They are subject also to statutory regulation.

Until recently the fishing industry has been engaged in chiefly by Hawaiians, but of late the Chinese and Japanese have entered largely into it. They fish both on the free fishing grounds and on private grounds, including fish ponds, which they lease from the owners. No fishing on a large scale has yet been undertaken, but a fishing company of whites has recently been formed, which is to work with a sailing vessel about 70 feet in length, with auxiliary steam power. Fishing in shallow water near shore is conducted mostly with nets; that in deep water with hook and line. There are shoals or banks offshore, especially in the channels between Oahu, Molokai, Maui, Kahoolawe, and Lanai, which are said to be good fishing grounds.

Fish are not found in such quantities in Hawaiian waters as in some other waters, and yet the number of species is perhaps unusually large, amounting to several hundred, of which about 100 may be found in the markets. These are of great variety of size, shape, and color, and include many species of excellent food qualities. The sales at the Honolulu fish market amount to from 40,000 to 80,000 fish of varying sizes per week. These are all inspected by an officer of the board of health.

Hawaiian waters afford rare opportunities for the study of fish and other marine life. While some scientific investigation has been made in this direction, it has been very limited, owing to lack of facilities. The establishment here of a station under the United States Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries would no doubt prove to be of great benefit to both the people of these islands and those of the mainland. In this connection it may not be out of place to add that there

is some prospect for the establishment here of a marine aquarium and biological laboratory by the trustees of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, and that the Hawaiian legislature at its last session authorized the minister of the interior to reserve a portion of the reef on the southeasterly side of the channel of Honolulu harbor for a marine park, and to enter into an agreement with the said trustees for the establishment of such aquarium and laboratory within said park.

Very respectfully,

W. F. FREAR,
JNO. T. MORGAN.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS.

The Committee on Public Lands, to whom was referred the subject for investigation, beg leave to report as follows:

Prior to the year 1846, all the lands of the Hawaiian Islands belonged, in legal contemplation, to the King, and the chiefs and people, as tenants, by a system closely resembling the feudal system of England, held their respective parcels by payment of rent or rendering of service. In that year King Kamehameha III. granted to his chiefs and people certain portions of the land, to Government purposes certain other portions, and reserved to himself the remainder. By an act passed June 7, 1848, the Legislature accepted his grant, and confirmed to the King, his heirs and successors, certain described lands which were thenceforth known as crown lands. In the act organizing the executive departments, provision was made for the appointment of a land commission to receive and pass upon the claims of occupants of lands to their respective holdings in the portion of lands set apart for the chiefs and people. This commission heard the testimony of claimants, caused surveys to be made, and issued to the occupants entitled thereto certificates called "land commission awards." These awards established the right of the grantee to the possession of the land and entitled him, upon payment of one-fourth of the value of the bare land, to receive a royal patent for his holding. These awards, and the patents issued pursuant thereto, are the source of title to all the lands not public lands, or reserved as crown lands.

The lands thus confirmed to the chiefs and known according to their extent as ahupuaas or ilis, amounted to 1,571,341 acres, and the lands confirmed to the common people, and known as kuleanas, aggregated 28,658 acres. (Hawaiian Annual, 1898, p. 34.)

The crown lands reserved to the King under the act of 1848 were in 1865 (act January 3, 1865) placed in the hands of a body known as the commission of

crown lands. This body was empowered to lease the crown lands for periods not exceeding thirty years, but not to alienate the same. The net rentals belonged to the monarch as a personal perquisite.

The Government lands were authorized to be sold by the minister of the interior, with the consent of the executive council (Civil Laws, sec. 169-171).

By an act passed July 9, 1850, one-twentieth of all public lands was set apart for the support of schools. Provision was made for the selection by, and patenting to, the board of education of the lands thus set apart, and the board of education was empowered to sell and lease lands thus received (Civil Laws, sec. 157). Part of the lands thus set apart are used as sites for school buildings, part is leased, and part has been sold. (See Table No. I.)

In 1884 an act was passed for the setting aside of homesteads to landless applicants on liberal terms, but it seems to have been very little used, only 557 holdings having been taken up under it, of which 256 have been patented. Under this method a party was prohibited from acquiring more than 2 acres of taro or wet land and more than 20 acres of dry land. The fee for such settlement was $10.

In 1891, Queen Liliuokalani divided a part of her crown land holdings in Hawaii into small tracts and provided for the leasing of them to homestead occupants upon easy terms.

The foregoing roughly outlines the enactments regarding the disposition of the lands up to the year 1895, when the legislature met under the Republic. The legislature of that year passed what it designated as the "land act, 1895," which provided a comprehensive system for the care and disposition of the public domain.

By this act the "crown lands" are treated as having vested in the Republic upon the abolition of the monarchy, and are now embraced as public lands. The public lands are placed under the control of a board of three commissioners, one of whom is the minister of the interior. The other two are appointed by the President, with the approval of the cabinet, and one of them is designated as agent of public lands. The act divides the islands into six land districts and provides for each district a subagent of public lands and ranges.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY.

The Committee on Judiciary submit the following report upon the "elective franchise:"

The question of the elective franchise and of representation in the legislative

body is a delicate and most important question, as upon this depends the general character of the local government.

Two classes of qualifications have been relied on chiefly in the past to preserve a fair standard of membership in the legislature. These are the educational and the property qualifications. The educational qualification merely requires members and voters for members of each branch of the legislature to be able to read, write, and speak the English or Hawaiian language. This qualification has long been required in Hawaii and no objection has been offered to it from any quarter. Practically all the native Hawaiians possess this qualification.

The property qualifications are more restrictive, and this subcommittee, while believing that the time will come when these can be removed entirely, are of the opinion that for the present they should be retained to some extent. The property qualifications should not, however, be increased. They might perhaps with safety be reduced. Conditions in this respect in Hawaii differ from those in the United States. The people of Hawaii have always been accustomed to restrictions in the matter of representation, especially in the upper branch of the Legislature. A review of the past will show this clearly, and will show also that the recommendations of the commission are decidedly in the direction of extension rather than of restriction of the privilege of representation.

Under the present constitution of Hawaii members of the lower branch of the legislative body are required to own property valued at not less than $1,000, or to have an annual income of not less than $600. It is recommended that these figures be now reduced to $500 and $250, respectively.

Under the present constitution members of the upper house are required to own property valued at $3,000, or to have an annual income of $1,200. It is now recommended that these figures be reduced to $2,000 and $1,000, respectively.

These restrictions upon membership in the two houses are good as far as they go, and yet they are not as effective as might at first appear, for there are always some men of every class who possess these qualifications. The only effective way to obtain a fairly conservative Legislature under conditions such as exist at present in Hawaii, is to require proper qualifications of the voters themselves.

For many years, under the monarchy, voters for members of the lower house were required to own property to the extent of $150, or a leasehold on which the annual rent was at least $25, or to have an annual income of $75. These restrictions were finally removed under the monarchy. There has been no property qualification whatever for voters for members of the lower house under the Republic, and it is recommended that there shall be none in the future.

As to the upper house, the people were for many years not permitted to vote at all for its members. At first its members were appointed by the King, and membership was hereditary. Afterwards they were appointed for life. It was not until 1887, under the Monarchy, that they were elected by the people, and then the voters were required to own property, real or personal, valued at $3,000, or to have an annual income of $600. Under the Republic the amount of real property required was reduced to $1,500, the amount of personal property remaining at $3,000 and the annual income at $600. It is now proposed to remove the personal property qualification altogether, to reduce the real property qualification to $1,000, and to allow the income qualification to remain at $600. This seems to be as great a reduction as can safely be made at the present time. This is evident from the history of the past, especially during the last years of the Monarchy, when the property qualifications were greater than it is now proposed to make them.

The qualifications proposed are more liberal than have ever existed before in Hawaii, and under them a large portion of the native Hawaiians can vote for members of the upper house and practically all of them for members of the lower house. The suffrage has been extended in the past in Hawaii by degrees. It is believed to be wisest to continue this process of growth. To remove the property qualifications gradually is probably the quickest way to obtain their entire removal ultimately. To sweep them all away at the present time might prove so disastrous as to produce a reaction, by which the franchise might be restricted much more than it is at present, if not taken away altogether. The two houses sit separately, and by requiring a property qualification for voters for the upper house and no such qualification for voters for the lower house, all classes are fairly represented and each class may act as a check upon the other, since no bill can be passed without the concurrence of both houses. To materially reduce the qualifications below what it is now proposed to make them would be to practically turn the Legislature over to the masses, a large portion of whom have not yet fully learned the meaning of representative government, and to practically deprive the more conservative elements and property owners of effective representation.

Heretofore the two houses have been equal in membership, each containing fifteen members. It is now proposed to double the membership of the lower house. This will increase the representation of the masses and at the same time give the lower house greater protection from outside influences.

JNO. T. MORGAN.
W. F. FREAR.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON THE POSTAL SERVICE.

The Hawaiian postal system is, in its general character, based upon and modeled after the methods long established in the United States. The special details of operation, required by special conditions upon the islands, can be readily provided for by inconsiderable modifications of the existing regulations of the United States Post-Office Department in their application there.

The 111 officers and employees in the Hawaiian postal service are now appointed by the Postmaster-General. By the laws and regulations of the United States they would be classified and appointed, a part by the President and a part by the Postmaster-General.

The receipts of the Hawaiian postal bureau for 1897 were $73,529.99 and the disbursements $66,659.37, showing a net profit of $6,870.62.

The following statement will show this in more detail.

HAWAIIAN POSTAL BUREAU FOR YEAR 1897.

REVENUE AND RECEIPTS.

Due from island offices January 1	$44.00	
Stamp sales	56,799.20	
Box rents	4,749.79	
Island box rents	950.25	
General postage	879.17	
Tax letters	818.24	
Money-order fees	9,496.36	
	73,737.01	
Less stamp exchange	207.02	
		$73,529.99

DISBURSEMENTS.

Postmaster-general and clerks	$21,492.50	
Pay of postmaster	17,284.00	
Pay of mail carriage	16,382.50	
Incidentals	9,766.51	
Special mail carriage	1,733.86	
		$66,659.37
Net gain		$6,870.62

With the adoption and application of the United States postal laws there may not be so favorable a financial showing in future, as the rates on printed matter, far below cost to the Government, provided by our laws will at once reduce the

Hawaiian postal revenues, and there would be a falling off for ocean postage to the United States.

The interisland mails are now carried free of charge by the lines of interisland steamers in compliance with a provision in their licenses requiring the performance of this work.

Statements are hereto appended of the post-offices, postmasters and other employees, the salaries paid, bonds required, sales of stamps, and box rents; also a communication from Hon. S. M. Damon, minister of finance, pointing out the advantages of the continuance of the present parcels-post system, by which the Hawaiian rates now are to the United States, per pound, 12 cents; to Canada, 20 cents; to the United Kingdom and Australia, 25 cents.

R. R. HITT.
W. F. FREAR.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CORPORATIONS.

The body of Hawaiian law in relation to the creation and control of corporations, domestic and foreign, and of joint-stock companies, while based upon the principles and methods followed in the States, is very liberal, and contains provisions which have grown out of the conditions surrounding enterprises undertaken in these islands. In regard to the personal liberty of stockholders in corporations and joint-stock companies, there is a narrow limit of liability. "No stockholder shall be liable for the debts of the corporation beyond the amount of what may be due on the stock or shares held or owned by him." (Secs. 2019 and 2035, Civil Code.) In regard to bank corporations the law makes every stockholder individually and personally liable for such portions of the bank's debts and liabilities as the amount of stock or shares owned by him bears to the whole of the subscribed capital stock or shares of the corporation, and for a like proportion only of each debt or claim against the corporation (sec. 2057). "No charter shall be granted any company whose capital stock is less than $200,000." (Sec. 2052.)

There has been a rapid growth of corporations in almost every form of industry upon the islands, in one feature far out of proportion to what is seen in the States, viz., corporate companies carrying on farming, which, in our country, is generally carried on by individuals. Sugar plantations on these islands are nearly all owned by corporations. The sugar industry is by far the largest single interest in value and in profit.

The fact that the sugar plantations are almost wholly conducted by companies is partly owing to the fact that large capital is required at the very beginning, and

the laws make possible the union of small investments without great liability. There has been an element of special risk, too, in the industry. Investors always bore in mind that the prosperity of the whole industry depended upon the reciprocity treaty with the United States, the benefits of which have actually been changed by legislation in the United States, and reciprocity might have been repealed altogether with a change of policy or of party control in the United States. Men did not like to risk all they had in one venture, but would take shares in companies. With the removal of this element of uncertainty, now that comparative stability of government is assured by annexation, that element of uncertainty will disappear, and with it the tendency to put every enterprise into the form of a corporation will diminish. But the large capital necessary to procure the land, buy the machinery of irrigation and the sugar mills, and meet the large expenses of cultivating implements, and the long pay roll of the laborers, all of which must be advanced long before any return begins, will probably continue, though in a less degree than heretofore, to induce people to prefer to invest in sugar-planting companies, rather than to attempt a plantation single-handed. This will doubtless be the course even of the few persons who may have the capital to make the attempt.

Lists and descriptions of the corporations—mercantile, agricultural, and manufacturing, domestic and foreign—now existing and operating in the Hawaiian Islands, and of church, charitable, and literary associations, are hereto appended.

R. R. HITT.
W. F. FREAR.

THE COMMITTEE ON HEALTH REPORTS ON LEPROSY.

This subject occupies a place intermediate between quarantine and purely local health matters. There is little danger of its introduction from abroad, and yet it is a contagious disease which deeply concerns the islands as a whole and the United States as well. It is the largest subject with which the board of health deals.

A system of segregation has been enforced since 1865. A tract of land two or three miles across, on the Island of Molokai, peculiarly adapted for the purpose by reason of its complete isolation, being inclosed on one side by a lofty precipice and on the other sides by the ocean, is set apart exclusively for the leper settlement. The following table shows the number of lepers at the settlement at the end of each year of its history, also the number of admissions and deaths or discharges for each year:

Year.	Admissions.	Deaths.	Discharged or unaccounted for.	Number on the books Dec. 31.
1866	141	26	10	105
1867	70	25	7	143
1868	115	28	2	228
1869	126	59	11	284
1870	57	58	4	279
1871	183	51	9	402
1872	105	64	4	439
1873	487	156	21	749
1874	91	161	8	671
1875	212	163	14	706
1876	96	122	3	677
1877	163	129	1	710
1878	239	147	.....	802
1879	125	209	1	717
1880	51	152	10	606
1881	232	132	.....	706
1882	71	121	6	649
1883	301	150	15	785
1884	108	168	8	717
1885	103	142	26	655
1886	43	100	8	590
1887	220	108	4	698
1888	579	212	28	1,035
1889	308	149	7	1,187
1890	202	158	18	1,213
1891	143	212	2	1,142
1892	109	137	19	1,095
1893	211	151	.....	1,155
1894	128	155	3	1,124
1895	106	128	15	1,087
1896	146	116	2	1,115
1897	124	139	.....	1,100

The lepers at the settlement at the end of 1897 were as follows by nationality:

Hawaiians	984
Half-castes	62
Chinese	32
Americans	5
British	4
Germans	4
Portuguese	6
Russians	1
South Sea Islanders	2
Total	1,100

There are at the settlement 67 nonleprous children and 98 nonleprous helpers, as follows:

Native volunteer helpers	78
Catholic priests	2
Protestant pastor and wife	2
Physician	1
Franciscan sisters	5
Japanese servants to sisters	2
Catholic brothers	6
Japanese servants to superintendent	2
Total	98

It will be noticed that the number of lepers at the settlement during the last ten years has been larger than previously, and that during that period the number has remained fairly constant. This does not indicate that leprosy is on the increase, or even that it is holding its own. The testimony of the government physicians and agents of the board is that it is diminishing. The greater number at the settlement during the last ten years is due to stricter enforcement of segregation, this being the period since the revolution of 1887, when the reform government came into power. Moreover, owing to this stricter enforcement, the lepers are gathered in for the most part now at an earlier stage of the disease than was formerly the case, and, consequently, the death rate at the settlement is lower now than formerly. Undoubtedly as time goes on the number of lepers and the expense of this branch of the service will diminish until it becomes nil.

The lepers live principally in two villages, called Kalaupapa and Kalawao, situated, respectively, on opposite sides of the tongue of land reserved for the settlement. There are 716 buildings at the settlement, the majority of which are owned by the government. These include a court-house, jail, schoolhouses, offices, warehouses, workshops, slaughter-houses, dispensaries, medical bathhouses, hospitals, dormitories, many cottages, etc. At Kalawao there is a home for boys, the gift of private persons, conducted under the board of Roman Catholic brothers, and at Kalaupapa a similar home for girls, in charge of Roman Catholic sisters. There is a Young Men's Christian Association, Protestant churches, Roman Catholic, and Mormon churches. A store is maintained by the board for the benefit of the lepers. There is a system of waterworks. A district magistrate goes to the settlement at times from the other side of the island to hold court. There is a band at Kalawao and Kalaupapa each, the members of which are lepers, and the uniforms and instruments for which are the gifts of private persons. The settlement is a little world in itself.

The lepers may erect buildings and cultivate land for their own benefit. Lepers living outside the homes receive weekly rations of food, monthly rations of some other things, such as soap, matches, and oil, and semi-annual "clothes-ration orders" of the value of $5. They are exempt from personal taxes, and taxes on their personal property at the settlement. They enjoy a franking privilege as to interisland letters. They may be required to perform a reasonable labor.

Great care is taken to prevent the spread of the disease, although it is not so contagious as popularly supposed. Visitors are not allowed at the settlement except by express permission, nor are persons residing there allowed to leave

the settlement without similar permission. Passenger vessels of over 250 tons are forbidden to carry lepers except as directed by the board. Financial transactions with the outside are conducted by means of postal orders, money seldom leaving the settlement, and then only after it is purified. Great care is also taken to preserve cleanliness at the settlement.

At Kalihi, near Honolulu, there is a home for nonleprous girls of leprous parents in charge of Franciscan sisters. At the same place there is a receiving station for the reception and examination of leper suspects sent from the various districts; also a hospital for special study and treatment of leprosy, with a bacteriological laboratory, in charge of a specialist.

The leper settlement is conducted economically as well as with great efficiency. The cost of conducting the settlement and the establishment at Kalihi together amounts to only about $100 per leper per annum.

How far internal health matters as distinguished from quarantine should be controlled by the Federal Government would depend largely upon the nature of those matters and the manner in which the control is exercised. It would seem that the power of Federal control should exist over contagious and infectious diseases as distinguished from other internal health matters. These are diseases the control of which is of vital interest to the whole people. It does not follow, however, that this power should always be exercised directly by the Federal Government or exclusively through Federal officers; but in cases of conflict between Federal and local power, when exercised in this respect, the former should be predominant, the latter subordinate or auxiliary. The main object is to secure protection, both to the people at large and to the localities more directly concerned, and at the same time to work as little hardship and cause as little offense as possible. Leprosy is the only domestic contagious disease in Hawaii that need be specially considered. The native Hawaiians are the people to whom this disease is almost exclusively confined. They have little or no fear of this disease and are peculiarly devoted to their friends and relatives. It therefore requires a great deal of tact and good judgment to enforce segregation without giving undue offense or working undue hardship. In the past, attempts to enforce segregation have more than once led to bloodshed. But at the present time it is believed that such experience has been had by the officers and agents of the Hawaiian board of health that strict segregation may be enforced with comparatively little friction. Officers who have not had such experience and who do not understand Hawaiian ways and character would encounter great difficulties and cause great discontent. The Federal Government could not do better, either

in point of economy or in point of effectiveness, at least so long as present conditions continue, than to permit this disease to be controlled through the local officers and the existing machinery. But it would seem to be only just that the Federal Government should share in the expense.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE.

Hon. Shelby M. Cullom,

Chairman of the Hawaiian Commission:

I have the honor to submit the following report on agriculture:

Lands under the control of the Hawaiian Government previous to annexation are divided into two general classes, one of which includes town lots, sites of public buildings, land devoted to public uses, such as roads, landings, nurseries, forest reservations, reservations for conservation of water supply, and public parks —generally designated as Government lands, which remain under the management of the minister of the interior; all other lands are placed under the control of the commissioners of public lands, under the designation of public lands.

These are classified as agricultural, pastoral, pastoral agricultural, forest, and waste land.

Agricultural land is divided into three classes:

First class. Land suitable for the cultivation of fruit, coffee, sugar, or other similar crops, with or without irrigation.

Second class. Land suitable for the cultivation of annual crops only.

Third class. Wet land.

Pastoral land is divided into two classes:

First class. Land not within the description of agricultural land, but capable of carrying live stock the year through.

Second class. Land capable of carrying live stock only a part of the year, and otherwise inferior to the first class.

These divisions of the public lands are necessarily somewhat arbitrary and only approximate definiteness in description. For instance, some first-class pastoral land is fair second-class agricultural land, and much of the pastoral land of both the first and second classes becomes first-class agricultural land upon the application of irrigation.

Wet land is used as such for the cultivation of only taro and rice, but it is sometimes dried off or drained and used for the cultivation of sugar.

First-class agricultural land may be loosely divided into sugar land and

fruit and coffee land, the former generally lying at low elevations and the latter beginning where the former leaves off and reaching near to the frost line, though all sugar lands are more or less suitable for the cultivation of some kinds of fruit.

The staple agricultural products, leaving out for the present the subject of live stock, are taro, sugar, rice, coffee, and bananas.

Taro is the staff of life to the aboriginal Hawaiians, and is entirely consumed at home, except a small amount of taro flour, which is exported. It is generally raised in wet land, but it grows well and is cultivated to a considerable extent in dry land. The crop is a profitable one, but has suffered in recent years from the attacks of various insect pests.

There are no statistics from which information can be obtained as to the aggregate annual yield and average profits of this crop.

Sugar was first grown in the Hawaiian Islands on lands enjoying a sufficient rainfall the year through for its successful cultivation, and it is still extensively produced on such lands. Irrigation by gravity from running streams was introduced at an early period, and the results were so beneficial that its development was rapid, and extensive arid areas in different parts of the islands were thus reclaimed. Irrigation by water artificially raised was a later enterprise, and has become especially successful in recent years through radical improvements in pumping machinery. Fertilizers are almost universally used by sugar growers with satisfactory results. Steam plows are generally used where the character of the land permits, with marked improvement in the productive quality of the soil.

It is probable that sugar production depending upon a water supply from rainfall or from streams by gravity flow has nearly reached its limit, and that all future increase in the sugar production of the Hawaiian Islands will be through aid of pumping machinery.

As substantially all of the sugar produced in these islands is exported, the custom-house statistics fairly give the extent of the production. This for 1897 was 520,158,232 pounds, worth $15,390,422.13.

Rice is always grown in wet land and is almost entirely cultivated by the Chinese, many of whom have improved machinery moved by water power for preparing the crop for the market. Two crops are raised each year from the same land. Fertilizers are much used. The product is of the best quality. While there is a large consumption of rice at home, the export for 1897 amounted to 5,499,499 pounds, worth $225,575.52.

The cultivation of coffee is a comparatively new enterprise, only a few of the

plantations being as yet in full bearing. Coffee was tried on a considerable scale in the fifties, but was a failure through insect pests. At that time it was generally cultivated on low lands; now it is agreed that in this country coffee should be cultivated at elevations between 300 or 400 and 2,500 feet above the sea. The best soil for it is loose alluvium over a subsoil of aa (broken volcanic rock). The elevation required for its cultivation places it well within the forest belt, a circumstance which often calls for a considerable outlay for clearing. Irrigation is seldom used in coffee culture. Four or five years from transplanting are required by a coffee tree for reaching a full bearing capacity.

Coffee raising can be favorably carried on upon a small scale, although in the pulping and cleaning processes co-operation among neighboring planters is desirable.

On account of the increasing demand for coffee lands, and the fact that this enterprise can be profitably carried on in small holdings, the Government has devoted its energies, under the settlement provisions of its land legislation, mainly to the opening of coffee lands to settlement in small farms within 100 acres in extent, except in the Olaa coffee region, where pioneer holders of original crown leases were allowed to acquire, upon the basis of such leases, a larger area. These lands have been eagerly taken up by actual settlers, and are generally prosperous. In the last biennial period 422 holdings, not including the Olaa lots, were taken up, including an aggregate area of 20,234 acres and worth, at the moderate Government appraisement, $118,853, unimproved value. The agreements under which these lots were taken require performance of conditions of residence and cultivation in some cases, and of cultivation and other improvement in others, and in no case confer immediate title in fee.

The area of good coffee land as yet unoccupied is comparatively large. A large part, however, of the public lands of this class is held under leases to private parties. The expiration of the terms of these leases will, from time to time, augment materially the area under the control of the Government suitable for settlement purposes.

As land suitable for coffee culture corresponds generally with forest land, the policy of land settlement is confronted with the consideration of the subject of forestry. A wholesale substitution of coffee plantations for forest growth might seriously affect local climatic conditions to the extent of producing permanent injury to surrounding agricultural interests. This subject should be fully investigated before any settlement enterprises involving extensive forest destruction are decided on.

There is a considerable local consumption of Hawaiian coffee. The export for 1897 amounted to 337,158 pounds, estimated to be worth $99,696.62.

The banana is a hardy plant without insect enemies and is cultivated largely with irrigation. It requires a fertile soil and thorough cultivation, and can be raised from the seashore nearly up to the frost line. The yield is large and the crop, as raised for export, a profitable one. In 1897 there were exported 75,835 bunches, valued at $75,412.50. There is also a considerable home consumption of this fruit.

Under free trade with the main land the cultivation of pineapples, avocado pears, and tobacco, and the manufacture of taro flour and jams and jellies and the canning of fruit will undoubtedly become profitable. Other fruits and some vegetables will be profitably raised for the Pacific coast markets.

Indian corn, Irish and sweet potatoes, and garden vegetables are successfully and profitably raised for the home demand.

The raising of live stock has, as a rule, been carried on in a haphazard way, relying upon the natural growth of native grasses for pasturage, without other feeding. While considerable attention has been paid to the improvement of all kinds of stock by the introduction of good blood, the condition and quality of live stock at the islands on the whole is not very creditable to the country; yet the business is generally profitable.

With increased communication with other countries, numerous insect pests have been introduced, some of which have very seriously threatened certain crops. To meet this invasion, the Government, acting jointly with the Sugar Planters' Association, has for several years kept an able entomologist in its employ, whose efforts have been directed to the introduction of enemies of the insect pests and have been attended with marked success.

Under a new form of government it will be important to the country that it should have full authority to protect itself against the chance importation of injurious insects, even from the rest of the United States.

SANFORD B. DOLE.

Honolulu, August 30, 1898.

THE IMPORTATION OF LABOR.

In 1865, December 18, Captain James Makee, of the Island of Mauai, master of the Hawaiian schooner Pfeil, brought 20 men, 3 women, and 2 children from the Caroline Islands under contracts to labor on his plantation.

HAWAIIAN HULA DANCERS IN NATIVE COSTUMES.

HAWAIIAN SCHOOL GIRL IN NATIVE DECORATIONS

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

A COUNTRY MARRIAGE, PHILIPPINES. MARRIAGE MAKER AND BRIDAL COUPLE IN CARRIAGE, FOLLOWED BY BAND, ON WAY TO CHURCH.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

In June, 1865, about 15 Marquesans were brought to the islands, partly under the auspices of the Bureau of Immigration and partly under the Board of Foreign Missions. These, with the Caroline Island immigrants, gave good satisfaction, and their labor contracts were approved by the Bureau. In 1865 the question of the importation of Chinese "coolies" was further considered, and under certain regulations the introduction of this class of labor from China became a part of the policy of the Hawaiian Islands. From this time on cargoes of Chinese laborers under contracts for service were frequently and regularly made. The matter of the medical inspection of immigrants became important as a means of protecting the health of the inhabitants against contagious or infectious diseases, and the various steps taken in this direction have finally resulted in quarantine and health protective measures, which at this time are quite efficient.

Various changes in the regulations and statutes controlling the immigration and introduction of foreign laborers were made from time to time by legislative and royal authority. A few inhabitants of the South Sea Islands were brought to Hawaii, and many Portuguese from other island colonies became residents and laborers in the kingdom. Special efforts were from time to time made to induce the importation of females of the several islands and countries from which such importation was desirable.

As time passed, in 1867 and 1868, the matter of providing for the introduction of Japanese laborers became an important question. The Japanese Government interposed its offices, and has since looked after the interests of those of its subjects who have become laborers in Hawaii. So it may be said that as a commercial or business proposition, the matter of the employment of cheap labor, imported from various islands and countries became the important subject of Hawaiian consideration. The large profits resulting from the cultivation and manufacture of sugar, where inexpensive Asiatic labor was to be obtained, produced the legitimate result of aggregating capital in large amounts for the purchase or leasing of sugar lands, where this class of laborers could be employed most profitably. The facilities which existed under the Hawaiian monarchy for obtaining grants, concessions, and leases of government lands were availed of by speculative favorites and others, and large plantations by wealthy planters, instead of small holdings by industrious heads of families, became the rule upon the islands. The cost of irrigation in sugar-producing districts is also an obstacle not easily to be overcome by the small landholder, who could seldom command the funds to erect the dams, sluices, flumes, and expensive works required to convey the water. So that many thousands of acres of the most fertile lands in the world have, by

the combined influences above referred to, and others quite as potent, become unattainable by ordinary citizens. The large holdings have become larger and the small ones have been driven out or absorbed. Thus the prime object of American citizenship, the making of homes and the complete development of the family as the unit of our social system, seems, in a degree, to have been lost sight of in the Hawaiian Islands.

The great corporations with special facilities for control of the soil have been often promoted by corrupt royal favoritism or other unjust means, and the individual citizen has been, per force, driven from the occupation in which he might have become a useful member of the community. Theoretically, Hawaii is now endowed with the attributes of a republican government, but to become truly and practically a part of our republic the laws of the United States prohibiting the creation or continuance of long leases of valuable lands and directing the survey and subdivision of all of the public lands of the islands as a part of the heritage of the people should be put in force. These lands should be disposed of in such wise and beneficent manner as will make these mountains and valleys the home of a million good American citizens. In the legislation necessary to produce this most desirable future for these insular additions to our system, two imperative agencies must be thoroughly and exhaustively considered. It seems to be admitted that the government of the country should be held responsible, first of all, for a complete system of public roads. The individual landowner ought not to be charged with the expense of building, in this mountainous country, the roads necessary either for the public use or for giving access to his lands or to those of his neighbors. With good public roads the first great hindrance to the building up of homes, of neighborhoods, and communities and schools will disappear. Wherever in this fertile land we make places for homes, we shall have homes.

THE OFFICE-HOLDERS ON THE ISLANDS AND THEIR SALARIES.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL EXECUTIVE OFFICES.

Hon. Shelby M. Cullom,
Chairman of the Hawaiian Commission:

The committee on local executive offices respectfully submits the accompanying report.

S. B. DOLE,
W. F. FREAR,
Committee on Local Executive Offices.

Honolulu, September 12, 1898.

The local officers authorized by law in the Republic of Hawaii were the following:

Officer.	Appointed by—	Confirmed by—	Tenure of office.	Salary per annum.
Executive council.				
President	Legislature		6 years	$12,000
Cabinet:				
Minister of foreign affairs	President	Senate	Indefinite	6,000
Minister of the interior	do	do	do	6,000
Minister of finance	do	do	do	6,000
Attorney-general	do	do	do	6,000
Department of foreign affairs.				
Minister of foreign affairs				
Secretary	Minister	President	Indefinite	2,400
Clerk	Secretary	Minister	do	1,200
Do	do	do	do	1,000
Clerk, executive council	President		do	1,500
Department of the interior.				
Minister of the interior				
Chief clerk	Minister	President	Indefinite	2,700
First assistant clerk	do		do	2,400
Second assistant clerk	do		do	1,800
Third assistant clerk	do		do	1, 500
Fourth assistant clerk and copyist.	do		do	1,200
Two messengers, each	do		do	600
Clerk of land records and copying patents.	do		do	900
Electoral registrar	do		do	600
Veterinary surgeon	do		do	600
Commission of public lands.				
Land agent	Minister	President	Indefinite	3,000
Secretary and subagent fifth land district.	Land Agent	Minister	do	2,100
Clerk	do	do	do	1,200
Assistant clerk	do	do	do	600
Subagent first district	do	do	do	1,500
Clerk first district	do	do	do	600
Subagent second district	do	do	do	600
Subagent third district	do	do	do	480
Subagent fourth district	do	do	do	600
Subagent sixth district	do	do	do	360
Ranger, first district	do	do	do	600
Ranger, second district	do	do	do	360
Ranger, third district	do	do	do	360
Ranger, fourth district	do	do	do	360
Ranger, fifth district	do	do	do	360
Ranger, sixth district	do	do	do	360

Bureau of survey.

Surveyor-general	Minister	President	Indefinite	$3,000
Chief assistant	Surveyor-general	Minister	do	2,700
First assistant	do	do	do	2,400
Second assistant	do	do	do	2,100
Third assistant	do	do	do	1,350
Draftsman	do	do	do	1,050
Aid	do	do	do	600
Messenger	do	do	do	480

Registry of conveyances.

Registrar	Minister	President	Indefinite	2,700
Deputy registrar and copyist	Registrar	Minister	do	1,500
Copyist	do	do	do	900
do	do	do	do	800
do	do	do	do	600
do	do	do	do	600
do	do	do	do	480

Bureau of immigration.

Inspector	Minister		Indefinite	2,400
Secretary	do		do	1,500

Bureau of waterworks.

Superintendent of Honolulu waterworks and clerk of market.	Minister	President	Indefinite	2,700
Clerk	Superintendent	Minister	do	1,800
Assistant clerk	do	do	do	600
Reservoir keepers (3)	do	do	do	1,320
Plumber and assistant	do	do	do	1,320
Tap inspector	do	do	do	1,042
Shipping tenders	do	do	do	600
Market keeper	do	do	do	360
Assistant keeper	do	do	do	300
Superintendent Hilo waterworks.	do	do	do	900
Superintendent Laupahoehoe waterworks.	do	do	do	20
Superintendent Koloa waterworks.	do	do	do	25
Engineers (2)	do	do	do	3,000

Bureau of public works.

Superintendent	Minister	President	Indefinite	3,000
Road engineer	Superintendent	Minister	do	2,400
Bookkeeper	do	do	do	1,800
Draftsman and assistant superintendent.	do	do	do	1,500

Clerk	Superintendent	Minister	Indefinite	$900
Harbor master	do	do	do	3,000
Road supervisor, Honolulu	do	do	do	2,400
Roads and bridges, Honolulu, pay roll.	do	do	do	13,332
Steam tug, pay roll	do	do	do	6,600
Electric-light inspector	do	do	do	1,800
Dynamoman	do	do	do	960
Do	do	do	do	780
Lineman	do	do	do	780
Station keeper	do	do	do	720
Trimmer	do	do	do	720
Do	do	do	do	720
Light-house keepers	do	do	do	4,460
Keeper of wharf and buoys, Lahaina.	do	do	do	120
Gunpowder keeper, Hilo	do	do	do	25
Board of health.				
Secretary	Minister		Indefinite	2,000
Government physicians	Board of health		do	18,000
General expenses, pay roll			do	9,430
Nonleprous children, pay roll			Indefinite	1,200
Removing garbage, pay roll			do	5,400
Keeper quarantine station			do	600
Maintenance of hospitals, pay roll.			do	6,500
Act to mitigate pay roll			do	1,575
Segregation of lepers, pay roll			do	19,200
Superintendent insane asylum			do	1,800
Assistants, insane asylum			do	11,832
Food commissioner			do	2,100
Forests and nurseries bureau.				
Commissioner	Minister	President	Indefinite	2,100
Entomologist	Commissioner	Minister	do	2,000
Gardener, nursery	do	do	do	1,020
Forester	do	do	do	1,020
Laborers, Makiki and Nuuanu	do	do	do	2,700
Laborers, nurseries	do	do	do	540
Chief forester	do	do	do	2,400
Expert forester	do	do	do	750
Public grounds bureau.				
Pay roll, Government building	Minister		Indefinite	2,472
Pay roll, Makiki and River parks.	do		do	1,020
Pay roll, Thomas and Emma squares.	do		do	1,020
Keeper mausoleum and grounds.	do		do	390
Janitor and keeper, executive and judiciary building.	do		do	1,200

Fire departments.				
Honolulu fire department, pay roll.			Indefinite	$29,520
Steward, watchman, and engineer, Hilo fire department.			do	540
Department of finance.				
Minister of finance				
Registrar of public accounts	Minister	President	Indefinite	2,700
Clerk, finance office	Registrar	Minister	do	1,800
Second clerk and messenger	do	do	do	600
Tax bureau.				
Tax assessor, Oahu	Minister	President	Indefinite	2,700
Tax assessor, Hawaii	do	do	do	2,500
Tax assessor, Maui	do	do	do	2,300
Tax assessor, Kauai	do	do	do	2,000
Deputy tax assessors and collectors, salaries and commissions.	Tax assessors	Minister	do	3,000
Postal bureau.				
Postmaster-general	Minister	President	Indefinite	3,000
Deputy postmaster-general and secretary.	Postmaster-general.	Minister	do	2,000
Superintendent postal savings bank.	do	do	do	2,000
Superintendent money-order division.	do	do	do	2,000
General delivery clerk	do	do	do	1,800
Registry delivery clerk	do	do	do	1,500
Parcel-post clerk	do	do	do	1,200
Mail dispatcher	do	do	do	1,200
Postal savings bank clerk	do	do	do	1,200
Money-order clerk	do	do	do	1,200
Do	do	do	do	900
General delivery clerk	do	do	do	900
Portuguese delivery clerk	do	do	do	840
Japanese delivery clerk	do	do	do	840
Chinese delivery clerk	do	do	do	840
Clerk	do	do	do	600
Do	do	do	do	600
Do	do	do	do	600
Do	do	do	do	600
Ladies' window clerk	do	do	do	540
Clerk	do	do	do	540
Do	do	do	do	480
Do	do	do	do	240
Assistant clerk, postal savings bank.	do	do	do	480
Clerk, postal savings bank	do	do	do	360
Janitor	do	do	do	240

Bureau of customs.

Collector-general	Minister	President	Indefinite	$3,000
Deputy collector, Honolulu	Collector-general	Minister	do	2,700
Entry clerks (3)	do	do	do	3,900
Statistical clerks (3)	do	do	do	4,200
Port surveyor, Honolulu	do	do	do	2,000
Storekeeper	do	do	do	1,200
Appraiser	do	do	do	2,100
Assistant appraiser	do	do	do	1,500
Customs gauger and tester	do	do	do	1,500
Examiners (2)	do	do	do	2,400
Appraiser's storekeeper	do	do	do	1,200
Chinese and Japanese invoice inspectors	do	do	do	1,200
Pilots, Honolulu (3), each	do	do	do	2,400
Assistants, customs warehouses	do	do	do	3,600
Customs inspectors, Honolulu	do	do	do	10,000
Customs guards, Honolulu	do	do	do	13,750
Pilot's watchman, Diamond Head	do	do	do	900
Pilot's watchman, pilot's office	do	do	do	720
Pilots' boats, pay roll	do	do	do	2,500
Assistant guards, all ports	do	do	do	4,000
Collector, Kahului	do	do	do	1,500
Port surveyor, Kahului	do	do	do	1,000
Customs guards and inspectors, Maui	do	do	do	2,160
Collector, Hilo	do	do	do	1,500
Port surveyor, Hilo	do	do	do	1,000
Customs guards and inspectors, Hawaii	do	do	do	2,160
Collector, Mahukona and Honoipu	do	do	do	900
Collector, Waimea and Koloa	do	do	do	200
Collector, Kailua and Kealakekua	do	do	do	200

Department of the Attorney-General.

Attorney-general				.....
Deputy attorney-general	Attorney-general		Indefinite	$3,000
Assistant to attorney-general	do		do	1,800
Clerk to department	do		do	1,800
Marshal	do	President	do	3,000
Clerk to marshal	Marshal	Attorney-general	do	1,800
Deputy marshal	do	do	do	2,100
Jailor, Oahu prison	do	do	do	1,800

Sheriff of Hawaii	Marshal	Attorney-general	Indefinite	$2,500
Sheriff of Maui	do	do	do	2,750
Sheriff of Kauai	do	do	do	2,000
Sheriff's clerk, Hawaii	do	do	do	900
Sheriff's clerk, Maui	do	do	do	900
Sheriff's clerk, Kauai	do	do	do	400
Deputy sheriff, Hawaii	do	do	do	1,800
Deputy sheriff, North Kohala	do	do	do	1,200
Deputy sheriff, South Kohala	do	do	do	600
Deputy sheriff, Hamakua	do	do	do	1,200
Deputy sheriff, North Hilo	do	do	do	720
Deputy sheriff, North Kona	do	do	do	1,200
Deputy sheriff, South Kona	do	do	do	900
Deputy sheriff, Kau	do	do	do	1,020
Deputy sheriff, Puna	do	do	do	720
Police, Hawaii	do	do	do	27,500
Deputy sheriff, Maui	do	do	do	1,500
Deputy sheriff, Makawao	do	do	do	1,200
Deputy sheriff, Lahaina	do	do	do	960
Deputy sheriff, Hana	do	do	do	960
Deputy sheriff, Molokai	do	do	do	800
Police, Maui	do	do	do	15,000
Deputy sheriff, Kauai	do	do	do	1,500
Deputy sheriff, Kawaihau	do	do	do	780
Deputy sheriff, Hanalei	do	do	do	780
Deputy sheriff, Koloa	do	do	do	780
Deputy sheriff, Waimea	do	do	do	1,200
Police, Kauai	do	do	do	9,000
Deputy sheriff, Koolaupoko	do	do	do	600
Deputy sheriff, Koolauloa	do	do	do	600
Deputy sheriff, Waialua	do	do	do	600
Deputy sheriff, Waianae	do	do	do	600
Deputy sheriff, Ewa	do	do	do	900
Police, Oahu	do	do	do	67,500
Clerks, receiving station (2)	do	do	do	1,440
Supreme court officer	do	do	do	1,080
Hack inspector	do	do	do	1,200
Physicians' receiving station and prison.	do	do	do	1,200
Jailors, guards, and lunas of prisoners.	do	do	do	27,500
Keeper kerosene warehouse	do	do	do	900
Keeper powder magazine	do	do	do	600
Stenographer to department.	Attorney-general	do	do	1,500

Audit department.

Auditor-general	President	Senate	do	3,600
Deputy auditor-general	do	Cabinet	do	2,400
Clerks (eighteen months)	Auditor-general		do	5,500

Department of public instruction.			
Inspector-general of schools.	Minister and commissioner of public instruction.	Indefinite	$3,000
Deputy inspector and school agent, Honolulu.	do	do	450
Traveling normal instructor	do	do	3,000
Secretary of department	do	do	1,800
Assistant secretary and school agent, Honolulu.	do	do	1,500
Messenger and book clerk	do	do	900
Public schools pay roll	do	do	225,000
School agents	do	do	2,250
Superintendent industrial school.	do	do	1,200
Matron of industrial school	do	do	900
Guards industrial school	do	do	900

In addition to the foregoing salaried officers are the following boards and commissions, the members of which serve without pay:

Board of Immigration.—Comprising the minister of the interior, ex officio, chairman, and five commissioners appointed by the President, with the approval of the cabinet; term of office, indefinite.

Board of Health.—Comprising the attorney-general, ex officio, and six members, three of whom are laymen and three physicians, appointed by the President, with the approval of the cabinet; term of office, two years.

Commissioners of Public Instruction.—Comprising the minister of foreign affairs, ex officio, minister of public instruction, and six commissioners, appointed by the President, with the approval of the cabinet; term of office, three years.

Board of Prison Inspectors.—Comprising three inspectors, appointed by the minister of the interior, with the approval of the cabinet; term of office, two years.

Board of Equalization.—Comprising the minister of finance and the several assessors.

Board of Inspectors of Elections.—Comprising three inspectors of election for each precinct, appointed by the minister of the interior; term of office, indefinite.

Board of Registration.—Comprising three members in five districts, appointed by the President, with the approval of the senate.

Council of State.—Comprising fifteen members, five elected by senate, five elected by the house of representatives, and five appointed by President, with approval of cabinet. Members of executive council sit and take part in meetings, but cannot vote.

Labor Commission.—Comprising three members, appointed by the President; term of office, indefinite.

Road Board.—Comprising three members in each district, appointed by the minister of the interior; term of office, indefinite.

Pound Masters.—Consisting of one in each district, appointed by the minister of interior; term of office, indefinite; a system of fees charged.

Commissioner of Public Lands.—Composed of a board of three commissioners, including the minister of the interior and two persons appointed by the President, with the approval of the cabinet, one of whom is designated agent of public lands; term of office, indefinite.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

Captain James Cook's Great Discoveries and His Martyrdom—Character and Traditions of the Hawaiian Islands—Charges Against the Famous Navigator, and effort to Array the Christian World Against Him—The True Story of His Life and Death—How Charges Against Cook Came to Be Made—Testimony of Vancouver, King and Dixon, and Last Words of Cook's Journal—Light Turned on History That Has Become Obscure—Savagery of the Natives—Their Written Language Took Up Their High Colored Traditions, and Preserved Phantoms—Scenes in Aboriginal Theatricals—Problem of Government in an Archipelago Where Race Questions Are Predominant—Now Americans Should Remember Captain Cook as an Illustrious Pioneer.

Regarding the islands in the Pacific that we have for a long time largely occupied and recently wholly possessed, the Hawaiian cluster that are the stepping stone, the resting place and the coal station for the golden group more than a thousand leagues beyond, we should remember Captain Cook as one of our own Western pioneers, rejoice to read his true story, and in doing so to form a correct estimate of the people who have drifted into the area of our Protection, or territory that is inalienably our own, to be thoroughly Americanized, that they may some day be worthy to become our fellow-citizens.

Sunday, January 18th, 1778, Captain Cook, after seeing birds every day, and turtles, saw two islands, and the next day a third one, and canoes put off from the shore of the second island, the people speaking the language of Otaheite. As the Englishmen proceeded, other canoes appeared, bringing with them roasted pigs and very fine potatoes. The Captain says: "Several small pigs were purchased for a six-penny nail, so that we again found ourselves in a land of plenty. The natives were gentle and polite, asking whether they might sit down, whether they might spit on the deck, and the like. An order restricting the men going ashore was issued that I might do everything in my power to prevent the importation of a fatal disease into the island, which I knew some of our men now labored under." Female visitors were ordered to be excluded from the ships. Captain Cook's journal is very explicit, and he states the particulars of the failure of his precautions. This is a subject that has been much discussed, and there is still animosity in the controversy. The discovery of the islands that he called the Sandwich, after his patron the Earl of Sandwich, happened in the midst of our Revolutionary war. After

Cook's explorations for the time, he sailed in search of the supposed Northwest passage, and that enterprise appearing hopeless, returned to the summer islands, and met his fate in the following December. Captain George Vancouver, a friend and follower of Cook, says, in his "Voyage of Discovery and Around the World." from 1790 to 1795:

"It should seem that the reign of George the Third had been reserved by the Great Disposer of all things for the glorious task of establishing the grand keystone to that expansive arch over which the arts and sciences should pass to the furthermost corners of the earth, for the instruction and happiness of the most lowly children of nature. Advantages so highly beneficial to the untutored parts of the human race, and so extremely important to that large proportion of the subjects of this empire who are brought up to the sea service deserve to be justly appreciated; and it becomes of very little importance to the bulk of our society, whose enlightened humanity teaches them to entertain a lively regard for the welfare and interest of those who engage in such adventurous undertakings for the advancement of science, or for the extension of commerce, what may be the animadversions or sarcasms of those few unenlightened minds that may peevishly demand, "what beneficial consequences, if any, have followed, or are likely to follow to the discoverers, or to the discovered, to the common interests of humanity, or to the increase of useful knowledge, from all our boasted attempts to explore the distant recesses of the globe?" The learned editor (Dr. Douglas, now Bishop of Salisbury) who has so justly anticipated this injudicious remark, has, in his very comprehensive introduction to Captain Cook's last voyage, from whence the above quotation is extracted, given to the public not only a complete and satisfactory answer to that question, but has treated every other part of the subject of discovery so ably as to render any further observations on former voyages of this description wholly unnecessary, for the purpose of bringing the reader acquainted with what had been accomplished, previously to my being honored with His Majesty's commands to follow up the labors of that illustrious navigator Captain James Cook; to whose steady, uniform, indefatigable and undiverted attention to the several objects on which the success of his enterprises ultimately depended, the world is indebted for such eminent and important benefits."

Captain George Vancouver pays, in the introduction of his reports, a remarkable tribute to Captain Cook, that should become familiar to the American people, for it is one of the features of prevalent Hawaiian literature that the great navigator is much disparaged, and denounced. One of the favorite theories of the missionaries

has been that Cook's death at the hands of the savages was substantially the punishment inflicted by God, because the Captain allowed himself to be celebrated and worshipped as a god by the heathen, consenting to their idolatry when he should have preached to them, as was done with so much efficiency nearly half a century later. The fact is the natives had a great deal of "religion" of their own, and defended their superstitions with skill and persistence before yielding to the great simplicities of the Christian faith. Captain Cook, it must be admitted, did not attempt to preach the gospel. The gentleness of the natives turned out to contain a great deal that was most horrible.

The closing years of the last century were those of rapid progress in the art of navigation, and Captain Vancouver gives this striking summary of testimony:

"By the introduction of nautical astronomy into marine education, we are taught to sail on the hypothenuse, instead of traversing two sides of a triangle, which was the usage in earlier times; by this means the circuitous course of all voyages from place to place is considerably shortened; and it is now become evident that sea officers of the most common rate abilities who will take the trouble of making themselves acquainted with the principles of this science, will, on all suitable occasions, with proper and correct instruments, be enabled to acquire a knowledge of their situation in the Atlantic, Indian or Pacific Oceans, with a degree of accuracy sufficient to steer on a meridianal or diagonal line, to any known spot, provided it be sufficiently conspicuous to be visible at any distance from five to ten leagues.

"This great improvement, by which the most remote parts of the terrestrial globe are brought so easily within our reach, would nevertheless have been of comparatively little utility had not those happy means been discovered for preserving the lives and health of the officers and seamen engaged in such distant and perilous undertakings; which were so peacefully practiced by Captain Cook, the first great discoverer of this salutary system, in all his latter voyages around the globe. But in none have the effect of his wise regulations, regimen and discipline been more manifest than in the course of the expedition of which the following pages are designed to treat. To an unremitting attention, not only to food, cleanliness, ventilation, and an early administration of antiseptic provisions and medicines, but also to prevent as much as possible the chance of indisposition, by prohibiting individuals from carelessly exposing themselves to the influence of climate, or unhealthy indulgences in times of relaxation, and by relieving them from fatigue and the inclemency of the weather the moment the nature of their duty would permit them to retire, is to be ascribed the preservation of the health and lives of sea-faring people on long voyages."

"Those benefits did not long remain unnoticed by the commercial part of the British nation. Remote and distant voyages being now no longer objects of terror, enterprises were projected and carried into execution, for the purpose of establishing new and lucrative branches of commerce between Northwest America and China; and parts of the coast of the former that had not been minutely examined by Captain Cook became now the general resort of the persons thus engaged."

The special zeal and consistency with which Cook is defended by the English navigators who knew him and were competent to judge of the scope of his achievements is due in part to the venom of his assailants. The historian of the Sandwich Islands, Sheldon Dibble, says: "An impression of wonder and dread having been made, Captain Cook and his men found little difficulty in having such intercourse with the people as they chose. In regard to that intercourse, it was marked, as the world would say, with kindness and humanity. But it cannot be concealed that here and there at this time, in the form of loathsome disease, was dug the grave of the Hawaiian nation; and from so deep an odium it is to be regretted that faithful history cannot exempt even the fair name of Captain Cook himself, since it was evident that he gave countenance to the evil. The native female first presented to him was a person of some rank; her name was Lelemahoalani. Sin and death were the first commodities imported to the Sandwich Islands."

We have already quoted Captain Cook's first words on this subject. He had much more to say giving in detail difficulties rather too searching to be fully stated. As for the charge that Cook personally engaged in debauchery, it rests upon the tradition of savages, who had no more idea than wild animals of the restraint of human passion. It was debated among the islanders whether the white men should be assailed by the warriors, and it was on the advice of a native queen that the women were sent to make friends with the strangers; and this was the policy pursued. As for the decline of the natives in numbers, and the "digging the grave of the nation," the horror of the islands was the destruction of female infants, and also the habit of putting aged and helpless men and women to death. The general indictment against Captain Cook is that this amiable race was just about prepared for Christianity when he thrust himself forward as a god, and with his despotic licentiousness destroyed immediate possibilities of progress. In Sandwich Island notes by "a Haole" (that is to say, a white person) we see what may be said on the other side of the picture: "It becomes an interesting duty to examine their social, political and religious condition. The first feature that calls the attention to the past is their social condition, and a darker picture can hardly be presented to the contemplation of man. They had their frequent boxing matches on a public arena,

and it was nothing uncommon to see thirty or forty left dead on the field of contest.

"As gamblers they were inveterate. The game was indulged in by every person, from the king of each island to the meanest of his subjects. The wager accompanied every scene of public amusement. They gambled away their property to the last vestige of all they possessed. They staked every article of food, their growing crops, the clothes they wore, their lands, wives, daughters, and even the very bones of their arms and legs—to be made into fishhooks after they were dead. These steps led to the most absolute and crushing poverty.

"They had their dances, which were of such a character as not to be conceived by a civilized mind, and were accompanied by scenes which would have disgraced even Nero's revels. Nearly every night, with the gathering darkness, crowds would retire to some favorite spot, where, amid every species of sensual indulgence they would revel until the morning twilight. At such times the chiefs would lay aside their authority, and mingle with the lowest courtesan in every degree of debauchery.

"Thefts, robberies, murders, infanticide, licentiousness of the most debased and debasing character, burying their infirm and aged parents alive, desertion of the sick, revolting cruelties to the unfortunate maniac, cannibalism and drunkenness, form a list of some of the traits in social life among the Hawaiians in past days.

"Their drunkenness was intense. They could prepare a drink, deadly intoxicating in its nature, from a mountain plant called the awa (Piper methysticum). A bowl of this disgusting liquid was always prepared and served out just as a party of chiefs were sitting down to their meals. It would sometimes send the victim into a slumber from which he never awoke. The confirmed awa drinker could be immediately recognized by his leprous appearance.

"By far the darkest feature in their social condition was seen in the family relation. Society, however, is only a word of mere accommodation, designed to express domestic relations as they then existed. 'Society' was, indeed, such a sea of pollution as cannot be well described. Marriage was unknown, and all the sacred feelings which are suggested to our minds on mention of the various social relations, such as husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister, were to them, indeed, as though they had no existence. There was, indeed, in this respect, a dreary blank —a dark chasm from which the soul instinctively recoils. There were, perhaps, some customs which imposed some little restraint upon the intercourse of the sexes, but those customs were easily dispensed with, and had nothing of the force of established rules. It was common for a husband to have many wives, and for a wife also to have many husbands. The nearest ties of consanguinity were but little regarded,

and among the chiefs, especially, the connection of brother with sister, and parent with child, were very common. For husbands to interchange wives, and for wives to interchange husbands, was a common act of friendship, and persons who would not do this were not considered on good terms of sociability. For a man or woman to refuse a solicitation was considered an act of meanness; and this sentiment was thoroughly wrought into their minds, that, they seemed not to rid themselves of the feeling of meanness in a refusal, to feel, notwithstanding their better knowledge, that to comply was generous, liberal, and social, and to refuse reproachful and niggardly. It would be impossible to enumerate or specify the crimes which emanated from this state of affairs. Their political condition was the very genius of despotism, systematically and deliberately conducted. Kings and chiefs were extremely jealous of their succession, and the more noble their blood, the more they were venerated by the common people."

Mr. Sheldon Dibble is a historian whose work was published in 1843. He complains most bitterly that the natives bothered the missionaries by trying to give them the benefit of native thought. They wanted to do some of the talking, and said very childish things, and were so intent on their own thoughts that they would not listen to the preachers. But it ought not to have been held to be an offense for a procession of heathen to march to a missionary's house and tell him their thoughts. That was an honest manifestation of profound interest—the slow ripening of a harvest field. Mr. Dibble's book is printed by the Mission Seminary, and Mr. Dibble says, page 21: "We know that all the inhabitants of the earth descended from Noah," therefore, the Hawaiians "must once have known the great Jehova and the principles of true religion." But the historian says on the next page that the Hawaiians were heathen from time immemorial, for, "Go back to the very first reputed progenitor of the Hawaiian race, and you find that the ingredients of their character are lust, anger, strife, malice, sensuality, revenge and the worship of idols." This is the elevation upon which Mr. Dibble places himself to fire upon the memory of the English navigator Captain James Cook. The first paragraph of the assault on Cook is this:

"How unbounded the influence of foreign visitors upon the ignorant inhabitants of the Pacific! If the thousands of our countrymen who visit this ocean were actuated by the pure principles of the religion of Jesus, how immense the good they might accomplish! But, alas! how few visitors to the Western hemisphere are actuated by such principles."

This is preparatory to the condemnation of Cook in these terms: "Captain Cook allowed himself to be worshipped as a god. The people of Kealakeakua de-

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RAVINE OF HALUNG. A SCENE ON THE ROAD FROM SILANG TO INDANG, CAVITE.

VIEW NEAR INDANG, CAVITE PROVINCE, ALONG TIBAGAN RIVER.

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clined trading with him, and loaded his ship freely with the best productions of the island. The priests approached him in a crouching attitude, uttering prayers, and exhibiting all the formalities of worship. After approaching him with prostration the priests cast their red kapas over his shoulders and then receding a little, they presented hogs and a variety of other offerings, with long addresses rapidly enunciated, which were a repetition of their prayers and religious homage.

"When he went on shore most of the people fled for fear of him, and others bowed down before him, with solemn reverence. He was conducted to the house of the gods, and into the sacred enclosure, and received there the highest homage. In view of this fact, and of the death of Captain Cook, which speedily ensued, who can fail being admonished to give to God at all times, and even among barbarous tribes, the glory which is his due? Captain Cook might have directed the rude and ignorant natives to the great Jehovah, instead of receiving divine homage himself.

"Kalaniopuu, the king, arrived from Maui on the 24th of January, and immediately laid a tabu on the canoes, which prevented the women from visiting the ship, and consequently the men came on shore in great numbers, gratifying their infamous purposes in exchange for pieces of iron and small looking-glasses. Some of the women washed the coating from the back of the glasses much to their regret, when they found that the reflecting property was thus destroyed.

"The king, on his arrival, as well as the people, treated Captain Cook with much kindness, gave him feather cloaks and fly brushes and paid him divine honors. This adoration, it is painful to relate, was received without remonstrance. I shall speak here somewhat minutely of the death of Captain Cook, as it develops some traits of the heathen character, and the influence under which the heathen suffer from foreign intercourse."

After setting forth the horrible character of the natives, Captain Cook is condemned and denounced because he did not refuse the homage of the ferocious savages, paid him as a superior creature. One of Cook's troubles was the frantic passion the islanders had to steal iron. The common people were the property of the chiefs, and they had no other sense of possession. They gave away what they had, but took what they wanted.

Mr. Dibble shows his animus when he charges that Cook did not give the natives the real value of their hogs and fruit, and also that he had no right to stop pilferers in canoes by declaring and enforcing a blockade. This is a trifling technicality much insisted upon. Dibble's account of the death of Cook is this:

"A canoe came from an adjoining district, bound within the bay. In the canoe were two chiefs of some rank, Kekuhaupio and Kalimu. The canoe was fired upon

from one of the boats and Kalimu was killed. Kekuhaupio made the greatest speed till he reached the place of the king, where Captain Cook also was, and communicated the intelligence of the death of the chief. The attendants of the king were enraged and showed signs of hostility, but were restrained by the thought that Captain Cook was a god. At that instant a warrior, with a spear in his hand, approached Captain Cook and was heard to say that the boats in the harbor had killed his brother, and he would be revenged. Captain Cook, from his enraged appearance and that of the multitude, was suspicious of him, and fired upon him with his pistol. Then followed a scene of confusion, and in the midst Captain Cook being hit with a stone, and perceiving the man who threw it, shot him dead. He also struck a certain chief with his sword, whose name was Kalaimanokahoowaha. The chief instantly seized Captain Cook with a strong hand, designing merely to hold him and not to take his life; for he supposed him to be a god and that he could not die. Captain Cook struggled to free himself from the grasp, and as he was about to fall uttered a groan. The people immediately exclaimed, "He groans—he is not a god," and instantly slew him. Such was the melancholy death of Captain Cook.

"Immediately the men in the boat commenced a deliberate fire upon the crowd. They had refrained in a measure before, for fear of killing their Captain. Many of the natives were killed."

"Historian Dibble does not notice the evidence that Cook lost his life by turning to his men in the boats, ordering them not to fire. It was at that moment he was stabbed in the back. Dibble represents the facts as if to justify the massacre of the great navigator, because he allowed the heathen to think he was one of their gang of gods. But this presumption ought not to have been allowed to excuse prevarication about testimony. The importance of Dibble's history is that it is representative. He concludes with this eloquent passage: "From one heathen nation we may learn in a measure the wants of all. And we ought not to restrict our view, but, look at the wide world. To do then for all nations what I have urged in behalf of the Sandwich Islands, how great and extensive a work! How vast the number of men and how immense the amount of means which seem necessary to elevate all nations, and gain over the whole earth to the permanent dominion of the Lord Jesus Christ! Can 300,000,000 of pagan children and youth be trained and instructed by a few hands? Can the means of instructing them be furnished by the mere farthings and pence of the church? Will it not be some time yet before ministers and church members will need to be idle a moment for the want of work? Is there any danger of our being cut off from the blessed privilege either of giving or of going? There is a great work yet to be done—a noble work—a various and a

difficult work—a work worthy of God's power, God's resources, and God's wisdom. What christendom has as yet done is scarcely worthy of being called a commencement. When God shall bring such energies into action as shall be commensurate with the greatness of the work—when he shall cause every redeemed sinner, by the abundant influence of His Holy Spirit, to lay himself out wholly in the great enterprise, then there will be a sight of moral sublimity that shall rivet the gaze of angels."

We quote this writer as to what became of the remains of Cook: "The body of Captain Cook was carried into the interior of the island, the bones secured according to their custom, and the flesh burned in the fire. The heart, liver, etc., of Captain Cook, were stolen and eaten by some hungry children, who mistook them in the night for the inwards of a dog. The names of the children were Kupa, Mohoole and Kaiwikokoole. These men are now all dead. The last of the number died two years since at the station of Lahaina. Some of the bones of Captain Cook were sent on board his ship, in compliance with the urgent demands of the officers; and some were kept by the priests as objects of worship." The "heart, liver, etc.," were of course given to the children to eat! The bones are still hidden, and presumably not much worshiped. The first of the remains of Captain Cook given up was a mass of his bloody flesh, cut as if from a slaughtered ox. After some time there were other fragments, including one of his hands which had a well known scar, and perfectly identified it. Along with this came the story of burning flesh, and denials of cannibalism. Mr. Dibble speaks of Cook's "consummate folly and outrageous tyranny of placing a blockade upon a heathen bay, which the natives could not possibly be supposed either to understand or appreciate." That blockade, like others, was understood when enforced. The historian labors to work out a case to justify the murder of Cook because he received worship. As to the acknowledgment of Cook as the incarnation of Lono, in the Hawaiian Pantheon, Captain King says:

"Before I proceed to relate the adoration that was paid to Captain Cook, and the peculiar ceremonies with which he was received on this fatal island, it will be necessary to describe the Morai, situated, as I have already mentioned, at the south side of the beach at Kakooa (Kealakeakua). It was a square solid pile of stones, about forty yards long, twenty broad, and fourteen in height. The top was flat and well paved, and surrounded by a wooden rail, on which were fixed the skulls of the captives sacrificed on the death of their chiefs. In the center of the area stood a ruinous old building of wood, connected with the rail on each side by a stone wall, which next divided the whole space into two parts. On the side next the country were five poles, upward of twenty feet high, supporting an irregular kind of scaffold;

on the opposite side toward the sea, stood two small houses with a covered communication.

"We were conducted by Koah to the top of this pile by an easy ascent leading from the beach to the northwest corner of the area. At the entrance we saw two large wooden images, with features violently distorted, and a long piece of carved wood of a conical form inverted, rising from the top of their heads; the rest was without form and wrapped round with red cloth. We were here met by a tall young man with a long beard, who presented Captain Cook to the images, and after chanting a kind of hymn, in which he was joined by Koah, they led us to that end of the Morai where the five poles were fixed. At the foot of them were twelve images ranged in a semicircular form, and before the middle figure stood a high stand or table, exactly resembling the Whatta of Othaheiti, on which lay a putrid hog, and under it pieces of sugar cane, cocoanuts, bread fruit, plantains and sweet potatoes. Koah having placed the Captain under the stand, took down the hog and held it toward him; and after having a second time addressed him in a long speech, pronounced with much vehemence and rapidity, he let it fall on the ground and led him to the scaffolding, which they began to climb together, not without great risk of falling. At this time we saw coming in solemn procession, at the entrance of the top of the Morai, ten men carrying a live hog and a large piece of red cloth. Being advanced a few paces, they stopped and prostrated themselves; and Kaireekeea, the young man above mentioned, went to them, and receiving the cloth carried it to Koah, who wrapped it around the Captain, and afterwards offered him the hog, which was brought by Kaireekeea with the same ceremony.

"Whilst Captain Cook was aloft in this awkward situation, swathed round with red cloth, and with difficulty keeping his hold amongst the pieces of rotten scaffolding, Kaireekeea and Koah began their office, chanting sometimes in concert and sometimes alternately. This lasted a considerable time; at length Koah let the hog drop, when he and the Captain descended together. He then led him to the images before mentioned, and, having said something to each in a sneering tone, snapping his fingers at them as he passed, he brought him to that in the center, which, from its being covered with red cloth, appeared to be in greater estimation than the rest. Before this figure he prostrated himself and kissed it, desiring Captain Cook to do the same, who suffered himself to be directed by Koah throughout the whole of this ceremony.

"We were now led back to the other division of the Morai, where there was a space ten or twelve feet square, sunk about three feet below the level of the area. Into this we descended, and Captain Cook was seated between two wooden idols,

Koah supporting one of his arms, whilst I was desired to support the other. At this time arrived a second procession of natives, carrying a baked hog and a pudding, some bread fruit, cocoanuts and other vegetables. When they approached us Kaireekeea put himself at their head, and presenting the pig to Captain Cook in the usual manner, began the same kind of chant as before, his companions making regular responses. We observed that after every response their parts became gradually shorter, till, toward the close, Kaireekeea's consisted of only two or three words, while the rest answered by the word Orono.

"When this offering was concluded, which lasted a quarter of an hour, the natives sat down fronting us, and began to cut up the baked hog, to peel the vegetables and break the cocoanuts; whilst others employed themselves in brewing the awa, which is done by chewing it in the same manner as at the Friendly Islands. Kaireekeea then took part of the kernel of a cocoanut, which he chewed, and wrapping it in a piece of cloth, rubbed with it the Captain's face, head, hands, arms and shoulders. The awa was then handed around, and after we had tasted it Koah and Pareea began to pull the flesh of the hog in pieces and put it into our mouths. I had no great objection to being fed by Pareea, who was very cleanly in his person, but Captain Cook, who was served by Koah, recollecting the putrid hog, could not swallow a morsel; and his reluctance, as may be supposed, was not diminished when the old man, according to his own mode of civility had chewed it for him.

"When this ceremony was finished, which Captain Cook put an end to as soon as he decently could, we quitted the Morai."

Evidently the whole purpose of Captain Cook in permitting this performance, was to flatter and gratify the natives and make himself strong to command them. The Captain himself was sickened, and got away as quickly as he could without giving offense. This was not the only case in which the native priests presented the navigator as a superior being. Perhaps the view the old sailor took of the style of ceremony was as there were so many gods, one more or less did not matter. Cook never attached importance to the freaks of superstition, except so far as it might be made useful in keeping the bloody and beastly savages in check. Bearing upon this point we quote W. D. Alexander's "Brief History of the Hawaiian People," pages 33-34:

"Infanticide was fearfully prevalent, and there were few of the older women at the date of the abolition of idolatry who had not been guilty of it. It was the opinion of those best informed that two-thirds of all the children born were destroyed in infancy by their parents. They were generally buried alive, in many cases in the very houses occupied by their unnatural parents. On all the islands the num-

ber of males was much greater than that of females, in consequence of the girls being more frequently destroyed than the boys. The principal reason given for it was laziness—unwillingness to take the trouble of rearing children. It was a very common practice for parents to give away their children to any persons who were willing to adopt them.

"No regular parental discipline was maintained, and the children were too often left to follow their own inclinations and to become familiar with the lowest vices.

"Neglect of the helpless. Among the common people old age was despised. The sick and those who had become helpless from age were sometimes abandoned to die or put to death. Insane people were also sometimes stoned to death."

Again we quote Alexander's History, page 49:

"Several kinds of food were forbidden to the women on pain of death, viz., pork, bananas, cocoanuts, turtles, and certain kinds of fish, as the ulua, the humu, the shark, the hihimanu or sting-ray, etc. The men of the poorer class often formed a sort of eating club apart from their wives. These laws were rigorously enforced. At Honaunau, Hawaii, two young girls of the highest rank, Kapiolani and Keoua, having been detected in the act of eating a banana, their kahu, or tutor, was held responsible, and put to death by drowning. Shortly before the abolition of the tabus, a little child had one of her eyes scooped out for the same offense. About the same time a woman was put to death for entering the eating house of her husband, although she was tipsy at the time."

Captain Cook seems to have committed the unpardonable sin in not beginning the stated work of preaching the gospel a long generation before the missionaries arrived, and the only sound reason for this is found in Dibble's History, in his statement that the islanders steadily degenerated until the missions were organized.

Writers of good repute, A. Fornander, chief of them, are severe with Captain Cook on account of his alleged greed, not paying enough for the red feathers woven into fanciful forms. Perhaps that is a common fault in the transactions of civilized men with barbarians. William Penn is the only man with a great reputation for dealing fairly with American Red Men, and he was not impoverished by it. Cook gave nails for hogs, and that is mentioned in phrases that are malicious. Iron was to the islanders the precious metal, and they were not cheated. A long drawn out effort has been made to impress the world that Cook thought himself almost a god, and was a monster. The natives gave to the wonderful people who came to them in ships, liberally of their plenty, and received in return presents that pleased them, articles of utility. Beads came along at a later day. The natives believed Cook one of the heroes of the imagination that they called gods. He sought to propitiate them

and paid for fruit and meat in iron and showy trifles. His policy of progress was to introduce domestic animals.

Note the temper of Mr. Abraham Fornander, a man who has meant honesty of statement, but whose information was perverted:

"And how did Captain Cook requite this boundless hospitality, that never once made default during his long stay of seventeen days in Kealakeakua, these magnificent presents of immense value, this delicate and spontaneous attention to every want, this friendship of the chiefs and priests, this friendliness of the common people? By imposing on their good nature to the utmost limit of its ability to respond to the greedy and constant calls of their new friends; by shooting at one of the king's officers for endeavoring to enforce a law of the land, an edict of his sovereign that happened to be unpalatable to the new comers, and caused them some temporary inconvenience, after a week's profusion and unbridled license; by a liberal exhibition of his force and the meanest display of his bounty; by giving the king a linen shirt and a cutlass in return for feather cloaks and helmets, which, irrespective of their value as insignia of the highest nobility in the land, were worth singly at least from five to ten thousand dollars, at present price of the feathers, not counting the cost of manufacturing; by a reckless disregard of the proprieties of ordinary intercourse, even between civilized and savage man, and a wanton insult to what he reasonably may have supposed to have been the religious sentiments of his hosts." This is up to the mark of a criminal lawyer retained to prove by native testimony that Captain James Cook was not murdered, but executed for cause. The great crime of Cook is up to this point that of playing that he was one of the Polynesian gods. Fornander says: "When the sailors carried off, not only the railing of the temple, but also the idols of the gods within it, even the large-hearted patience of Kaoo gave up, and he meekly requested that the central idol at least might be restored. Captain King failed to perceive that the concession of the priests was that of a devotee to his saint. The priests would not sell their religious emblems and belongings for "thirty pieces of silver," or any remuneration, but they were willing to offer up the entire Heiau, and themselves on the top of it, as a holocaust to Lono, if he had requested it. So long as Cook was regarded as a god in their eyes they could not refuse him. And though they exhibited no resentment at the request, the want of delicacy and consideration on the part of Captain Cook is none the less glaring. After his death, and when the illusion of godship had subsided, his spoliation of the very Heiau in which he had been deified was not one of the least of the grievances which native annalists laid up against him."

Contrast this flagrancy in advocacy of the cause of the barbarous natives with the last words Cook wrote in his journal. We quote from "A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean," by Captain James Cook, F. R. S., (Vol. II., pages 251-252):

"As it was of the last importance to procure a supply of provisions at these islands; and experience having taught me that I could have no chance to succeed in this, if a free trade with the natives were to be allowed; that is, if it were left to every man's discretion to trade for what he pleased, and in what manner he pleased; for this substantial reason, I now published an order prohibiting all persons from trading, except such as should be appointed by me and Captain Clarke; and even these were enjoined to trade only for provisions and refreshments. Women were also forobidden to be admitted into the ships, except under certain restrictions. But the evil I intended to prevent, by this regulation, I soon found had already got amongst them.

"I stood in again the next morning till within three or four miles of the land, where we were met with a number of canoes laden with provisions. We brought to, and continued trading with the people in them till four in the afternoon, when, having got a pretty good supply, we made sail and stretched off to the northward.

"I had never met with a behavior so free from reserve and suspicion in my intercourse with any tribe of savages as we experienced in the people of this island. It was very common for them to send up into the ship the several articles they brought for barter; afterward, they would come in themselves and make their bargains on the quarter-deck.

"We spent the night as usual, standing off and on. It happened that four men and ten women who had come on board the preceding day still remained with us. As I did not like the company of the latter, I stood in shore toward noon, principally with a view to get them out of the ship; and, some canoes coming off, I took that opportunity of sending away our guests.

"In the evening Mr. Bligh returned and reported that he had found a bay in which was good anchorage, and fresh water in a situation tolerably easy to be come at. Into this bay I resolved to carry the ships, there to refit and supply ourselves with every refreshment that the place could afford. As night approached the greater part of our visitors retired to the shore, but numbers of them requested our permission to sleep on board. Curiosity was not the only motive, at least with some, for the next morning several things were missing, which determined me not to entertain so many another night.

"At eleven o'clock in the forenoon we anchored in the bay, which is called by the natives Karakaooa, (Kealakeakua), in thirteen fathoms water, over a sandy bottom, and about a quarter of a mile from the northeast shore. In this situation the south point of the bay bore south by west, and the north point west half north. We moored with the stream-anchor and cable, to the northward, unbent the sails and struck yards and topmasts. The ships continued to be much crowded with natives, and were surrounded by a multitude of canoes. I had nowhere, in the course of my voyages, seen so numerous a body of people assembled in one place. For, besides those who had come off to us in canoes, all the shore of the bay was covered with spectators, and many hundreds were swimming around the ships like shoals of fish. We could not but be struck with the singularity of this scene, and perhaps there were few on board who lamented our having failed in our endeavors to find a northern passage homeward last summer. To this disappointment we owed our having it in our power to revisit the Sandwich Islands, and to enrich our voyage with a discovery which, though the last, seemed in many respects to be the most important that had hitherto been made by Europeans, throughout the extent of the Pacific Ocean."

This is the end of Cook's writing. His murder followed immediately. He fell by the hands of people for whom his good will was shown in his last words. The concluding pages of the journal answer all the scandals his enemies have so busily circulated.

There is a gleam of humor that shows like a thread of gold in the midst of the somber tragedies of the Sandwich Islands, and we must not omit to extract it from "The Voyage of Discovery Around the World" by Captain George Vancouver, when he spent some time in Hawaii, and gives two bright pictures—one of a theatrical performance, and the other the happy settlement of the disordered domestic relations of a monarch.

A GIFTED NATIVE ACTRESS AND SOME ROYAL DRAMATISTS.

"There was a performance by a single young woman of the name of Puckoo, whose person and manners were both very agreeable. Her dress, notwithstanding the heat of the weather, consisted of an immense quantity of cloth, which was wreaths of black, red and yellow feathers; but, excepting these, she wore no dress a manner as to give a pretty effect to the variegated pattern of the cloth; and was otherways disposed with great taste. Her head and neck were decorated with wreaths of black, red and yellow feathers; but, excepting these, she wore no dress

from the waist upwards. Her ankles, and nearly half way up her legs, were decorated with several folds of cloth, widening upwards, so that the upper parts extended from the leg at least four inches all round; this was encompassed by a piece of net work, wrought very close, from the meshes of which were hung the small teeth of dogs, giving this part of her dress the appearance of an ornamented funnel. On her wrists she wore bracelets made of the tusks of the largest hogs. These were highly polished and fixed close together in a ring, the concave sides of the tusks being outwards; and their ends reduced to a uniform length, curving naturally away from the center, were by no means destitute of ornamental effect. Thus equipped, her appearance on the stage, before she uttered a single word, excited considerable applause.

"These amusements had hitherto been confined to such limited performances; but this afternoon was to be dedicated to one of a more splendid nature, in which some ladies of consequence, attendants on the court of Tamaahmaah, were to perform the principal parts. Great pains had been taken, and they had gone through many private rehearsals, in order that the exhibition this evening might be worthy of the public attention; on the conclusion of which, I purposed by a display of fireworks, to make a return for the entertainment they had afforded us.

"About four o'clock we were informed it was time to attend the royal dames; their theatre, or rather place of exhibition, was about a mile to the southward of our tents, in a small square, surrounded by houses, and sheltered by trees, a situation as well chosen for the performance, as for the accommodation of the spectators; who, on a moderate computation, could not be estimated at less than four thousand, of all ranks and descriptions of persons.

"The dress of the actresses was something like that worn by Puckoo, though made of superior materials, and disposed with more taste and elegance. A very considerable quantity of their finest cloth was prepared for the occasion; of this their lower garment was formed, which extended from their waist half down their legs, and was so plaited as to appear very much like a hoop petticoat. This seemed the most difficult part of their dress to adjust, for Tamaahmaah, who was considered to be a profound critic, was frequently appealed to by the women, and his directions were implicitly followed in many little alterations. Instead of the ornaments of cloth and net-work, decorated with dogs' teeth, these ladies had each a green wreath made of a kind of bind weed, twisted together in different parts like a rope, which was wound round from the ankle, nearly to the lower part of the petticoat. On their wrists they wore no bracelets nor other ornaments, but across their necks

and shoulders were green sashes, very nicely made, with the broad leaves of the tee, a plant that produces a very luscious sweet root, the size of a yam. This part of their dress was put on the last by each of the actresses; and the party being now fully attired, the king and queen, who had been present the whole time of their dressing, were obliged to withdraw, greatly to the mortification of the latter, who would gladly have taken her part as a performer, in which she was reputed to excel very highly. But the royal pair were compelled to retire, even from the exhibition as they are prohibited by law from attending such amusements, excepting on the festival of the new year. Indeed, the performance of this day was contrary to the established rules of the island, but being intended as a compliment to us, the innovation was permitted.

"As their majesties withdrew, the ladies of rank and the principal chiefs began to make their appearance. The reception of the former by the multitude was marked by a degree of respect that I had not before seen amongst any inhabitants of the countries in the Pacific Ocean. The audience assembled at this time were standing in rows, from fifteen to twenty feet deep, so close as to touch each other; but these ladies no sooner approached in their rear, in any accidental direction, than a passage was instantly made for them and their attendants to pass through in the most commodious manner to their respective stations, where they seated themselves on the ground, which was covered with mats, in the most advantageous situation for seeing and hearing the performers. Most of these ladies were of a corpulent form, which, assisted by their stately gait, the dignity with which they moved, and the number of their pages, who followed with fans to court the refreshing breeze, or with fly-flaps to disperse the offending insects, announced their consequence as the wives, daughters, sisters, or other near relations of the principal chiefs, who, however, experienced no such marks of respect or attention themselves; being obliged to make their way through the spectators in the best manner they were able.

"The time devoted to the decoration of the actresses extended beyond the limits of the quiet patience of the audience, who exclaimed two or three times, from all quarters, "Hoorah, hoorah, poaliealee," signifying that it would be dark and black night before the performance would begin. But the audience here, like similar ones in other countries, attending with a pre-disposition to be pleased, was in good humor, and was easily appeased, by the address of our faithful and devoted friend Trywhookee, who was the conducter of the ceremonies, and sole manager on this occasion. He came forward and apologized by a speech that produced a general

laugh, and, causing the music to begin, we heard no further murmurs.

"The band consisted of five men, all standing up, each with a highly polished wooden spear in the left, and a small piece of the same material, equally well finished, in the right hand; with this they beat on the spear, as an accompaniment to their own voices in songs, that varied both as to time and measure, especially the latter; yet their voices, and the sounds produced from the rude instruments, which differed according to the place on which the tapering spear was struck, appeared to accord very well. Having engaged us a short time in this vocal performance, the court ladies made their appearance, and were received with shouts of the greatest applause. The musicians retired a few paces, and the actresses took their station before them.

"The heroine of the piece, which consisted of four or five acts, had once shared the affections and embraces of Tamaahmaah, but was now married to an inferior chief, whose occupation in the household was that of the charge of the king's apparel. This lady was distinguished by a green wreath round the crown of the head; next to her was the captive daughter of Titeeree; the third a younger sister to the queen, the wife of Crymamahoo, who, being of the most exalted rank, stood in the middle. On each side of these were two of inferior quality, making in all seven actresses. They drew themselves up in a line fronting that side of the square that was occupied by ladies of quality and the chiefs. These were completely detached from the populace, not by any partition, but, as it were, by the respectful consent of the lower orders of the assembly; not one of which trespassed or produced the least inaccommodation.

"This representation, like that before attempted to be described, was a compound of speaking and singing; the subject of which was enforced by gestures and actions. The piece was in honor of a captive princess, whose name was Crycowculleneaow; and on her name being pronounced, every one present, men as well as women, who wore any ornaments above their waists, were obliged to take them off, though the captive lady was at least sixty miles distant. This mark of respect was unobserved by the actresses whilst engaged in the performance; but the instant any one sat down, or at the close of the act, they were also obliged to comply with this mysterious ceremony.

"The variety of attitudes into which these women threw themselves, with the rapidity of their action, resembled no amusement in any other part of the world within my knowledge, by a comparison with which I might be enabled to convey some idea of the stage effect thus produced, particularly in the first three parts,

in which there appeared much correspondence and harmony between the tone of their voices and the display of their limbs. One or two of the performers being not quite so perfect as the rest, afforded us an opportunity of exercising our judgment by comparison; and it must be confessed, that the ladies who most excelled, exhibited a degree of graceful action, for the attainment of which it is difficult to account.

"In each of these first parts the songs, attitudes and actions appeared to me of greater variety than I had before noticed amongst the people of the great South Sea nation on any former occasion. The whole, though I am unequal to its description, was supported with a wonderful degree of spirit and vivacity; so much indeed that some of their exertions were made with such a degree of agitating violence as seemed to carry the performers beyond what their strength was able to sustain; and had the performance finished with the third act, we should have retired from their theatre with a much higher idea of the moral tendency of their drama, than was conveyed by the offensive, libidinous scene, exhibited by the ladies in the concluding part. The language of the song, no doubt, corresponded with the obscenity of their actions; which were carried to a degree of extravagance that were calculated to produce nothing but disgust, even to the most licentious."

From "A Voyage of Discovery," by Captain George Vancouver:

THE RECONCILIATION BY STRATEGY OF A KING WITH ONE OF HIS QUEENS.

"Tahowmotoo was amongst the most constant of our guests; but his daughter, the disgraced queen, seldom visited our side of the bay. I was not, however, ignorant of her anxious desire for a reconciliation with Tamaahmaah; nor was the same wish to be misunderstood in the conduct and behavior of the king, in whose good opinion and confidence I had now acquired such a predominancy that I became acquainted with his most secret inclinations and apprehensions.

"His unshaken attachment and unaltered affection for Tahowmannoo was confessed with a sort of internal self conviction of her innocence. He acknowledged with great candor that his own conduct had not been exactly such as warranted his having insisted upon a separation from his queen; that although it could not authorize, it in some measure pleaded in excuse for her infidelity; and for his own, he alleged, that his high rank and supreme authority was a sort of licence for such indulgences.

"An accommodation which I considered to be mutually wished by both parties

was urged in the strongest terms by the queen's relations. To effect this desirable purpose, my interference was frequently solicited by them; and as it concurred with my own inclination, I resolved on embracing the first favorable opportunity to use my best endeavors for bringing a reconciliation about. For although, on our former visit, Tahowmannoo had been regarded with the most favorable impressions, yet, whether from her distresses, or because she had really improved in her personal accomplishments, I will not take upon me to determine, but certain it is that one or both of these circumstances united had so far prepossessed us all in her favor, and no one more so than myself, that it had long been the general wish to see her exalted again to her former dignities. This desire was probably not a little heightened by the regard we entertained for the happiness and repose of our noble and generous friend Tamaahmaah, who was likely to be materially affected not only in his domestic comforts, but in his political situation, by receiving again and reinstating his consort in her former rank and consequence.

"I was convinced beyond all doubt that there were two or three of the most considerable chiefs of the island whose ambitious views were inimical to the interests and authority of Tamaahmaah; and it was much to be apprehended that if the earnest solicitations of the queen's father (whose condition and importance was next in consequence to that of the king) should continue to be rejected, that there could be little doubt of his adding great strength and influence to the discontented and turbulent chiefs, which would operate highly to the prejudice, if not totally to the destruction, of Tamaahmaah's regal power; especially as the adverse party seemed to form a constant opposition, consisting of a minority by no means to be despised by the executive power, and which appeared to be a principal constituent part of the Owhyean politics.

"For these substantial reasons, whenever he was disposed to listen to such discourse, I did not cease to urge the importance and necessity of his adopting measures so highly essential to his happiness as a man, and to his power, interest and authority as the supreme chief of the island. All this he candidly acknowledged, but his pride threw impediments in the way of a reconciliation, which were hard to be removed. He would not himself become the immediate agent; and although he considered it important that the negotiation should be conducted by some one of the principal chiefs in his fullest confidence, yet, to solicit their good offices after having rejected their former overtures with disdain, was equally hard to reconcile to his feelings. I stood nearly in the same situation with his favorite friends; but being thoroughly convinced of the sincerity of his wishes, I spared him the

mortification of soliciting the offices he had rejected, by again proffering my services. To this he instantly consented, and observed that no proposal could have met his mind so completely; since, by effecting a reconciliation through my friendship, no umbrage could be taken at his having declined the several offers of his countrymen by any of the individuals; whereas, had this object been accomplished by any one of the chiefs, it would probably have occasioned jealousy and discontent in the minds of the others.

"All, however, was not yet complete; the apprehension that some concession might be suggested, or expected, on his part, preponderated against every other consideration; and he would on no account consent, that it should appear that he had been privy to the business, or that it had been by his desire that a negotiation had been undertaken for this happy purpose, but that the whole should have the appearance of being purely the result of accident.

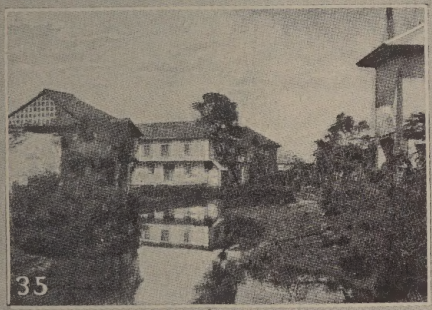
"To this end it was determined that I should invite the queen, with several of her relations and friends, on board the Discovery, for the purpose of presenting them with some trivial matters, as tokens of my friendship and regard; and that, whilst thus employed, our conversation should be directed to ascertain whether an accommodation was still an object to be desired. That on this appearing to be the general wish, Tamaahmaah would instantly repair on board in a hasty manner, as if he had something extraordinary to communicate; that I should appear to rejoice at this accidental meeting, and by instantly uniting their hands, bring the reconciliation to pass without the least discussion or explanation on either side. But from his extreme solicitude lest he should in any degree be suspected of being concerned in this previous arrangement, a difficulty arose how to make him acquainted with the result of the proposed conversation on board, which could not be permitted by a verbal message; at length, after some thought, he took up two pieces of paper, and of his own accord made certain marks with a pencil on each of them, and then delivered them to me. The difference of these marks he could well recollect; the one was to indicate that the result of my inquiries was agreeable to his wishes, and the other that it was contrary. In the event of my making use of the former, he proposed that it should not be sent on shore secretly, but in an open and declared manner, and by way of a joke, as a present to his Owhyhean majesty. The natural gaiety of disposition which generally prevails among these islanders, would render this supposed disappointment of the king a subject for mirth, would in some degree prepare the company for his visit, and completely do away with every idea of its being the effect of a preconcerted measure.

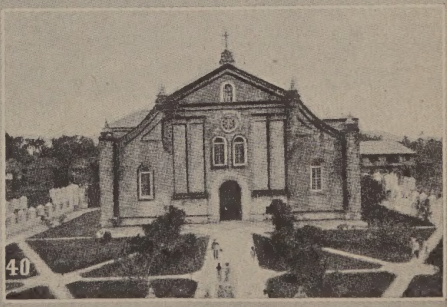
"This plan was accordingly carried into execution on the following Monday. Whilst the queen and her party, totally ignorant of the contrivance, were receiving the compliments I had intended them, their good humor and pleasantry were infinitely heightened by the jest I proposed to pass upon the king, in sending him a piece of paper only, carefully wrapped up in some cloth of their own manufacture, accompanied by a message; importing, that as I was then in the act of distributing favors to my Owhyhean friends, I had not been unmindful of his majesty.

"Tamaahmaah no sooner received the summons, than he hastened on board, and, with his usual vivacity, exclaimed before he made his appearance that he was come to thank me for the present I had sent him, and for my goodness in not having forgotten him on this occasion. This was heard by everyone in the cabin before he entered; and all seemed to enjoy the joke except the poor queen, who appeared to be much agitated at the idea of being again in his presence. The instant that he saw her his countenance expressed great surprise, he became immediately silent, and attempted to retire; but, having posted myself for the especial purpose of preventing his departure, I caught his hand and, joining it with the queen's, their reconciliation was instantly completed. This was fully demonstrated, not only by the tears that involuntarily stole down the cheeks of both as they embraced each other and mutually expressed the satisfaction they experienced; but by the behavior of every individual present, whose feelings on the occasion were not to be repressed; whilst their sensibility testified the happiness which this apparently fortuitous event had produced.

"A short pause, produced by an event so unexpected, was succeeded by the sort of good humor that such a happy circumstance would naturally inspire; the conversation soon became general, cheerful and lively, in which the artifice imagined to have been imposed upon the king bore no small share. A little refreshment from a few glasses of wine concluded the scene of this successful meeting.

"After the queen had acknowledged in the most grateful terms the weighty obligations which she felt for my services on this occasion, I was surprised by her saying, as we were all preparing to go on shore, that she had still a very great favor to request; which was, that I should obtain from Tamahmaah a solemn promise that on her return to his habitation he would not beat her. The great cordiality with which the reconciliation had taken place, and the happiness that each of them had continued to express in consequence of it, led me at first to consider this entreaty of the queen as a jest only; but in this I was mistaken, for, notwithstanding that Tamaahmaah readily complied with my solicitation, and assured me





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33. In the Valleys of Carabao. 34. Street in the District of Paco, Manila. 35. Aristocratic Residences in the Suburbs of San Juan del Monte. 36. Square of Santa Ana in the District of San Sebastian, Manila. 37. View of the Royal Highway of La Concepcion. 38. The King's Wharf, Manila. 39. The Aguilar Barrier in Tondo, Manila. 40. The Cathedral of Jaro in Ilo-Ilo.

VIEWS IN THE PHILIPPINES, MOSTLY IN AND AROUND MANILA.

NATIVE METHOD OF PLOWING. SCENE IN THE PROVINCE OF BATANGAS, PHILIPPINES.

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nothing of the kind should take place, yet Tahowmannoo would not be satisfied without my accompanying them home to the royal residence, where I had the pleasure of seeing her restored to all her former honors and privileges, highly to the satisfaction of all the king's friends, but to the utter mortification of those who by their scandalous reports and misrepresentations had been the cause of the unfortunate separtion.

"The domestic affairs of Tamaahmaah having thus taken so happy a turn, his mind was more at liberty for political considerations; and the cession of Owhyhee to his Britannic Majesty now became an object of his serious concern."

Captain Cook makes a strong plea in his journal that he was the very original discoverer of the Sandwich Islands. Referring to the wonderful extent of the surface of the earth in which the land is occupied by the Polynesial race, he exclaims:

"How shall we account for this nation's having spread itself, in so many detached islands, so widely disjoined from each other, in every quarter of the Pacific Ocean! We find it, from New Zealand in the South, as far as the Sandwich Islands, to the North! And, in another direction, from Easter Islands to the Hebrides! That is, over an extent of sixty degrees of latitude, or twelve hundred leagues, North and South! And eighty-three degrees of longitude, or sixteen hundred and sixty leagues, East and West! How much farther, in either direction, its colonies reach, is not known; but what we know already, in consequence of this and our former voyage, warrants our pronouncing it to be, though perhaps not the most numerous, certainly, by far, the most extensive, nation upon earth.

"Had the Sandwich Islands been discovered at an early period by the Spaniards, there is little doubt that they would have taken advantage of so excellent a situation, and have made use of Atooi, or some other of the islands, as a refreshing place to the ships, that sail annually from Acapulco for Manilla. They lie almost midway between the first place and Guam, one of the Ladrones, which is at present their only port in traversing this vast ocean; and it would not have been a week's sail out of their common route to have touched at them; which could have been done without running the least hazard of losing the passage, as they are sufficiently within the verge of the easterly trade wind. An acquaintance with the Sandwich Islands would have been equally favorable to our Buccaneers, who used sometimes to pass from the coast of America to the Ladrones, with a stock of food and water scarcely sufficient to preserve life. Here they might always have found plenty, and have been within a month's sure sail of the very part of California

which the Manilla ship is obliged to make, or else have returned to the coast of America, thoroughly refitted, after an absence of two months. How happy would Lord Anson have been, and what hardships he would have avoided, if he had known that there was a group of islands half way between America and Tinian, where all his wants could have been effectually supplied; and in describing which the elegant historian of that voyage would have presented his reader with a more agreeable picture than I have been able to draw in this chapter."

And yet there seems to be reason for believing that there was a Spanish ship cast away on one of the Hawaiian group, and that their descendants are distinctly marked men yet: There was also a white man and woman saved from the sea at some unknown period, of course since Noah, and they multiplied and replenished, and the islanders picked up somewhere a knack for doing things in construction of boats and the weaving of mats that hint at a crude civilization surviving in a mass of barbarianism.

Captain George Dixon names the islands discovered by Captain Cook on his last voyage:

"Owhyhee (Hawaii), the principal, is the first to the southward and eastward, the rest run in a direction nearly northwest. The names of the principals are Mowee (Maui), Morotoy (Molokai), Ranai (Lanai), Whahoo (Oahu), Attooi (Kauai), and Oneehow (Niihau)."

This account Dixon gives of two curious and rather valuable words: "The moment a chief concludes a bargain, he repeats the word Coocoo thrice, with quickness, and is immediately answered by all the people in his canoe with the word Whoah, pronounced in a tone of exclamation, but with greater or less energy, in proportion as the bargain he has made is approved."

The great and celebrated Kamehameha, who consolidated the government of the islands, did it by an act of treachery and murder, thus told in Alexander's history:

"The Assassination of Keoua.—Toward the end of the year 1791 two of Kamehameha's chief counsellors, Kamanawa and Keaweaheulu, were sent on an embassy to Keoua at Kahuku in Kau. Keoua's chief warrior urged him to put them to death, which he indignantly refused to do.

"By smooth speeches and fair promises they persuaded him to go to Kawaihae, and have an interview with Kamehameha, in order to put an end to the war, which had lasted nine years. Accordingly he set out with his most intimate friends and

twenty-four rowers in his own double canoe, accompanied by Keaweaheulu in another canoe, and followed by friends and retainers in other canoes.

"As they approached the landing at Kawaihae, Keeaumoku surrounded Keoua's canoe with a number of armed men. As Kamakau relates: 'Seeing Kamehameha on the beach, Keoua called out to him, "Here I am," to which he replied, "Rise up and come here, that we may know each other."'

"As Keoua was in the act of leaping ashore, Keeaumoku killed him with a spear. All the men in Keoua's canoe and in the canoes of his immediate company were slaughtered but one. But when the second division approached, Kamehameha gave orders to stop the massacre. The bodies of the slain were then laid upon the altar of Puukohola as an offering to the blood-thirsty divinity Kukailimoku. That of Keoua had been previously baked in an oven at the foot of the hill as a last indignity. This treacherous murder made Kamehameha master of the whole island of Hawaii, and was the first step toward the consolidation of the group under one government."

This is one of those gentle proceedings of an amiable race, whose massacre of Captain Cook has been so elaborately vindicated by alleged exponents of civilization.

There is found the keynote of the grevious native government in an incident of the date of 1841 by which "the foreign relations of the government became involved with the schemes of a private firm. The firm of Ladd & Co. had taken the lead in developing the agricultural resources of the islands by their sugar plantation at Koloa and in other ways, and had gained the entire confidence of the king and chiefs. On the 24th of November, 1841, a contract was secretly drawn up at Lahaina by Mr. Brinsmade, a member of the firm, and Mr. Richards, and duly signed by the king and premier, which had serious after-consequences. It granted to Ladd & Co. the privilege of "leasing any now unoccupied and unimproved localities" in the islands for one hundred years, at a low rental, each mill-site to include fifteen acres, and the adjoining land for cultivation in each locality not to exceed two hundred acres, with privileges of wood, pasture, etc. These sites were to be selected within one year, which term was afterwards extended to four years from date."

Of course there are many safeguards, particularly in this case, but the points of the possession of land conceded, the time for the people to recover their rights never comes.

One of the difficulties in the clearing up of the foggy chapters of the history of the Hawaiian islands is that within the lifetime of men who were young at the

close of the last century, the Hawaiian tongue became a written language, and made the traditions of savages highly colored stories, in various degrees according to ignorance, prejudice and sympathy, accepted as historical. The marvels accomplished by the missionaries influenced them to deal gently with those whose conversion was a recognized triumph of Christendom, and there was an effort to condemn Captain Cook, who had affected to nod as a God, as a warning to blasphemers. Still, the truth of history is precious as the foundations of faith to men of all races and traditions, and the Englishman who surpassed the French, Spaniards and Portuguese in discoveries of islands in the vast spaces of the Pacific Ocean, should have justice at the hands of Americans who have organized states and built cities by that sea, and possess the islands that have been named its paradise because endowed surpassingly with the ample treasures of volcanic soil and tropical climate. There the trade winds bestow the freshness of the calm and mighty waters, and there is added to the bounty of boundless wealth the charms of luxuriant beauty. All Americans should find it timely to be just to Captain Cook, and claim him as one of the pioneers of our conquering civilization.

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BOOK IV.

THE PHILIPPINES.

INTRODUCTION.

The articles relating to the Philippines in the Treaty of Peace with Spain are III, IV and V—as follows:

"Article III.—Spain cedes to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands, and comprehending the islands lying within the following line:

"A line running from west to east along or near the twentieth parallel of north latitude, and through the middle of the navigable channel of Bachi, from the one hundred and eighteenth (118th) to the one hundred and twenty-seventh (127th) degree meridian of longitude east of Greenwich, thence along the one hundred and twenty-seventh (127th) degree meridian of longitude east of Greenwich to the parallel of four degrees and forty-five minutes (4° 45′) north latitude, thence along the parallel of four degrees and forty-five minutes (4° 45′) north latitude to its intersection with the meridian of longitude one hundred and nineteen degrees and thirty-five minutes (119° 35′) east of Greenwich, thence along the meridian of longitude one hundred and nineteen degrees and thirty-five minutes (119° 35′) east of Greenwich to the parallel of latitude seven degrees and forty minutes (7° 40′) north, thence along the parallel of latitude seven degrees and forty minutes (7° 40′) north to its intersection with the one hundred and sixteenth (116th) degree meridian of longitude east of Greenwich, thence by a direct line to the intersection of the tenth (10th) degree parallel of north latitude with the one hundred and eighteenth (118th) degree meridian of longitude east of Greenwich, and thence along the one hundred and eighteenth (118th) degree meridian of longitude east of Greenwich to the point of beginning.

"The United States will pay to Spain the sum of twenty million dollars ($20,000,000), within three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

"Article IV.—The United States will, for the term of ten years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, admit Spanish ships and merchandise to the ports of the Philippine Islands on the same terms as ships and merchandise of the United States.

"Article V.—The United States will, upon the signature of the present

treaty, send back to Spain, at its own cost, the Spanish soldiers taken as prisoners of war on the capture of Manila by the American forces. The arms of the soldiers in question shall be restored to them.

"Spain will, upon the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, proceed to evacuate the Philippines, as well as the island of Guam, on terms similar to those agreed upon by the Commissioners appointed to arrange for the evacuation of Porto Rico and other islands in the West Indies, under the Protocol of August 12, 1898, which is to continue in force till its provisions are completely executed.

"The time within which the evacuation of the Philippine Islands and Guam shall be completed shall be fixed by the two Governments. Stands of colors, uncaptured war vessels, small arms, guns of all calibres, with their carriages and accessories, powder, ammunition, livestock, and materials and supplies of all kinds, belonging to the land and naval forces of Spain in the Philippines and Guam, remain the property of Spain. Pieces of heavy ordnance, exclusive of field artillery, in the fortifications and coast defenses, shall remain in their emplacements for the term of six months, to be reckoned from the exchange of ratifications of the treaty; and the United States may, in the meantime, purchase such material from Spain, if a satisfactory agreement between the two Governments on the subject shall be reached."

The treaty containing these provisions was signed by the American and Spanish Commissioners in Paris, December 10, 1898, ratified by the United States Senate February 6, 1899, and received the President's signature of approval two days later. On this instrument is recorded the cession of Porto Rico, the relinquishment of Cuba and her fringe of islands, the surrender of Guam, and the abandonment of the Philippines, the loss by Spain of the last of her colonies that were once the distinction of her grandeur and the envy of other nations. It records also the signal triumph of American arms in the Indies East and West, on the seas and the islands. There is no other country where the management of a war so triumphant would not be applauded universally—just cranks enough in antagonism to define clearly the overwhelming expression of the public opinion; no country in which the acquisition of the fairest and richest islands in the world would not have been gratefully received as a glory and a benefaction. We find here a persistent fury of criticisms, and an industry artful and unscrupulous, sensational and scandalous, in the propagation and circulation of misapprehension and widespread misrepresentation of facts, while the wail of the demagogue and the howl of the anarchist are heard over the payment proposed of 25 cents cash by each of the

American people for land equal to New England, New York and New Jersey in extent, and of immense resources in soil, minerals, fruits and staples, cotton, rice, copper, hemp, tobacco, sugar, and indigo, raised on one island. But the question of the Philippines has been referred to the American people, and they are talking it over in their own way, and conscious, we are glad to say, of the power they are exercising. It is true that the Philippines are far away, that there are demagogue incendiaries in the islands, a gang with arms in their hands posing as the whole people. It is on account of our methods of delay that the warfare around Manila has come about. The news of the day is common property all over the world, and Americans are known to the Philippines to be to some extent of uncertain temper, and every resolution that looks to running away from our conquest, afraid of ourselves, means the killing and wounding of more of the American boys, called for by Admiral Dewey when he had cleared the sea to hold the land.

The publication of the protocols of the commissions of the United States and Spain in Paris and the information sought and found touching the islands, shows how earnestly and laboriously our commissioners performed their duty—how they were resolved to become possessed of the whole truth and sought it at the ends of the earth. The documents submitted to the country along with the treaty transmitted by the President to the Senate, the injunction of secrecy removed January 11, is a treasure of history. The light is poured upon all the dark places. The commission investigated the state of the islands, summoning Mr. Foreman, the historian of the Philippines, and obtaining statements from the Belgian Consul and others of the gravest interest to all the people. The consular reports from the Asiatic cities giving the history of Aguinaldo and his policies, and proving his treacherous weaknesses and presumption shading gradually into intolerable insolence, are almost unknown to the public, and invaluable in tracing the influences that give trouble. The importance of Aguinaldo was factional until he managed to excite the imaginations of his susceptible tribe, while his association with the American victors over the Spaniards and his appropriation according to Filipino logic and sense, of a great share of the credit of liberation—the whole of which, with the exception of an almost unappreciable fraction, belonged to the Americans—made him the leader of those ignorant and easily agitated islanders who have been brought up in the belief that all government is tyranny and all races of European origin tyrants—whose whole education is that freedom should be exercised in fighting, and that the true aspiration of manhood is rather in leisure than in labor. If these people are let alone, they are industrious—that is, if

they are not dragged from their homes by tribal influences and promises that they can enrich themselves by plundering those against whom they are prejudiced because they are in possession of a little property. It is on these lines that Aguinaldo's insignificance has been magnified until he has become idealized by the tragedians of statesmanship into a sort of a La Fayette, and his make-up out of fantastic endowments passes him along as an imperial creature, an insurgent who is to be commended because he is a revolutionist, no matter what the cause behind him or how much scandal and fraud there is in the manifest and grotesque deception. He has put his fanciful and fraudulent prestige to the bloody test of war and will be unmade as he was made—he took on his sudden accession of greatness and he will perish by the sword of America. The pages of this book give the history that is expressly applicable to the enlightenment of the people for the solution of the problems of the Philippines.

General Merritt's opinion was, when questioned closely by the commissioners, that from twenty-five thousand to thirty thousand troops would be wanted for a time in the Philippines if we held them, but that after a time there would not be need of so large a force, and the soldiers needed might be largely enlisted from the Philippines themselves.

CHAPTER I.

OUR INTEREST IN THE PHILIPPINE ARCHIPELAGO.

Character of Filipinos and Their Oppression by the Spaniards—The Furtive Leader Aguinaldo—His Professions and Proceedings—Cash for Peace and a Bribe for Banishment—Early Indications of Impertinence—Deception of Our Consuls.

General Aguinaldo made a treaty with the Spaniards, and with thirty-two of his "compatriots" accepted $400,000 in Mexican money, $200,000 in gold, and betook themselves to Hongkong, where this leader had nothing to say for some time. He had been brought up in such an atmosphere of oppression that he could not understand freedom of speech, and liberty to him was a mystery. The Spaniards were to pay more money, but were false to all their promises, as is their way in such cases, and the treaty was regarded with contempt by the officers of Spain of all grades. They had robbed a bank in Manila, and while Aguinaldo took a vacation at Hongkong the Spanish had a season of comparative rest, but there appeared another swarm of insurgents, under another leader, and there was the accustomed skirmishing, ambuscades, expeditions, assassinations, executions, and the fleet that Dewey destroyed, the most efficient weapon of the Spaniards. When our war with Spain broke out, Aguinaldo was at Singapore, attempting to organize and equip for a return to Luzon. He was in high favor and had much correspondence with our consuls at Singapore, Manila and Hongkong, who gave no consideration to Talleyrand's order to his staff in the foreign office of France—"Above all, no zeal." At the suggestion of the Hongkong consul Admiral Dewey cabled to Aguinaldo to join him at once, but moved with so much rapidity that the insurgent chieftain did not get to Hongkong until the day after Dewey's victory in Manila Bay, and when he arrived at Cavite, finding the Americans in possession, and himself welcomed as a friend, the prestige of the American victory gave the Filipino guerrilla an immense send-off as the representative man of his countrymen. As far as the news spread the insurgents gathered and swarmed to the standard of Aguinaldo, and he soon began to have visions of grandeur, and to assume the haughty airs of a conqueror. Before the American troops arrived he became troublesome and desired to dictate to those who had taken him out of the exile to which he had betaken himself with a certified check. The fact that

he did not divide the proceeds with his partners in retirement, but held the Mexican silver fast for Agoncillo to buy arms with, is relied upon as proof of his integrity.

One of the earliest revelations of his sinister policy was in a letter to General T. M. Anderson, who commanded the first American troops to arrive at Cavite, July 23, 1898, that his object in leaving Hongkong was to "prevent" his "countrymen from making common cause with the Spanish against the North Americans," and he made haste to notify Anderson "of the undesirability of disembarking North American troops in the places conquered by the Filipinos from the Spanish without previous notice to this government."

Now, this government was the machine he set up, and he further mentions "the necessity that before disembarking troops you should communicate in writing to this government the places that are to be occupied and also the object of your occupation." Thus this "La Fayette" was already supercilious and dictatorial and in a pert and shabby way bent upon insulting, interfering with and harassing his friends and benefactors. Since the frozen snake that the woodman in the fable warmed before the fire, there has been no case of ingratitude more instructive as a lesson of inherent viciousness. The serpent of the tropics changes his stripes and becomes more subtle and deadly than his kind in the north temperate zone, but his poison is ranker and in propensities and accomplishments he is more subtle. This fanciful and malicious pretender gabbling about George Washington not having thought of himself as a La Fayette, for if he knew something about the beloved Frenchman who came to help us in our need he knew that he was fighting an army of La Fayettes who had broken the chains with which he and his race had been bound to a horrible servitude. He was taking this high ground of sovereignty three weeks before the fall of Manila. There was not a chance worth international consideration that the Filipinos ever could take that city. It was far beyond their power to do more than skirmish in the suburbs. Until the Spanish fleet was destroyed the most warlike of their proceedings was to raid the country villages in the neighborhood of the town. August first Aguinaldo wrote the American Consul at Manila, that official then being with Admiral Dewey: "I was brought from Hongkong to assure those forces by my presence that the Filipinos would not make common cause with the Spaniards."

The small dictator proceeded to say the Americans were only passably co-operating with the Filipinos—that is, they were not consulting and deferring to him. As soon as serious operations were undertaken against Manila by the American army the first thing needful was to crowd the Philippine insurgents out of the

way. They were not besieging the town, but popping around the edges and had to be removed from ground needed to carry on a real siege. They did not fire a shot within a mile of an armed Spaniard on the day the American colors floated over Manila, and they were ordered to stand back, because it was known they would sack the town, Aguinaldo crying by letter to General Anderson that his troops had been "promised they were to appear in Manila." This is what he had promised and he wanted to "avoid any conflict which would be fatal to the interests of both peoples," adding, "My troops are forced from yours by means of threats of violence to retire from positions taken." Of course they had to go, but they had taken no positions. Then he wanted "joint occupation," and has been a nuisance ever since, and we have statesmen who are quoting Abraham Lincoln as saying, "no man is wise enough to govern another," as though this fragile, malignant and preposterous imperialist was the foreordained creature to rule millions who have never been consulted about him. The Belgian Consul at Manila, Mr. Andre, estimates the number of Philippine insurgents to be about one in two hundred of population. It is the same story we had in Cuba, that the United States troops should, when they conquered the island, assume that the guerrilla bands must be held to be the great and only "people." There never was a more atrocious imposition upon human nature. The opposition congressmen have been constant and loud in eloquence to the effect that the Cuban and Philippine people were exclusively the bands of bushwhackers; that the army of Gomez, 150 strong, the fire bugs of the cane fields, were the true and sovereign populace of the Queen of the Antilles and must take possession of all the lucrative branches of the government and gorge themselves at once with the plunder won by American blood.

Aguinaldo, on authority of the Consul at Manila, is "not permitted by his people to personally lead in battle"—of course not! He is not that kind of a hero. He is an Asiatic potentate, who speaks of "his" people and is too thoughtful to go on the fire line. He wrote General Merritt: "I have permitted the use of water"—that is, he had "permitted" the American soldiers who had freed Manila from Spanish tyranny to have the city supply of water from the mountains instead of compelling them to partake of the tainted supplies of the old cistern! That was benevolence! If the insurgents had not "permitted" the water to flow they would have been driven away from the waterworks, enough of them shot to instruct the rest. There was a rush of fiery statesmen made just before we were at war with Spain to "recognize the alleged belligerent rights" of the "alleged Republic of Cuba" in such form that our troops would have been under the authority of the alleged

Cuban chieftains, and the general result, the pecuniary plethora of the fire bug financiers, glad to have our assistance in floating at a good figure an issue of bonds to make up for the Cuban "debt" the United States had declined to pay. The great first principle in Cuba seems to be to have a big "debt" to be liquidated in good time by the United States. The cane was burned and the tobacco trampled to furnish security for Cuban bonds.

The victory of the American arms in the battles of Manila on the bay and the shore have thrown upon us great responsibility, and the condition of the islands before we became acquainted with them by possessing them is of the highest interest, because the better we understand the people the more certainly and effectively we can apply the policy of reconstruction demanded after the demolition of the Spanish edifice. Our very zealous and active Consul at Manila, Mr. Oscar F. Williams, writing from his consulate February 22, 1898, says:

"Peace was proclaimed, and since my coming festivities therefor were held; but there is no peace, and has been none for about two years. Conditions here and in Cuba are practically alike. War exists, battles are of almost daily occurrence, ambulances bring in many wounded, and hospitals are full. Prisoners are brought here and shot without trial, and Manila is under martial law.

"The Crown forces have not been able to dislodge a rebel army within ten miles of Manila, and last Saturday, February 19, a battle was there fought and five dead left on the field. Much of such information is found in my longer dispatch, referred to, and which is at your command.

"The Governor-General, who is amiable and popular, having resigned, wishes credit for pacification, and certain rebel leaders were given a cash bribe of $1,650,000 to consent to public deportation to China. This bribe and deportation only multiplied claimants and fanned the fires of discontent.

"Insurgents demand fewer exactions from church and state, a half of public offices, and fewer church holidays, which seriously retard business.

"A republic is organized here, as in Cuba. Insurgents are being armed and drilled; are rapidly increasing in numbers and efficiency, and all agree that a general uprising will come as soon as the Governor-General embarks for Spain, which is fixed for March.

"While some combatant regiments have recently been returned to Spain, it was for appearance only, and all authorities now agree that unless the Crown largely re-enforces its army here it will lose possession."

"Consulate of the United States,
"Manila, Philippine Islands, March 19, 1898.

"Sir: Matters are in a serious state here. I have daily communication by cable and letter with Commodore Dewey, but we pass letters by British and other shipmasters and by private parties, because cables and letters are tampered with.

"Insurrection is rampant; many killed, wounded, and made prisoners on both sides. A battleship, the Don Juan de Austria, sent this week to the northern part of Luzon to co-operate with a land force of 2,000 dispatched to succor local forces, overwhelmed by rebels.

"Last night special squads of mounted police were scattered at danger points to save Manila.

"I caution Americans against bearing arms in violation of local law, although threats have been made by Spaniards that all Americans would soon have their throats cut. Certain ones are so frightened as to frequently come to my consulate and hotel, and spies watch all my movements.

"Rebellion never more threatening to Spain. Rebels getting arms, money, and friends, and they outnumber the Spaniards, resident and soldiery, probably a hundred to one.

"Report says that Holy Week the insurgents plan to burn and capture Manila."

Mr. Williams to Mr. Cridler, March 27, says:

"Having given daily information to Commodore Dewey as to disturbances here I have assumed that he informed the Washington Government, and I have written little on war matters.

"Cuban conditions exist here possibly in aggravated form. Spanish soldiers are killed and wounded daily, despite claimed pacification, and the hospitals are kept full.

"The majority of casualties are reported from the ranks of the native insurgents, and the cruelties and horrors of war are daily repeated.

"Cavite is the naval port of Luzon, situated about eight miles across the bay from Manila, and about twenty miles distant by way of bay shore and public highway, and last Thursday, March 24, a Crown regiment of natives, the Seventy-fourth, stationed there was ordered to advance against native insurgents near by. The regiment refused to obey orders, and eight corporals were called out and shot to death in presence of the regiment, which was again ordered to advance and threat made that a refusal would be death to all. All did refuse and were sent to barracks to await sentence. On the morning of the following Friday, March 25, the entire regiment, with arms and equipment, marched out of the barracks and deserted in a body to the insurgents, saying they were willing to fight the foreign enemies of Spain, but would not fight their friends.

"Since beginning this dispatch I learn of the desertion to the insurgents of another entire regiment. These are said to be the severest set-backs received by Spain during the two years' insurrection here.

"On Friday morning, March 25, a church holiday, a meeting of natives was being held near my consulate in Manila, the natives being unarmed. The building was surrounded by police and military, the meeting broken up, twelve natives wantonly shot to death, several wounded, and sixty-two taken prisoners. Saturday morning, March 26, the sixty-two prisoners were marched in a body to the cemetery and shot to death.

"The Crown forces are now building a cordon of small forts on city's outskirts for defense against provincial natives, who are expected to soon attack Manila. In fact, two detectives and one messenger have come to me this evening with information that attack was to be made to-night, and everybody is anxious, as 8,000 native insurgent soldiers are encamped only five miles away.

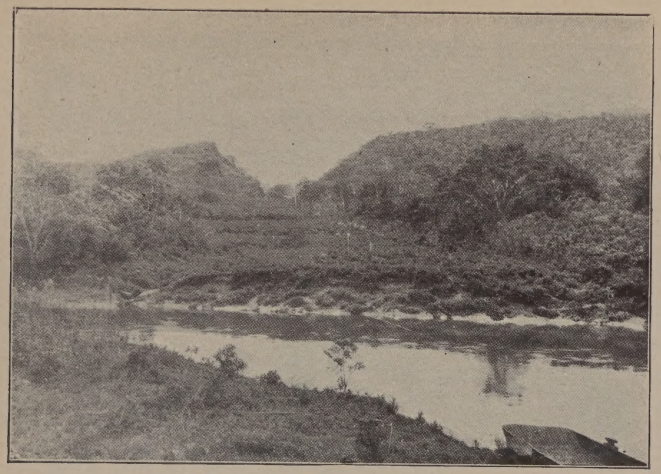
"The insurgents seem to lack arms and organization, but, so far as I can learn, outnumber the Spanish forces and inhabitants twenty to one. Arms are being obtained and organization slowly effected, and all classes fear the near future. It is said that the only reason why Manila has not been taken and burned is because a vast majority of its population is in perfect accord with the insurgents.

"Last week, Thursday, March 24, at Cavite, near here, the Seventy-fourth Spanish Regiment, recruited among the natives of the southern islands of this group, refused to obey orders and attack the native insurrectionists. Eight corporals were called out and shot to death in presence of the regiment. Again orders to advance were given and disobeyed, when death to all was threatened. The regiment expressed a willingness to fight the foreign enemies of Spain, but said they would all be shot rather than fight their friends. All were sent to barracks to be punished later, but the next morning all took arms and deserted to the insurgents.

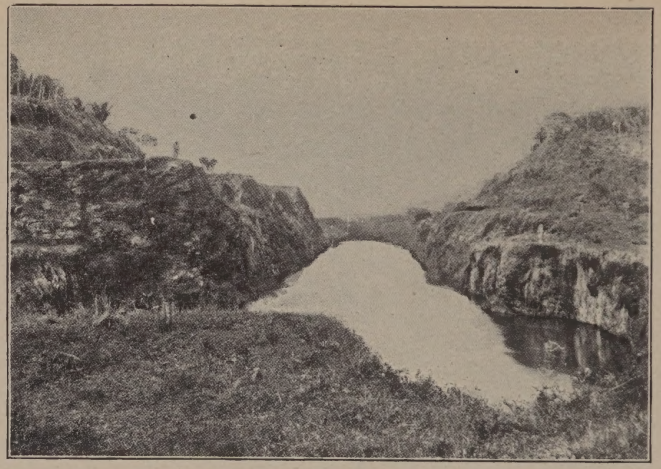
"On Friday, March 25, a church and legal holiday, unarmed natives were holding a meeting near my consulate. The building was surrounded by police and the suspicious military, the meeting broken up, twelve natives shot to death, several wounded, and sixty-two prisoners taken, certain of whom were mere passers-by, not having attended the meeting. The next morning these sixty-two prisoners, without form of trial, were marched in a body to the cemetery and all shot to death.

"Hardly a day passes without such scenes of middle-age treachery and barbarity. A recent uprising at Cape Bolinao, on the northwest coast of this island (Luzon), about 300 miles from Manila, was crushed by united action of two regiments of infantry aided by the battleship Don Juan de Austria. A British shipmaster there at the time reports about forty killed and forty wounded. After surrender the Spaniards put dead and wounded together in a house, and, by burning it, cremated all.

"Months ago pacification was claimed by the Governor-General. It was false. A truce had been bought with $1,650,000, during which the Governor-General hoped to embark for Spain, but all was a hollow farce. The Madrid Government seems now to understand all, and the Governor-General has been ordered to remain, and his appointed successor sent to one of the provinces.

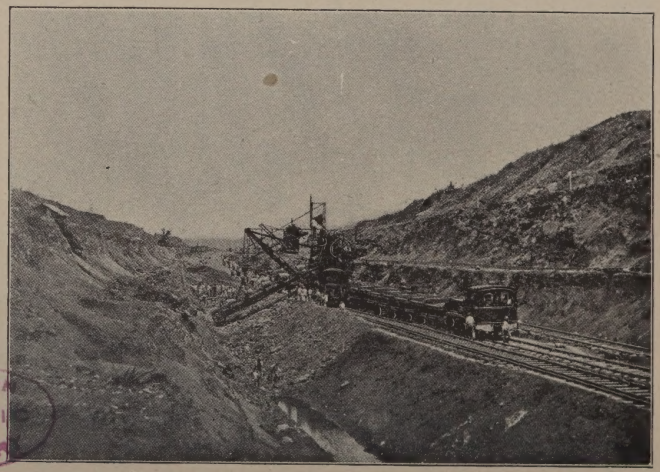


PANAMA CANAL, 14 MILES FROM ATLANTIC.



PANAMA CANAL, CUT AT SAN PABLO.

PANAMA CANAL, CULEBRA CUT.



PANAMA CANAL, 32 MILES FROM ATLANTIC.

STEAMSHIP PASSING A DREDGE AT KANTARA, SUEZ CANAL.

HARBOR AT PORT SAID. ENTRANCE TO SUEZ CANAL.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

"Now 5,000 armed rebels, which for days have been encamped near Manila and have been re-enforced from the mountains, plan to attack the city to-night. All is excitement and life uncertain."

This is the official report of the Manila situation before the fleet of Admiral Dewey steamed across the sea of China to break the power of Spain, but not to establish a government of guerrillas to wipe out the Spanish civilization, which was, in a sense, barbarous, but not savage. A proclamation was issued at Hongkong by the Filipino Junta just before Dewey sailed containing these paragraphs:

"At the present moment an American squadron is preparing to sail for the Philippines.

"We, your brothers, are very much afraid you may be induced to fire on the Americans. No, brothers, never make this mistake. Rather blow your own brains out than fire a shot or treat as enemies those who are your liberators.

"Your natural enemies, your executioners, the authors of your misery and unhappiness, are the Spaniards who govern you. Against these you must raise your weapons and odium; understand well, against the Spaniards, and never against the Americans.

"Take no notice of the decree of the Governor-General, calling you to arms, although it may cost you your lives. Rather die than be ungrateful to our American liberators.

"There, where you see the American flag flying, assemble in numbers; they are our redeemers."

There was a strong tendency in our able and interesting Consuls at Hongkong, Manila and Singapore to be too familiar, sympathetic and co-operative with the two or three "people" of the Philippines—Aguinaldo and his interpreter—and Mr. F. Agoncillo, the Aguinaldo agent, modestly manifested at Washington he seemed to expect a call to be the Dean of the diplomats by common consent, attempted, November 3, 1897, to open a trade with the United States for arms! He then held a commission giving unlimited power to conclude treaties with foreign governments. This powerful personage wanted the United States to supply 20,000 stand of arms to the Filipinos, "to be paid for on the recognition of his government by the United States. He pledged as security two provinces and the custom-house at Manila. He is not particular about the price—is willing the United States should make 25 per cent and 30 per cent profit." This diplomatic gentleman had commercial instincts and was willing to see the United States make some money! It was very kind of him, but our Consul with whom he communicated was instructed to be "brief" with him and not encourage his advances. Secretary Day, June 16, telegraphed:

"Consul-General Pratt: Avoid unauthorized negotiations with Philippine insurgents."

On the same date the Secretary wrote Mr. Pratt:

"To obtain the unconditional personal assistance of General Aguinaldo in the expedition to Manila was proper, if in so doing he was not induced to form hopes which it might not be practicable to gratify. This Government has known the Philippine insurgents only as discontented and rebellious subjects of Spain, and is not acquainted with their purposes. While their contest with that power has been a matter of public notoriety, they have neither asked nor received from this Government any recognition. The United States, in entering upon the occupation of the islands, as the result of its military operations in that quarter, will do in the exercise of the rights which the state of war confers, and will expect from the inhabitants, without regard to their former attitude towards the Spanish Government, that obedience which will be lawfully due from them.

"If, in the course of your conferences with General Aguinaldo, you acted upon the assumption that this Government would co-operate with him for the furtherance of any plan of his own, or that, in accepting his co-operation, it would consider itself pledged to recognize any political claims which he may put forward, your action was unauthorized, and can not be approved. Respectfully yours,

"WILLIAM R. DAY."

There has not appeared any clearer definition than this of the policy of the United States in dealing with insurgents. It is solid sense and will stand. The tone of our representatives at this time was extremely eulogistic of Aguinaldo and needed the cooling application it got. Mr. E. Spencer Pratt, Consul-General to the United States at Singapore, wrote after Aguinaldo had sailed for Hongkong:

"Considering the enthusiastic manner General Aguinaldo has been received by the natives and the confidence with which he already appears to have inspired Admiral Dewey, it will be admitted, I think, that I did not overrate his importance and that I have materially assisted the cause of the United States in the Philippines in securing his co-operation.

"Why this co-operation should not have been secured to us during the months General Aguinaldo remained awaiting events in Hongkong, and that he was allowed to leave there without having been approached in the interest of our Government, I can not understand.

"No close observer of what had transpired in the Philippines during the past four years could have failed to recognize that General Aguinaldo enjoyed above all others the confidence of the Filipino insurgents and the respect alike of Spaniards and foreigners in the islands, all of whom vouched for his high sense of justice and honor."

Aguinaldo had impressed all our Consuls that he was almost a great and good American, and Mr. Wildman, Consul at Hongkong, wrote July 18, 1898:

"I have lived among the Malays of the Straits Settlements and have been an honored guest of the different sultanates. I have watched their system of government and have admired their intelligence, and I rank them high among the semi-civilized nations of the earth. The natives of the Philippine Islands belong to the Malay race, and, while there are very few pure Malays among their leaders, I think their stock has rather been improved than debased by admixture. I consider the forty or fifty Philippine leaders, with whose fortunes I have been very closely connected, both the superiors of the Malays and the Cubans. Aguinaldo, Agoncillo, and Sandico are all men who would be leaders in their separate departments in any country, while among the wealthy Manila men, who live in Hongkong and who are spending their money liberally for the overthrow of the Spaniards and the annexation to the United States, men like the Cortes family and the Basa family, would hold their own among bankers and lawyers anywhere.

"I believe I know the sentiments of the political leaders and of the moneyed men among the insurgents, and, in spite of all statements to the contrary, I know that they are fighting for annexation to the United States first, and for independence secondly, if the United States decides to decline the sovereignty of the islands. In fact I have had the most prominent leaders call on me and say they would not raise one finger unless I could assure them that the United States intended to give them United States citizenship if they wished it."

The exaggerated rumors were afloat about the proceedings of our Consuls with the insurgents, and Assistant Secretary of State Moore cabled Wildman at Hongkong, August 6, that if a report in the Daily Mail of what he had written Aguinaldo was correct, "your action is disapproved, and you are forbidden to make pledges or discuss policy." The reply of Mr. Wildman was that he "never made pledges or discussed policy of America with Aguinaldo further than to try to hold him to promises made before Dewey took him to Cavite." Williams of Hongkong said:

"On May 2 Aguinaldo arrived in Hongkong and immediately called on me. It was May 16 before I could obtain permission from Admiral Dewey to allow Aguinaldo to go by the United States ship McCulloch, and I put him aboard in the night. According to his own statements to me by letter, he has been approached by both the Spaniards and the Germans, and has had tempting offers made him by the Catholic Church."

It was the fixed faith of Wildman that the great majority of Aguinaldo's followers "had but one desire—wanted to become citizens of the United States."

CHAPTER II.

THE IMPORTANT STATEMENT OF THE BELGIAN CONSUL AT MANILA.

The True Inwardness of the Philippine Situation by a Friend of Admiral Dewey, Mr. Andre, Belgian Consul at Manila—A Letter from Andrew Carnegie That Is One of His Mistakes—General Merritt's Opinions at Paris—Mr. Andre's Memorandum in Full—Leading People of Manila Wish to Become Citizens of the United States—How General Merritt Drew the Line on Aguinaldo and Foretold the Way Trouble Would Come.

When a memorandum prepared by the Belgian Consul at Manila was about to be read before the American Commission at Paris fashioning the Peace Protocol into a Treaty of Peace, General Merritt, said (we quote the official report of the proceedings):

"General Merritt: 'That is rather important. The man is an intelligent man. He expresses himself very poorly in English, and I have tried to have his report corrected to an extent, but I think a good deal of reliance can be placed upon it. He is very earnest in hoping that the Spanish will be excluded and the Filipinos not allowed to govern themselves, but some government established there which will protect the merchants and business men. It might be remarked that he is largely interested in business matters, and has been there, I think, for about fourteen years; is quite a wealthy man, and gives his views from that standpoint.'

"The statement was then read by the secretary.

"Mr. Frye: 'How old a man is he?'

"General Merritt: 'He is quite a young man. He tells me he has been there fourteen years. He states his case entirely from the point of view of a rich merchant. He does not sign himself as the Belgian Consul, because he said he could not do so, but he gives his statement as his personal opinion. He seems to think the United States is engaged in a crusade for the benefit of the oppressed of all lands.'

"Mr. Gray: 'Where is this Belgian Consul resident?'

"General Merritt: 'In Manila.' "

General Merritt's remarks hardly present the full force of the instructive testimony of the Belgian Consul. He was of great service to Admiral Dewey and influential in impressing the Spaniards of the absolute necessity there was to be quiet while the American Admiral abstained from bombarding the city, and the prevention of widespread destruction and much bloodshed is largely credited to this

Consul, Mr. Andre, one of the closest friends of Admiral Dewey, whom he assisted in supplying his crews with fresh meat, a service of which Mr. Andrew Carnegie spoke in his mournful letter to the Secretary of Agriculture, the Hon. James Wilson, in these distressful words:

"The good work you are doing for the agricultural interests of the country induces me to call your attention to the following:

"PROVISIONS FROM AUSTRALIA FOR DEWEY'S FLEET.

"Vancouver, British Columbia, December 2, 1898.

"Advices from New South Wales say that the steamer Cugon has sailed from Sydney with a cargo of provisions for Rear Admiral Dewey's fleet at Manila. The cargo consists of 5,000 carcasses mutton, 250 lambs, 125 tons of potatoes, 81 tons of onions, and 22 tons of carrots.

"Secretary Gage finds 'commercial expansion' a sufficient reason for recanting his former opinions and becoming an imperialist. Is this a sample of the 'commercial expansion' which has captivated him, I wonder? Mr. Secretary, none know better than yourself that the 'open door' which the President has given to the foreigner in the Philippines means the 'closed door' to the products of the soil and of the mine of your own country. The foreigner gets the trade—the American pays the taxes!

"The Philippine Treaty is soon to come before the Senate. Surely every farmer of the United States can look to you, as the head of the Agricultural Department, to secure a change in the clause which puts the producers of America, both of the soil and of the mine, at so serious a disadvantage, being thousands of miles farther away.

"One would have thought that the food of our soldiers might have been purchased by the Government upon the Pacific coast; but even San Francisco is thousands of miles farther from the Philippines than the competitive agricultural country of Australia. Even India is nearer still. As the New York Tribune justly says, 'The Philippines are 7,000 miles away; far nearer to other great powers or their possessions than to us, and belonging to the geographical and commercial system of another continent.'

"Knowing your strict guardianship of the interests of agriculture in this country, I beg to lay the subject before you, knowing that you will give it due attention.

"With sincere congratulations upon your successful work in various directions, very respectfully yours, ANDREW CARNEGIE."

Mr. Carnegie is the greatest manufacturer of steel in the world, but as an agriculturist he is not a conspicuous success, and as an American statesman he has intervals of melancholy inaccuracy.

It was necessary the men of the American fleet in Manila Bay should be supplied with fresh meat, and it could not be procured in a few days from the United States. The transports had been taken up to convey the troops. Beef experiments were going on, but the meat spoiled in a few hours. Consul Andre was immensely useful at this juncture. Mr. Carnegie should restore his reason before delivering further judgments. When the author of this volume was calling on Admiral Dewey aboard the flagship Olympia he asked the famous victor in the May-day battle three months and three weeks before as to the beef question, and the Admiral pointed to a long iron ship, his nearest neighbor, and said it was a Belgian vessel and fitted for "cold storage." "You see the smoke from her funnel," said the Admiral. "They are making ice with fire, and they can produce a temperature 40 degrees below zero. The Australian beef and mutton aboard are perfectly preserved;" and he added, "if it is thawed slowly it is as good as if the animals had been killed but a few hours before, and the quality of it excellent." The conditions preventing obtaining meat from the United States at that time were exceptional, and Mr. Carnegie's letter is not impressive. He is too passionate, whom protection has made so rich he is a free trader.

Mr. Andre was careful not to present his views to the Paris commission as the Belgian Consul at Manila, but in a strictly personal capacity. We quote what he had to say in full:

"Manila, August 29, 1898.

"The future of the Philippine Islands is an eager and most interesting question; and if the United States does not take these islands under their protection, the country will be utterly ruined and all the foreign merchants will leave these islands.

"The retention of the Island of Luzon only is not enough, and only a half measure, and the United States must take all or nothing. If the south of the Philippines remains in the hands of Spain, the insurgents will attack these islands and they will be in a constant revolt, exactly as happened in Cuba, and the United States will have a second edition of what has happened already, and will prepare a second war for the same reasons.

"Spain will always remain as she is now. She will even be exactly the same under any form of government. The numerous empleados (officeholders) will always be the plague of all the ministers and always want lucrative posts, with a high pay. They will never admit that it would be better for them and their country to work. As the positions of these empleados (officeholders) are very uncertain, their only object is, as soon as they occupy their posts, to make as much money as they can. Even those who occupy the very highest posts in the Philippines only attend to their own fortune and hardly pay attention to public affairs.

As they give the example of a most corrupt administration, they are unable to prevent their subordinates to do the same. The justice is likewise mismanaged, and when the accused does not bribe the judges they will leave them in jail for years without paying the slightest attention to these unfortunates, and some of these prisoners have been in jail more than ten years.

"The monks, more united, have always taken advantage of the troubled state of affairs and offered their protection to those who consented in allowing the money of the government to go in their hands. They exacted all the money that they could of the Indians, and the Spanish governors protected openly these extortions. Such state of things exasperated the Filipinos, and those who suffered the most began the rebellion with a fury that astonished everybody.

"The rebellion broke out from the lower classes, and they still predominate in the actual rebellion. Even the chiefs are ancient tenants of the monks. The rebellion has no committee or representatives in the United States, as the Cubans. This proves that those who revolted only act as mechanics and not as an intellectual people. Those who are in Hongkong, and represent there the revolution, went there as fugitives to escape from Manila, and later on they formed a meeting, and no serious man will admit that they are leading men of the revolution. Their names are not even known in Manila.

"The Indians are good soldiers, and suffer very little of the war. They can stay for days in the swamps, or can make a long march in this hot climate without injury. White men can not stand it, and it must be recognized that if the Indians are very poor leaders in politics they are good enough soldiers to be taken in good consideration.

"Since the Americans arrived in the Philippines a new period seems to take place, and many members of the upper classes of the Mestizos appeared among the rebels, and since then it has been possible to discuss some matters and to demonstrate to them that if they wanted to be taken into consideration that they must act as civilized people, and not retain as prisoners private citizens, women, and children, and drop many abuses that they commit exactly as the Spaniards have done and taught them. During the blockade of Manila many prominent families of Mestizos preferred to take refuge among the insurgents rather than stay at the mercy of the Spanish authorities in Manila, whose arbitrary acts are too well known.

"There is actually in Europe and Paris an important colony of Filipinos belonging to the leading families of Manila, and these appear to be actually the representatives of the rebels. The principal of them pretended, however, that he never rebelled, and claimed his properties seized by the Spanish Government. He bribed the judges, and they publicly recognized that he never was a rebel, and restored his properties. Now he is the chief representative of the rebels. His name is P. P. Roxas. This duplicity is not much in his favor, but it reveals the character of the Indians or Mestizos, and in all their acts it will be remarked that they never are sincere.

"Money is what means the most to the rebellion, and this leads the rebels to many unlawful acts. Until the present time most all the money has been raised from the lower classes. The higher classes gave very little, and these are very unwilling to facilitate funds. This class is composed entirely of usurers and pawnees. All the pawnshops and gambling-houses belong to the principal Mestizos families. There is not one family free of that stigma. This proves enough the morality of them, and what can be expected of them. They surely will not risk their capital in the rebellion, because they are not sure enough that they will be repaid with interest. They do not care a snap for the country, and many told me that they would be glad to see the United States take these islands under their protection and put an end to the constant appeal for funds from the rebels. This was said to me by Bemito Legarda, a rich Mestizo, who was with Aguinaldo in Bacoor and acted as counsel, and this deceived him.

"In the plantations belonging to the rich families of Mestizos or Indians, the workmen are treated very inhumanly. If they do not work quick enough they treat them exactly as slaves were treated in South America. The most common punishment is to lash their backs with a thin bamboo; twenty-five lashes is the most ordinary punishment. I saw some receive 100 lashes in Negros Island, in the estate of Aniceto Lacson, an Indian. One hundred and twenty-five lashes were given to a man in Albay (south of Luzon) by the Indian Mayor of Albay. The same man threatened to give 100 lashes to one of my workmen, but his wife warned me and I stopped it. Since then I stopped always this treatment when I happened to know it, and more than once had rows about it with the Spanish Governor of the province, Mr. Valdes. This was in 1892. He told me that he would put me in prison if I interfered with the authorities. The custom all over the Philippines is to engage men and to pay for them their personal papers. This is the beginning of a debt that will make a slave of a man; for each dollar advanced an interest of 5 cents is added. At the slightest fault the man is fined and his debt grows. Whenever he needs money to baptize a baby or bury a parent the planter pays the fees direct to the curate, and always adds to the small sum advanced two or three dollars and the 5 cents for interest. This last way is the most heavy yoke. At the end of the year he owes his master $50 or $60, and as long as he does not pay his debt he is considered as a slave, and if he runs away he will be arrested and returned to his master and is awfully lashed.

"When an estate is sold, nearly always the papers are accompanied with a list of the debtors. The buyer makes a bargain and buys the debts, and those who owe the money become his slaves. This is about the same as buying the slaves with a plantation. Now, the Mestizos and Indians are the hardest masters, and if ever they dominate they will be most despotical to the Indians. The Spanish Government always tolerated this, and even protected those who used to treat the men as slaves and allowed the pirates to abuse the poor Indians. Therefore it is easy to show the Indian that it would be much better for him to be ruled by Americans than by his own countrymen. Whatever may be the education of the

Mestizos, they always will behave just the same as the Indians, from whom they descend. They will eat with their hands, go barefooted, and sit on the ground. There is an enormous difference between them and a white man.

"In the assemblies of the chiefs of the rebels and of the Mestizos of Manila, even when very serious matters were discussed, they used to joke one with the other and give his neighbor a nip and a laugh and behave as monkeys would do. This happened the 21st of June in the house of P. Paterno in Manila, and in Cavite in the house of Ozorio on the 3d of August.

"The Chinese Mestizos join the sordidness of the Indian to the craftiness of the Chinaman, and give the type of the rapacious Pawnee. The Spanish Mestizo joins the presumption of the Spaniard with the duplicity of the Indian, and give the type of the Sioux.

"This is enough, I believe, to give a very slight idea of what the Filipinos are and to demonstrate that they belong to an inferior race, unfitted to rule a country, and with such individuals distinguished rules must not be expected.

"Of course the education and example given by the monks and Spaniards is the principal cause, but even then they are worse than their masters, and that proves their inferiority, and therefore it is more than time that the United States should have pity on these people and show them better.

"The Spaniards, with their accustomed carelessness, are unable to manage properly the Philippines, and these rich islands, which contain gold, iron, coal, etc., and on which splendid forests are abandoned; there is only one very little railway, hardly some good bridges and no harbors. Nothing has been done with the $15,000,000 that these islands give annually.

"The foreign merchants in Manila are constantly robbed by the custom-house officers, and no protection is given to them. If a merchant makes a claim, he will be bothered all the year round. The United States can assure a steady government in these islands, and in their hands the country will increase in wealth, and will, in a short time, be able to return to the United States the money laid out; and it would be certainly much cheaper and more humane to take the entire Philippines than to keep only part of it and to run the risk of a second war with Spain for the very same reason that provoked the present conflict. It is a duty of the United States to do so and to protect the entire country. Everybody in the Philippines begs them for protection; even the Spanish merchants. Now, it is to be hoped that the United States will not deceive those who anxiously await the result of the meeting in Paris.

"The Indians do not desire independence. They know that they are not strong enough. They trust the United States, and they know that they will be treated rightly. The present rebellion only represents a half per cent of the inhabitants, and it would not be right to oblige 6,000,000 inhabitants to submit to 30,000 rebels. Luzon is only partly held by them, and it is not to be expected that a civilized nation will make them present with the rest of the island, which is hostile to the Tagals of Luzon. The Spanish officers refuse to fight for the sake of the priests,

and if the Spanish Government should retain the Philippines their soldiers will all fall prisoners in the hands of the Indians in the same way as they did already, and this is because the army is sick of war without result, and only to put the country at the mercy of the rapacious empleados and luxurious monks.

"The monks know that they are no more wanted in the Philippines, and they asked me to help them to go away as soon as possible, and it is principally for them that I asked for the transports to the United States Government, and to send them to Hongkong. The Indians will be delighted to see them go, and will be grateful to the United States.

"If some chiefs of the rebellion will be a little disappointed in their personal pride, they will be convinced that it is better for them to submit in any case, for most of these chiefs prefer American authority, and they are very anxious to know the result of the meeting of Paris.

"If the United States keeps the islands they will remain quiet, but if the Spanish authority is restored in the islands, or part of them, they will attack the Spaniards and be in a constant revolt. This has been told to me by Aguinaldo, Landico, Ziroma, Mabim, and other principal chiefs, and repeated on Sunday, 28th of August. Very respectfully, ANDRE."

Mr. Andre represents something more than a rich man's view, as General Merritt related. He speaks for all the property that stands between the people and utter poverty, and for a government that is conservative of the rights of industry. He also states that the Indians as a mass do not desire independence. The reason is they know that the Aguinaldo Tagal disorderlies would be greater despots, robbers and cut-throats than the Spaniards themselves; and Mr. Andre adds the insurgent element represented one-half per cent of the inhabitants before the United States seemed shaky. The considerable force of Tagalos and some other tribesmen gathered in the jungles about Manila, have been rallied because the uncertain attitude of this country has been disturbing, and the disaffected demagogues and military managers of the Malays who have drawn the first full breath of their lives under American protection, are not to be depended upon as a "stable government."

The idea would not have prevailed to a very mischievous extent if it had not been for the prolongation of the debate in the Senate; and the information of the Filipino agents at Washington was that we were a halting, timid, stumbling parcel of partisans incapable of governing ourselves and not to be trusted in friendship or as protectors. The correspondence following shows the movement in Manila, submitting allegiance to the Government of the United States:

MR. WILDMAN TO MR. DAY.

Consulate of the United States,
Hongkong, May 6, 1898.

Sir: Supplementary to my cable of this date, I have the honor to inclose, by request, statement of Don Dorotes Cortes, Don Maximo Cortes, and Dona Eustaquia, wife of Don Maximo; also like statement of Arcadio Rosario, Gracio Gonzaga, and Don Jose Maria Basa, all very wealthy landholders, bankers, and advocates of Manila.

They desire to tender their allegiance and the allegiance of their powerful families in Manila to the United States. They have instructed all their connections to render every aid to our forces in Manila.

The letters to the President, inclosed, explain themselves.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ROUNSEVILLE WILDMAN, Consul.

MR. CRIDLER TO MR. WILDMAN.

June 16, 1898.

Sir: The Department has received your dispatch No. 42, of the 6th ultimo, reporting that a number of influential families of Manila desire to tender their allegiance to the United States.

In reply I have to inform you that a copy has been sent to the War Department, with the suggestion that the information be conveyed to General Merritt.

Respectfully yours, THOS. W. CRIDLER,
Third Assistant Secretary.

MR. WILDMAN TO MR. DAY.

Consulate of the United States,
Hongkong, May 14, 1898.

Sir: I have the honor to inclose, by request, the statements of Severino Rotea, Claudio Lopez, A. H. Marti, and Eugenia Plona, all wealthy and prominent landholders of the Philippine Islands.

They desire to submit their allegiance and the allegiance of their families in the Philippine Islands to the United States.

The letters to the President inclosed explain themselves.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

ROUNSEVILLE WILDMAN, Consul.

To the President of the United States of North America:

Severino Rotea and Lopez, proprietor and farmer, native of Negros Oriental (Visayas), Philippine Islands, with great consideration exposes:

Having known the history and Constitution of the noblest liberal and rightful nation of the United States, he willingly adheres to the Government in annexing his country, and it will be for him a great honor to be joined it as soon as an additional star to the victorious flag of the United States of America and considered him as one of its citizens.

Hongkong, May 11, 1898.

(Signed) SEVERINO ROTEA.

To the President of the United States of America:

Claudio Lopez, merchant and proprietor and vice-consul of Portugal at Iloilo, native of the Philippine Islands, emigrant to this colony of Hongkong for political causes, exposes with great consideration:

Having known the history and Constitution of the noblest liberal and rightful nation of the United States of America, he, for the present, adheres to the Government in annexing his country, and considers that it will be for him a great honor to join his country as an additional star to the always victorious flag of the United States of America and to count him as one of its citizens.

Hongkong, 9th May, 1898.

(Signed) CLAUDIO LOPEZ.

To the President of the United States of America:

We, the subscribers, natives of the Philippine Islands, emigrants to this colony, for political causes, with great consideration expose:

Having known the history and the Constitution of the noble, liberal, and rightful nation of the United States of America, for the present, they adhere to the Government, considering that it will be for them a great honor to join their country as an additional star to the always victorious flag of the United States of America and considered them as its citizens.

(Signed) A. H. MARTI.

To the President of the United States of North America:

Eugenia Plona and Padillo, proprietor and farmer, native of Negros Occidental (Visayas), Philippine Islands, and emigrant to this colony for political causes, with great consideration exposes:

Having known the history and Constitution of the noblest liberal and rightful nation of United States, he willingly adheres to the Government in annexing his country, and it will be for him a great honor to be joined it as an additional star to the always victorious flag of the United States of North America and considered him as one of its citizens.

Hongkong, May 10, 1898.

(Signed) EUGENIA PLONA.

It goes without much saying that these people, in case the Government of the United States should turn the islands over to the Tagalos or the Spaniards, would be imprisoned, executed and their estates confiscated, and that this would be on our part a base desertion that would justify the interference of any one or all of the European nations to spare and share the riches we threw away. Of course this is preposterous and impossible, but that is not the way, according to great speakers, that a good many congressmen look at it, for they assume that the only "people" in the islands are the dark little men in the high grass, shooting at the American soldiers who have destroyed Spanish dominion and bestowed on Aguinaldo a vicarious glory. It has been in evidence that Aguinaldo was deeply moved by the question of the boundary line between his forces and the American army, very soon after our troops occupied Manila. Before the American commission in Paris General Merritt testified he received letters from General Aguinaldo —claiming to have conquered positions and that the reply was "he must withdraw his forces outside the limits" that had been defined. General Merritt goes on:

The commission he (Aguinaldo) refers to was brought to me by General Anderson. He asked me if I would talk to them, and I said I would. It was a few days after the surrender, and I received them at my headquarters in Manila, and they agreed the insurgents should withdraw outside any lines I might designate. I detailed two officers, General Greene and General MacArthur, to designate a line in red pencil, and give it to them on a map, and told them I should insist on the withdrawal of his troops. It took in part of the lines Aguinaldo's troops had occupied previous to our getting there, but it was necessary to enforce a proper status between the insurgents and our own forces and to keep them out of Manila.

Before that time, rather early after my arrival there at Manila, I had telegraphed to the War Department of the possible trouble that might arise with the insurgents, and asked for instructions as to whether I should consider them as enemies and treat them accordingly in such case. To that request I had no reply, and the consequence was I had to mix diplomacy with force in order to avoid a tilt with them. I knew if bloodshed was once had that would be the end of an amicable status there, and to that end I was careful only to enforce that which was proper and which I conceived must be executed in order to have my troops fully occupy the ground we had taken. In his letters to General Anderson he speaks of concessions they made there in the occupation of lines. They did. I told General Greene—gave him the instructions—to try to get these positions by an amicable arrangement if possible, but, if necessary, to report the fact to me, and I should use force to secure them. At the time I went there I found we had no

lines, no base upon which to approach Manila. The insurgents had their pickets to the front of ours, and our main guard was in the rear of their main guard, and I gave General Greene orders to change that status, which he did, and purely by arrangement with that general of whom Major Bell speaks as being a very sensible fellow and a good fellow. It appears, when the request was made of him he corresponded with Aguinaldo, and the latter agreed to it.

Mr. Reid: Do you think any danger of conflict is now reasonably remote?

General Merritt: I think there is no danger of conflict as long as these people think the United States is going to take possession there.

Mr. Gray: Suppose, by final treaty with Spain, we should abandon Luzon and all the Philippines, exacting such terms and conditions and guarantees as we should think necessary, and abandon them entirely, reserving only a coaling station, perhaps; what do you think they would do about it?

General Merritt: I think in the island of Luzon they would fight to the bitter end. I have talked with a number of them, intelligent men, who said their lives were nothing to them as compared with the freedom of the country, getting rid of Spanish government.

Mr. Davis: Do you think Spain would be able to reduce them?

General Merritt: No, sir.

Mr. Gray: Do you think, in the event of such an abandonment, it would be possible for them to set up a self-government?

General Merritt: It would take time to do it. They would have to be educated up to it. They want a protectorate, but they do not exactly understand what that means. Their idea is that they should collect the revenues and keep them in their treasury, and that we should be at the expense of maintaining an army and a navy there for their protection, which is the kind of a protectorate they would like very much.

Mr. Frye: I suppose their idea of government is practically derived from the Spaniards?

General Merritt: Yes, sir.

The Chairman: What they desire is a government for their benefit, maintained and paid for by us?

General Merritt: Yes, sir.

Mr. Davis: Do you understand that condition of slavery prevails which is described in that letter read?

General Merritt: Yes, sir; entirely as described by Mr. Andre.

Mr. Gray: If Admiral Dewey had sailed away after accomplishing that naval

achievement and left this people as he found them, except for the destruction of the Spanish fleet, what, in your opinion, would have been the condition of the island as to Spanish supremacy and their ability to suppress the rebellion?

General Merritt: If the Spaniards had replaced their fleet with another, I do not believe the revolutionists could have taken Manila. Along the bay it is thirty miles, seventeen by water, and the coast shows the evidences of where the Spaniards have used the guns of their fleets, riddled the houses with shells, and prevented the insurgents from approaching the town; and the insurgents would have been driven to approach the town from the interior, where the Spanish troops were concentrated against them. It was only after the destruction by Dewey of the fleet and his occupation of the bay that these people surrounded the place and held their positions and took possession of the waterworks, which they held for some two or three months. For two months, perhaps three months, the water had been cut off from the town.

Mr. Reid: What is the nature of that supply?

General Merritt: Very good.

CHAPTER III.

THE MOST NOTABLE OF THE STATEMENTS BEFORE OUR COMMISSION IN PARIS.

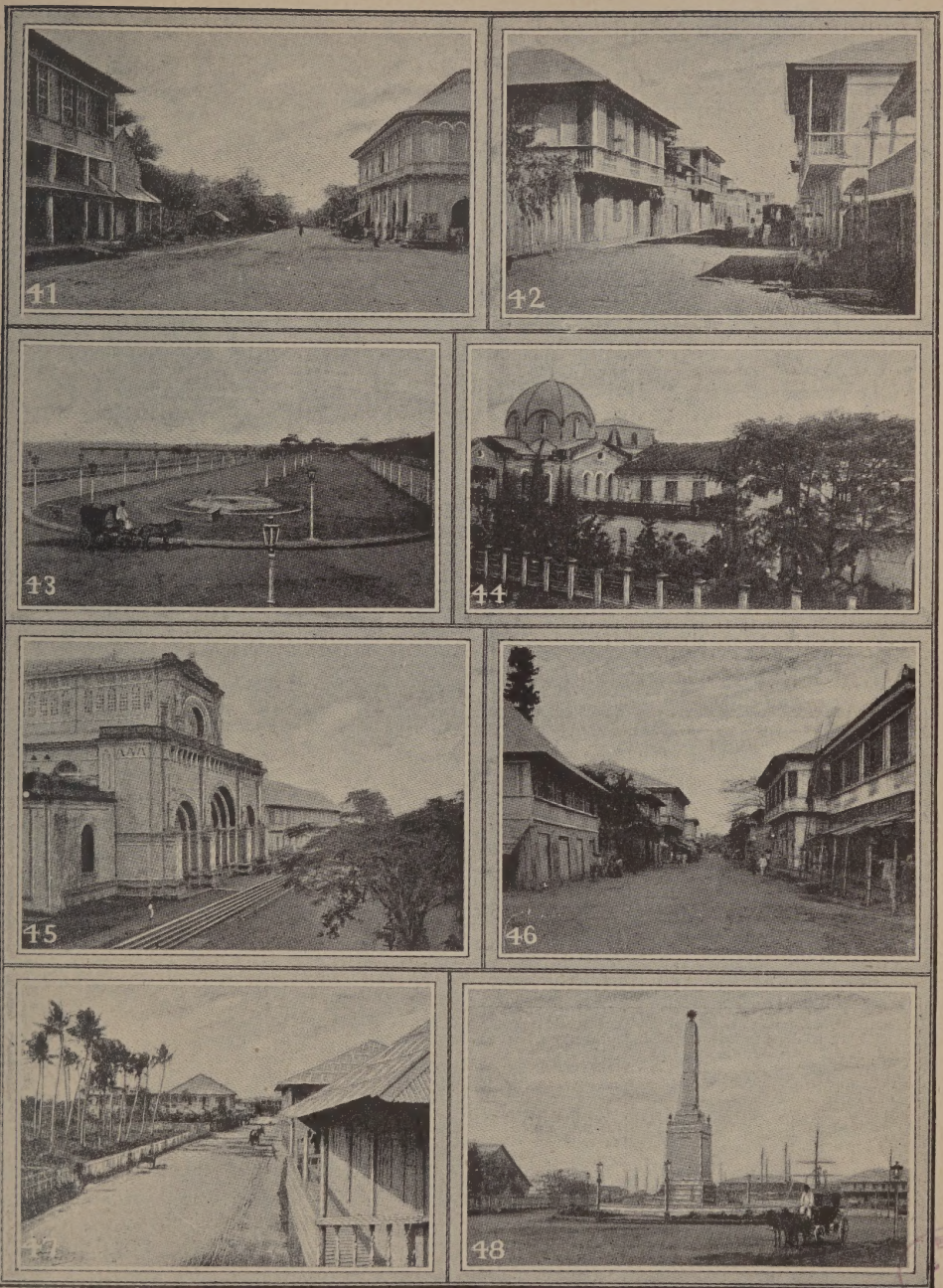
The Remarkable Utterance of Mr. John Foreman, the Historian of the Philippines—His Exposures of Spanish Tyranny and the Persecution of the Pôor—He Credits Stories About the Immorality of Spanish Priests and Gives Them—The Grievances of the Philippine Peasants—Extent of Spanish Occupation—Resources of the Islands—Habits of the People—Their Weakness and Strength—Vast Amount of Information and Suggestion—General Whittier's Personal Observation—His Interview with Aguinaldo and Judgment as to the Philippine Riches and Possibilities.

The statement of the highest authority and the greatest interest before the American Treaty Committee at Paris was that of Mr. John Foreman, an Englishman and author of the most valuable book on the Philippines. This gentleman lived in the islands nine years, and traveled a great deal. He had an interest in a London firm of engineers, whose work was principally for sugar machinery and who did the foreign work. He stated to the Commission as to the places he had lived in in the Philippines:

"I have been practically all over the island of Luzon; several times over in a number of years; I have been everywhere in Negros; I have been all over Panay; I have been in the island of Zelu or Jolo, and was a guest of the Sultan. I have been in three-fourths of the places occupied by the Spaniards in Mindanao. I went on foot from Zamboanga, right through the Province of Zamboanga, up to Misamis on the north."

In the course of his travels Mr. Foreman resolved to write a book on the islands, and his subsequent studies intensified his interest. As to the character of the inhabitants he said to the Commission, and we quote him only in that connection: The people were of "the most plastic nature; that which can be most easily molded and attracted, and drawn to accommodate themselves to and accept a new system which might be established for their future government, would be certainly the inhabitants of the Island of Luzon."

The Viscaya Islands are the Panay, Negros, Cebu, Bojol, Leyte, Samar and Masbate. The entire group are called by the Spaniards Zolo, and they have a Sultan, who resides at Maybun, and as to his jurisdiction, "the Spaniards have tried



41. Street in the Suburb of La Ermita. 42. Rosario Street in La Ermita. 43. Luneta Square in Manila. 44. Hospital of San Juan de Dios. 45. Manila Cathedral. 46. Royal Street in Malate. 47. Royal Street in Santa Ana. 48. Monument of Don Simon de Anda y Salazar in the Malecon Square.

VIEWS IN AND AROUND MANILA.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

TYPE OF THE MESTIZA WOMEN, UPPER CLASS, PROVINCE OF CAVITE.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

to reduce it to his own island, but the inhabitants of this island of Mindanao give allegiance to him and acknowledge him as their chief, and also the Batnos tribes on the island of Palawan, and the islands running down to the island of Bilbaoc."

The people of the Zolos are Musselmen and the Spaniards speak of them as Moors. The Tagals (the tribe of Malays of which Aguinaldo and Agoncillo are representative in blood) Mr. Foreman regards as of a very easy and willing nature, who "would fall into any new system adopted," but the Viscayas are more uncouth, less hospitable and more averse to association with outsiders. They would "want a little more pressure, have to be guided and watched, and, perhaps, a little more of the iron hand." In the Island of Panay, the neighborhood of Iloilo, are half castes, the issue of Chinese men and Viscayan women, who hold the trade so far as it is in native hands, and the same thing is noticeable at Manila. They are not sociable, and not the organizers, still "the cream of the civilization of the Isle of Panay," about the best of the islands. The Island of Negros "is a planting land," and the land-owners live elsewhere as a rule. Negros is the richest island of the archipelago for the production of sugar. There was a rapid development there when steam navigation was used and a governor was appointed. Mr. Foreman says of him that he "was murdered because he was going to make raids into the interior of the island and brush it up generally, and build roads, etc., and as he was to do this so as to cost nothing to the state, he seized people on the pretext of being criminals and on all sorts of pretexts to get large gangs of men to utilize them for the purpose of making these roads. Of course the most of them were not criminals, and they saw that they were going to have a hard time, and so they dispatched the governor. Another governor was selected, and when he heard what had been done there he did not want to go."

As to the inhabitants of Mindanao and the Zulu group Mr. Foreman says: "From the beginning of the occupation of the islands by the Spaniards in 1751 they used to make periodical piratical raids upon the other islands. They did not interfere with Spanish dominion, because the Spaniards had never hitherto pretended to trouble themselves much about the Viscayas or central group. But the Spaniards thought it would be an easy matter to wipe out these people in a little while, in an easy campaign, but they found they had opened up a hornet's nest. They went down to attack these people, known as the Moros, and ever since that time these people have made a dead set upon them. They never left them any peace. One time they came with their craft, known as vinitos, right up the Bay of Manila, though they have never touched the city, and from that

time until year before last there has been constant trouble with these people. They have been determined that they would not be subjected by the Spaniards at least.

"The last little war—and it became quite a custom, a thing understood, that almost every Governor-General should win an honor, a decoration, a medal, or something of that sort in his career by making war in Mindanao—the last war was known as the campaign of Maraout in the north of Mindanao. That was year before last, and so it would probably have been the custom forever. They will not acknowledge the Spaniards; they positively refuse their dominion. The Spaniards kill a few and break up some of their strongholds, and then the thing goes on as before; they never will admit the Spaniards there. For other foreigners it is very different. I know there are Germans there.

"The Spaniards hold Zulu or Jolo town itself in Zulu Island. Frequently there are raids made into the town. When I was there once, just a few days before they had made a swoop on the town and killed two or three officers who were sitting outside a cafe, a drinking shop or shanty; and this used to go on all the time. Frequently it was so. They really do not hold on the Island of Zulu more than the town itself."

On Mindanao the Spaniards have only a few posts and missions. The inhabitants of Luzon are so hospitable that there is no hotel on the island outside Manila. This hospitality is, Mr. Foreman says, an "extraordinary thing," the extent of which "cannot be realized by anyone who has not been there." It is the opinion of Mr. Foreman that Luzon is not largely populated as supposed—not more than a million and a quarter of people—the whole people of the archipelago being six million, of which five are nominal Catholics. The islands were abandoned by the Spaniards for nearly fifty years after the death of Magellenes, and then a priest who resided in the City of Mexico pressed the matter of the annexation of the islands for the saving of souls upon the King very forcibly. At last the King gave way and orders were issued for an expedition to leave Mexico for that purpose, and the islands were ruled through Mexico—"New Spain."

One of the most remarkable statements of Mr. Foreman was in answer to the question "What is the relation of the church to-day to land titles, to the people, and to the government?"—A. There are four orders of monks, the Augostinos, or Augustinian friars, the Dominican friars, the Recolletto friars, and the Franciscan friars. These are the monks who are alleged to have usurped the incumbencies and are vicars of parishes. In addition to them are the Jesuits, who now, for some years past, have had nothing whatever to do but to take care of the education of the people. There is not anything like the same animosity against them that there is to the others, and I am inclined to think that the people

look upon them very well. They do not interfere with the personal liberty of the people.

Mr. Reid:

Q. The morality of the Jesuits is better, also, is it not?—A. Yes, sir; it is very good. There is nothing to be said against them now. The head of the church is the archbishop. The archbishop is usually, but it is not absolutely necessary that he should be, an individual of one of these orders. The immediate chief of each of these orders is called a provincial. The provincial is the business man of the order, and these provincials are not very much subjected—they are nominally, but not very much really—to the archbishop. In fact, they sometimes, it is well known, have shown insolence and insubordination to the archbishop. The present archbishop seems to have very little hold upon them; what the provincials wanted to do they did. The case against the friars is this, and it showed itself in a little outbreak, called the rebellion of Cavite, in 1872. The secular clergy—these monks are the regular ordained clergy—claimed, under the conditions of the Council of Trent, that these monks, as missionaries, were not entitled to hold the incumbencies; that by a papal bull which settled this matter when it was raised these monks were allowed to be only missionaries, and could only open and establish missions, but that when these missions became parishes and when the people around them adopted the Catholic faith, they should then retire from these parishes and the incumbency should be taken by the secular clergy.

Q. What do you mean by "incumbency"?—A. The position occupied by the parish priest—the incumbency of the parish.

Q. The titles to lands are usually in the hands of these monks?—A. Yes, sir; they hold large tracts.

Q. How did they get these lands?—A. Usually they simply took possession—appropriated it. They have in their orders what are called "brothers." There are "fathers" of the orders and "brothers." "Brothers" are simply persons who have taken certain vows, but who are not allowed to celebrate mass—simply workmen—and they put these in charge to take possession of the land.

Q. They took possession. Did they have no decree from the Spanish Government, or the Governor-General, authorizing them to take possession of the land?—A. Not at first. Subsequently they received decrees, but never could they get title deeds, owing to the opposition of the natives. The lands taken were not devoid of settlers, but most of them were simply squatters.

The habit is for a tenant to hold land for three years, and when the time is up he has to turn over the improvements to the landlord, and the possession is

often that of corporations, and as they are capitalized and improved, higher rents are required. Mr. Foreman remarks of the Spanish corporations that they "steal the fruits of labor."

In the province of Laguna, Dr. Rizal was shot by the Spaniards on December 30th, 1896, because he raised the question of land titles in his native town with the Dominican order, and no title deeds could be shown. One-thirtieth of the land that is cultivated is, however, all that the holding of the corporations amount to. There are not more than six estates held by foreigners not Spaniards. Three thousand acres would be a large estate. As to the moral character of the friars, Mr. Foreman says a large number of them lead loose lives and get up societies and persuade women to join them and become servants; and he adds there are "a great many of the sons and daughters of priests throughout the islands" and "there is no secret about it."

Mr. Foreman, it will be remembered, in reply to a question from Mr. Reid, said, in regard to the moral standing of the Jesuit priests, that they stood well, and this is in the line of a great deal of evidence from the Filipinos and also from visitors to the islands, who join in praising Jesuits for educational labors, instancing famous schools, the observatory at Manila and its records, known all over the world, and the introduction of sugar making, coffee raising, and other industries. But the same people who speak in such good terms of the Jesuits have no hesitation in denouncing the other orders of the church; and the grand passion of the insurgent Filipinos is directed toward the extermination of the friars at large—reserving a cooler temper for the Jesuits only, and, whilst stating that they are moral and of utility, pour forth the most abominable accusations about the Spanish members of the orders generally. Mr. Foreman, curiously enough, is no exception to this rule of generalization. Soon after bearing testimony that the Jesuits were good citizens he gave in detail incidents assuming the responsibility of personal knowledge of them of a scandalous nature quite startling, specifying a case at the house of a friend, and going on to say:

"My friend's name is Henry George Brown. He lives now at Saffron-Walden in Essex, England. I have known him about seventeen years, and I was staying at his place, on the Island of Luzon, and a letter came from the corporation saying that Father So-and-So 'is going to pass through your town on his way to Tamina, due north of this place, and will you please take charge of his goods and parcels, and see that they are sent on to Tamana?' I was there at the time the small steamer came in, and a drenching rain came down, and simply drenched the things, and Brown said that it would be a good act to open those things

and dry them, and so we had the cases opened and the things spread out to dry, and he called to me and said 'Just look here; is this not astonishing?' And he showed me some filthy prints, photographic slides for a sort of kaleidoscope arrangement, slides and prints of a most filthy nature. He said: 'I show you this because it does not seem possible that, coming in the package of a priest, these things could be possible.' He said it was no business of ours, but that he showed them to me for their moral effect, and I mentioned it in my book. And that is the man who was to take charge of the souls of the parish he was appointed to. That man had been turned out of the parish he had because he was so obnoxious; he was simply a human beast."

There was another case. When I first went to Manila there was quite a hubbub about a certain priest called Pierre, who held a parish in Pampanga province, and he had beaten a boy to death, so he was taken away from there and sent farther north to a town called San Miguel de Mayamo. I had occasion to go to that town and they told me about it—it was notorious. A woman came to see him, and he kicked her in the abdomen and she fell down, badly hurt, and died. This became too notorious, and they removed him from there. It was talked about freely —what a scandal it was, etc. That was when I arrived, seventeen years ago, and they said, "Is it possible we are going to have these priests free from justice, and that they can do as they like with us?" so he was taken away and sent down to the province of Cavite, and there the rebels caught him in this last rebellion, and, more to ridicule him than anything else, I think, they made him their bishop. They said, "Mind what you do. You can be our bishop and take charge of our clergy, but don't you attempt anything behind our backs." He thought he was quite safe, and he was found taking sketches and notes of their strongholds. He had already made arrangements with the monks for their delivery. They caught him, and they said it was treachery—he had made negotiations with the Augustine monks in Manila—and after proper trial he was condemned to death. He was tied to a post, without a hat and without water, and died of sunstroke, fever, and hunger, and that was his end. And no one regrets it.

Q. How much influence on the civil government and the administration of the courts do these orders have?—A. The priests can not be summoned to an ordinary court, nor can they pursue others in court; they can not appear in court at all, but when a priest makes a declaration it is accepted as a fact, and no proof is necessary. It is quite sufficient that Father So-and-So signs it. The administration governor may be regarded as purely and simply the executive of the priests, who are the ruling order there. Over and over Governors-General have

been sent away on the recommendation of the monastic orders in recent times. At the end of 1892 I was in Spain, and the son of General Despujols came to visit me, knowing that I was well acquainted with the country, and he told me that his father was going out as Governor-General of the islands and he would like to have a chat with me. I asked him how his father stood with the priests. He said he stood very well, that he would try to recognize their power and stand in harmony with them, and I said that if he did that he was all right.

General Despujols went out, and I went out there in 1893, and he had just left. He had been eight months in power. Appointed for three years, at the end of eight months he had been obliged to clear out, from the influence of the monastic power. The main points against him were these: This man, Dr. Rizal, who went down and raised the point of the deeds, etc., with the monks, had been to Europe and had studied in Germany. He was a very clever man, quite an exception to the general rule, and had published three books against the priests—one called Noli me Tangere, another Filibustero, and another was a reproduction of a book written by a priest years ago, who was also an exception. For this he was looked down upon by the priests as a disturbing element. He came to Hongkong, and from there he was cajoled to Manila on the promise that he would not be molested. He went there to the Governor-General, but they detained his baggage and pretended that he carried incendiary leaflets for the purpose of raising a rebellion.

The priests required that he should be executed, but the Governor-General refused to allow it; said that it was utterly impossible that he should be executed for what he had written, and refused. All they could get out of the Governor was, "Very well, you are banished to the island of Mindanao." This is the place to which he was banished, and where he remained for four years, Dapitan. I saw his little hut there on the bay, and visited him there. That displeased the priests very much. They had strife and questions between them and the Governor-General, and the latter said, "I am going to see how you are working," and, all of a sudden, he had a raid made upon the residences of the Augustino monks in a place north of Manila, and had the place suddenly seized and raided, and it is very well known that he found a printing press printing these same incendiary leaflets, and the priest who was employed in doing so was perfectly well known to every one in Mailaban, to Americans and English, where there is a big sugar-refining establishment owned by Americans and English, the English resident in Manila and the Americans in Hongkong, and known personally to them. The man disappeared and was never seen again. I can not say where he went. These leaflets were seized, and from that moment the Governor-General was a condemned man, and he left. I went out in 1893 and he was not there.

Q. You regard these orders as the dominating power?—A. Yes, sir. General Blanco was out there in Manila, where I saw him nearly every day. He was there at the beginning of this insurrection in 1896. The archbishop is the most bloodthirsty man there. I knew him perfectly well. I used to meet the priests and hear what they had to say, and they said that what Blanco had done did not please them at all; did not suit their view of it, though, of course, I had very little to say—nothing to say, in fact. But their complaints were that General Blanco was not sufficiently bloodthirsty for them, and that is the reason he went away from there.

Mr. Foreman spoke in high terms of the climate, and Mr. Reid asked:

Q. Are there any prevalent fevers there?—A. People do get fever, but very seldom.

Q. Is it a pernicious fever, such as they have in Cuba?—A. Oh, no; very light, indeed; and the natives will get a fever more often than Europeans; it is owing to their mode of living.

Q. Is it a malarial fever?—A. No, sir; I consider malarial fever to be that which comes from the opening of new ground.

Q. Would it be with chills?—A. Not malarial fevers, as I understand them. I was once at Vera Cruz, and I saw that there was a lot of fine land back of the city which was not used at all, and I asked why it was not utilized, and they explained to me that the minute they turned the sod the people were attacked by the fever and dropped down with it, and died within eight hours after. I never knew or heard of men being troubled from the opening of new ground in Manila or the Philippines.

The Chairman:

Q. Which is the best and farthest advanced of these islands?—A. Luzon I consider the most advanced, owing, of course, to the close association with the Europeans.

Q. More insurrections break out there.—A. Yes; and it is just because they are able to see other things. What they ask is perfectly just. Their insurrection is not from a love of quarreling or opposition to white men at all. There is no such thing as any hostility to white men; such a thing does not exist.

Q. What are the causes, briefly, of insurrections?—A. Very broadly speaking, the main cause is the persecution of the priests, their interference in the little petty details of a man's life, his wife, his daughter, the constant persecution, the petty revenge. These parish priests interfere in a man's own home and household, in the interior workings of a man's house. And all of a sudden a priest will take a dislike for some little thing, or nothing, and then that man is marked, and

periodically the priest will take a piece of paper and write on it and say that he has reason to believe the individuals marked in the margin are—whatever he wants to call them—disturbers of the peace, etc., and will request that they be removed from his district, and the man will be taking his coffee in the morning, getting ready to go to his estate, and the civil guard will appear and say, "You are wanted." "What for?" "By order of the Governor." And he is walked off, and if he shows the least disposition to dispute, his arms are tied behind him and he has to tramp, tramp, tramp, down, and down, and down to Manila. That is one of the points especially raised by Aguinaldo, that arbitrary power to arrest at any time simply on the name of the Governor.

Mr. Gray:

Q. Has the person so arrested no chance for a judicial inquiry?—A. No, sir; the Governor-General has the exclusive power.

Mr. Foreman said one of the greatest misfortunes of the people of the Philippines was there was no fair administration of justice. When a foreigner got into a lawsuit he might as well flee from the islands. He gives a remarkable instance: That in the case of the Hongkong and Shanghai bank, which had some question with the house of Jurado & Co. The question is still on. They went to court over it. The bank certainly did make a mistake in wishing to close down upon them for certain promissory notes before they were due, but they put it on the ground that the promissory notes had been indorsed by everybody and anybody, even by boys back of the counter.

"The thing came into court, and Jurado & Co. found themselves in bad shape, and it came out and back again, and went from civil court to criminal court, and sometimes one side would get the best of it and sometimes the other. The bank was shut up, and Mr. Townsend, the manager of the bank there, was notified that he must consider himself a prisoner. The Consul protested against it, and he was ordered to be sent to Bombay or Calcutta as a persona non grata. He removed his things, and the whole thing was shut up. They sent for an Englishman who was a machinist to pry the locks of the safe, and he said he could not do it. He was working on it for a week, and then said he could not do it, that he could not possibly pry these locks, and then they got up a little syndicate of natives, a little banker there whose name I forget, and some others, to personate the bank, and they thought they would be able to make a large claim out of it, and the last I heard of it the claim was for $930,000 Mexican, the claim made by this house of Jurado & Co., and they have kept on and can not get a settlement, and it is still pending. I bank myself with the bank. It has its offices in London at 31

Lombard street, and the brother of this man Jurado is also living in London, I believe in Chelsea, but his office is at 21 Billeter street.

"Q. They will never get a settlement?—A. No, sir; never. Years after this came up I was in Madrid, and I was going down by the offices of the Minister of War, and I met this man Jurado from London, and he said the whole thing would be settled in a fortnight, and that he would get his claim. I went on to the Minister of War, with whom I had an engagement, and he said I was a little late, and I told him that I had been detained by meeting this man and his conversation with me, and that he said the whole thing would be settled in a fortnight. He asked me if I would meet the man again, and I said that I might, perhaps. 'Tell him it is a lie, and that the matter is not settled yet.' "

There was a rule that for a small tax all the people over eighteen years of age, men and women, had to hold a paper of identification, and one found without it had to pay the officer a bribe. Another abuse is that the countrymen have to give a period of fifteen days' forced labor to the Government, and the liberation of workingmen from this exaction enabled the officers to establish a system of blackmailing the poor. There is a civil guard to keep order, and this organization could not be dispensed with, and yet was fruitful of abuses. For example: An officer will send a patrol of two men to walk through the district, and generally to patrol it and see what is going on around there. These men, as they go along from hut to hut will steal—the people are miserably poor, and it is a great thing for them to lose two or three chickens or a little tobacco or sugar—and they go along and pick up anything they like. They will go to a man and say: "Where is your document of personal identity?" and the man is out in the field, perhaps, and he says: "I have not got it; I left it somewhere else, at the house," and they arrest him at once. He says: "Let me off." "How much?" and he gets off if he pays. They do this on their own account. They will also trump up charges against the natives. If an officer of the civil guard can not get milk delivered as he wants it, or sugar, or whatever else he wants, or can not get a man to run his horses gratis, or anything whatever he wants for his use, he will trump up a charge, and the man is taken off to the principal town of the province on some trumpery charge. Then they will allow a certain license in the cock fighting. It is supposed to be prohibited, but it is alleged that it is so set in the native character that it can not be eradicated, and on Sundays and certain other days they allow it, and the guards will go in, and if they do not get a certain percentage of the bets, etc., they are down on them. They are also constantly interfering with the internal workings of the households amongst the natives.

Mr. Gray:

Q. Would the passing into the hands of an anti-Catholic power be a source of irritation?—A. No, sir; the matter of religion would not trouble them at all.

The Chairman:

Q. They submit to the present religion because it is a matter of policy to do so?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What do you say as to whether or not, if it should be concluded that Luzon should be separated from the rest of the group, a government could be maintained there of sufficient resources in that island for the maintenance of government? In short, what would be the effect of seeking to establish a colonial government on the island of Luzon by itself first?—A. For the moment there would be a difficulty of labor. Nature is so prolific there that man can get along almost entirely without work. Of course in the city of Manila it is not the same, but the people from among whom you would draft for labor can almost live without work and get all they want, construct their houses entirely of wood, get wearing apparel to merely cover their nudity, and can get all they want to eat and drink without the necessity of working.

But I think if Luzon were kept by yourselves, they would be so startled by the perfect paradise it would seem to them under the Government of the United States that the natives of the other islands would hear of it from all sides. There would be steamers and canoes coming to and fro, and they would hear that they could walk the streets perfectly free, without being obliged to carry a piece of paper to show, and they would be as much astonished as was Aguinaldo when he found that he was on free soil and could open his mouth when he was at Hongkong. It was months before he could open his mouth to speak freely concerning the Philippines. I think that would draw large immigration from the other islands to Luzon, assuming that the other islands were under Spanish dominion. Conditional on that, I think it would draw very large numbers from there, and that you would thus get over the labor difficulty, and the island of Luzon, being worked up, would be sufficient to establish a very prosperous colony. I think it would be a very fine colony.

In the course of his examination Mr. Foreman said that he thought he had "said enough about the priests," and, upon inquiry by Mr. Frye, said his remarks did not apply to the Jesuits nor to the native priests. The natives wanted to clear out the priests except Jesuits as educators. "In my interview at Bacoor, August 25th, 1898, with General Aguinaldo, I asked him, after he had said the Spanish priests 'should go, ought to, want to go, and had better go,' whether

what he said applied to the Jesuits, and he said, after a moment's hesitation, 'The Jesuits also must go.' He added that the native priests were respected and not placed in the list of those who must be deported or destroyed."

Mr. Foreman holds the native not capable of self-government because he has no "expansive ideas," and could not go so far as to understand the common weal. An attempt at native government would be "a fiasco altogether." The historian also gave a glancing account of the fertility of Luzon, but did not know of any coal good enough to depend upon in raising steam. He answered several searching questions in an instructive way, as follows:

The Chairman:

Q. You think the entire group could be taken and governed, or that Luzon could be taken and governed, with the free-trade regulations between the islands and the other stipulations you mentioned?—A. Yes, sir; either course could be pursued.

Mr. Davis:

Q. Do you think the native priests would assist in establishing and maintaining good government there?—A. Oh, yes; you would certainly have no opposition from the native priests.

Q. Would we have their active aid?—A. The native priests would not oppose at all; they would not take a hostile course; there would be no difficulty there.

The Chairman:

Q. How would they regard the Protestant missionaries?—A. I think it would be a matter of indifference to them.

Q. You think the only trouble would be with the monastic orders?—A. From a religious point of view only; I do not think the native priests would give the least trouble.

Mr. Gray:

Q. Are these priests supported by the State?—A. Yes, sir; by the governmental funds.

Q. Would the withdrawal of government support make trouble with them?—A. I do not think they could get up any trouble.

Mr. Davis:

Q. Would they be disposed to do so?—A. I do not think it would go past each individual feeling a little sore. You must remember they constitute the secular clergy, and the secular clergy are not bound by any vow of poverty. They are very good fellows, indeed; very hospitable, and will put you up any time

for a night or two. I should say that 75 per cent of the secular clergy have quite sufficient to live upon. And they have lands.

Q. State, if you know, what the amount of aid furnished, per annum, to one of these secular priests will average.—A. It is very trifling all around; I should say possibly $500 Mexican to each one would be a fair average; about $40 per month.

Q. I think you stated in your book that about seven-tenths of the revenues of the island are turned over to the church. How is that?—A. I will read an extract from an article written by me which it may be interesting to you to hear: "The total revenues for the island, estimated, for 1896, were, in round numbers, 86,000,000 pesetas. If you will divide that amount by ten, it will give the amount in gold dollars, or $8,600,000."

Mr. Davis:

Q. Where do you derive that?—A. From statistics sent me from Madrid for the purposes of my literary work. To the clergy I suppose we might call it an allowance made for the Government to the clergy, general allowance, 7,000,000 pesetas out of a total of 86,000,000 pesetas.

Mr. Gray:

Q. Seven hundred thousand dollars?—A. Yes, sir. For the Franciscan College in Spain, and passages of priests from Spain to the islands, 275,000 pesetas, or $27,500 gold. For the maintenance of Manila Cathedral, 294,000 pesetas, or $29,400 gold. For the maintenance of the choir school, 20,000 pesetas, or $2,000 gold. Total, 7,589,000 pesetas, or $758,900 gold; so that the net result is three-quarters of a million dollars gold out of a total of $8,000,000 gold.

Mr. Davis:

Q. About 10 per cent of the entire amount?—A. Yes, sir. Of course the total amount varies from year to year. Another curious item comes out of this total revenue which, of course, would cease to exist under new arrangements—pensions and allowances paid outside the colony, of absolutely no interest to the Philippine Islanders. I have not noted it here, but they are pensions to the descendants of Christopher Columbus, to a man known as the Marquis de Bademont, the maintenance of consuls in the far East, which are absolutely of no value to the Philippine Islands. The consuls, as at Hongkong, are under the jurisdiction in no sense of the Governor-General of the islands; if the Governor-General wants to make use of them, he telegraphs to Spain and Spain telegraphs back to Hongkong, while, as a matter of fact, the distance is only 630 miles from Manila to Hongkong. This amount is 5,890,000 pesetas, or $589,000 gold. For

public works, highways, bridges, and public buildings, nothing. Besides the above amounts, paid direct to the clergy, the sums extorted by the priests for marriages, sale of indulgences, feasts, masses, burials, baptisms, scapularies, etc., are estimated at about 10,000,000 pesetas, or $1,000,000 gold.

Mr. Frye:

Q. What would be the effect of stopping cockfighting and lotteries?—A. Lotteries you can stop at once.

Q. There would be no trouble about that?—A. No, sir.

Q. How about the cockfighting?—A. I think there would be cockfighting carried on secretly. I think it would be advisable to tolerate it. The life of these people is very dreary, these natives; they live in these rural districts and see nothing but mountains and planted lands, and if this is prohibited their vices will break out in some other form; they would have to have some form of amusement. I do not think it would be practicable to absolutely suppress the cockfighting.

Q. You think the lottery could be abolished without any trouble?—A. Yes, sir. The natives are so used, when they do get a prize, to having to tip so many people and to having so many squeezes that they get very much disgusted and say it is a fraud, but it is not a fraud. I believe the matter is entirely fair; but the base of a lottery system is about as strong as a house built of a pack of cards put on end.

In 1878, when the Martines Campos treaty with Gomez was announced, Mr. Foreman was in Spain, and when the news of peace came the flags were flying and there was great joy. Campos returned to Spain the idol of the people, and was wanted for Prime Minister. The King sent for Canovas, who said, "You had better let him go in; the higher he goes, the lower he will fall." Campos made it the object of his government to get Cortez to ratify the treaty, but "he was pooh-poohed and laughed at. They said, 'The Cubans have laid down their arms, everything is quiet; why should we do anything more? we have accomplished what we wanted.' He said, 'I have given my word of honor; my personal honor is affected.' But they said, 'Oh, you have fallen out of power, and you will never come in again. It is a very good trick. You have got each one to lay down his arms and go to his house, and now let the reforms go; never mind the engagement.' They have done the same with the treaty or agreement of Biac-na-bato, made with Emilio Aguinaldo, the rebel general. They paid, of course, the first installment, which had to be paid simultaneously with the exile of Aguinaldo and the thirty-two rebel leaders, and which was deposited in the

Shanghai bank, but they paid no more. One of the conditions was that the families and others connected with the rebellion should not be molested in any form or sense whatever; but immediately that Aguinaldo left for Hongkong the priests started to persecute those left behind, and the result was that another chief turned up—I knew his father very well—Alejandrino. He had fled, but returned, and is one of the leaders now."

Mr. Gray:

Q. If that exodus of the friars, these priests of the monastic orders, was carried out, either voluntarily on their part or with some degree of compulsion applied to them, what disposition would be made of their holdings of land; what would become of the land?—A. What the natives, I think I may say pretty decidedly, would aspire to would be that the land should be declared to be the possession of those actually in possession as tenants to-day, holding it in rent from these corporations. It is let in parcels. They would say, "the priests are gone, let us, as we stand, hold the land," and with very little disturbance at all the man in possession holds his patch of land.

Q. They hold by a legal title now?—A. Only by a contract with the priests.

Q. I mean the monastic orders hold by a title?—A. No, sir. That is to say, I draw my information from this source—that Dr. Rizal challenged the priests to bring forward their titles. He said, "If you will exhibit your title deeds, it will be satisfactory for you and for us; I shall be satisfied, my agitation will end, the people interested roundabout will be satisfied, and you certainly will insure to yourselves tranquillity by settling this matter on the exhibition of your title deeds," and they could not do it. They would go to the length of intriguing for three or four years to bring about the execution of this Dr. Rizal rather than show their title deeds, and we can only surmise that the title deeds did not exist.

Q. How long have they been flourishing there and holding these titles, so called?—A. I can not say.

Q. It is an old business?—A. Yes, sir; very old.

In concluding his testimony Mr. Foreman said as to raising horses, if one had a fine pony the Spaniards would take it unless the native rider had a permit in his pocket. There is a very fine wood in the Island of Mindora, twenty-two varieties, and in the Island of Mindanao, speaking of woods, there is known to be the ironwood, an extremely hard wood. It is very, very hard indeed. Of course, at the same time, it has the defect of being somewhat brittle, but in substantial sizes, say in three-inch growth, it is tremendously strong.

Q. Is there not oil in those islands?—A. Only in one place has it been

discovered so far; that is in the Island of Cebu, on the estate known as Calumampao, belonging to an Englishman named Pickford and a Mr. Wilson, an American.

Earthquakes have been destructive. The cholera came to the Philippines in 1882, and twenty Europeans and forty thousand natives died. Typhoons are not so serious except once in six or seven years. In the lake near Manila, Laguna del Bayao, there is a pretty and famous volcano known as the one of Taal, which was in eruption when I last heard from Manila. There is a business to be done there—the export of sulphur. At one time it was permitted, but all of a sudden the Government expressly prohibited it. There is another volcano there which is very famous, and one of the finest things to be seen, with the most perfect cone to be seen. In nature it is like an enormous limpet shell, and the most perfect, on the clean-cut style, and that is the volcano of Mayon, in the extreme east of the Island of Luzon, in the province of Albay. That is a very fine volcano; a grand sight to see it at night. Of course the whole island is supposed to be of volcanic origin, and when the volcanoes are in eruption you know there is no danger; you know that there will be no earthquakes, and they do no damage. Of course some of the natives are stupid enough to live in the immediate vicinity and occasionally get killed.

Q. When is the rainy season?—A. The middle six months of the year; the first three months and the last three months is the dry season.

Q. From April to October?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It is rather an uncomfortable season?—A. Yes, sir; drenching rains come, frightful downpours sometimes, but everything dries so quickly.

Q. How in the other six months, from October to April?—A. Out of those six months four months absolutely not a drop; approaching it, it shades off.

Q. Pleasant months?—A. Delightful. I would not choose any other place to live in the month of December. Anywhere in the islands is simply delicious; a most wonderful climate; altogether it is very agreeable living, a very pretty place.

The well-informed historian thought if we took all of the islands the burden on us would be "only a little more expense of administration, which, I think, would be covered by the islands themselves." He concluded:

"The name of Japan has been brought up. It is, of course, quite out of the question, because it is a pagan nation. The natives have been brought up as Christians, and I am sure it would be opposed to the popular opinion in Europe, and in America, I should think. That excludes Japan, in my opinion."

Commander Bradford of the United States Navy was asked by Mr. Frye:

"Suppose the United States, in the progress of war, found the leader of the present Philippine rebellion an exile from his country in Hongkong and sent for him and brought him to the islands in an American ship, and then furnished him 4,000 or 5,000 stands of arms, and allowed him to purchase as many more stands of arms in Hongkong, and accepted his aid in conquering Luzon, what kind of a nation, in the eyes of the world, would we appear to be to surrender Aguinaldo and his insurgents to Spain to be dealt with as they please?—A. We become responsible for everything he has done; he is our ally, and we are bound to protect him."

This was in October, 1898. Aguinaldo is better known now.

General Charles A. Whittier of New York, a business man of mild knowledge and enterprise, and a soldier of distinction, was one of the Commissioners who arranged with the Spaniards the terms of the surrender of Manila. He says: "Admiral Montijo seemed to have his wits about him better than the rest." The Captain-General reported in trepidation that the insurgents were coming into the city. General Whittier made it his business to see the country and says:

"I went over the line of the only railroad in the Philippines, leaving one Saturday morning and going up 120 miles through the rice fields, a country of marvelous and most extraordinary fertility.

"Q. What sort of looking people are the insurgents?—A. They are somewhat undersized, are fairly good in appearance, are brave, will stand any amount of hunger and hardship, and, well led, would be very good soldiers. The country on the line of railroad is divided into four parts or zones. There was one General Macabulus, whose headquarters were at Tarlac, and it was said that Aguinaldo rather dreaded his popularity, and wanted to transfer him. There was good feeling between them, however, and he sent down by Higgins $36,000 as a contribution. This was Mexican, of course.

"The next Sunday, in company with a member of one of the chief mercantile houses and the senior British medical officer at Hongkong, Colonel Evatt, we went up the River Pasig on the launch of the former. We went up about twenty-eight miles to the laguna. Paixanang would have been better to see, but time would not permit. We went to Banos, a health resort. There is a tract of land on the laguna on the market, held by the priests. They wish to sell it for $1,700,000. It is an enormously productive country. You pass cascos loaded with cocoanuts and quantities of nipa thatching for roofs.

General Whittier quotes as his own idea Frank Swelltenham of the British Straits Settlement Colony:

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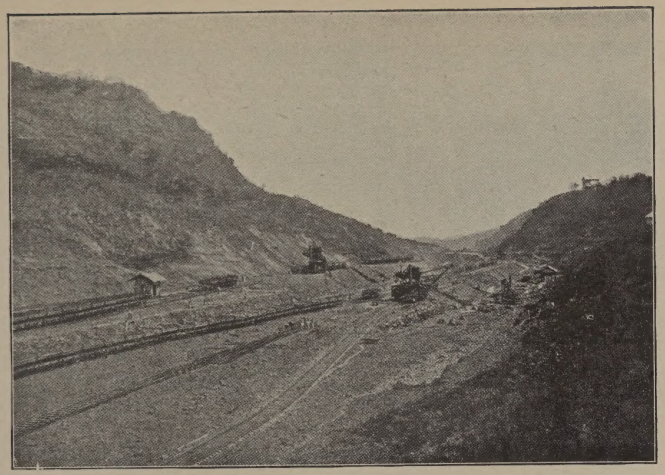
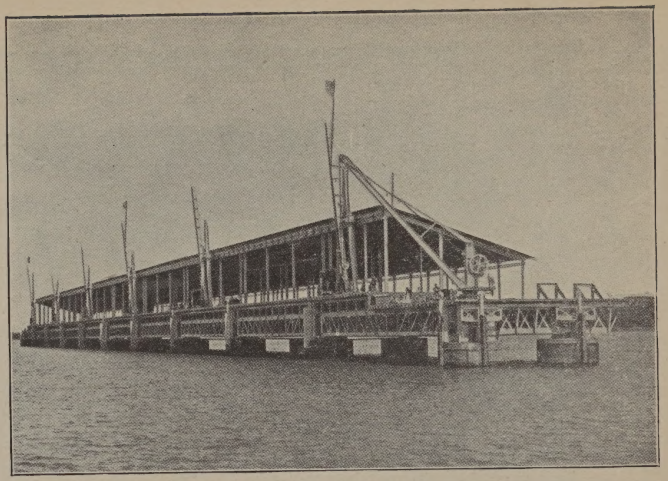
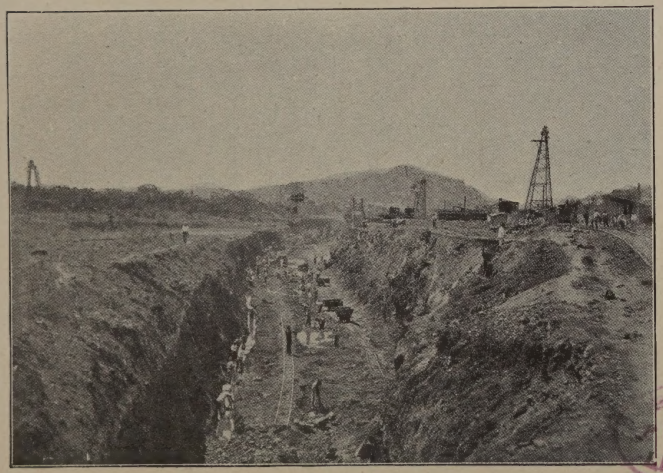
END OF LA BOCA PIER AT BEGINNING OF PANAMA CANAL.



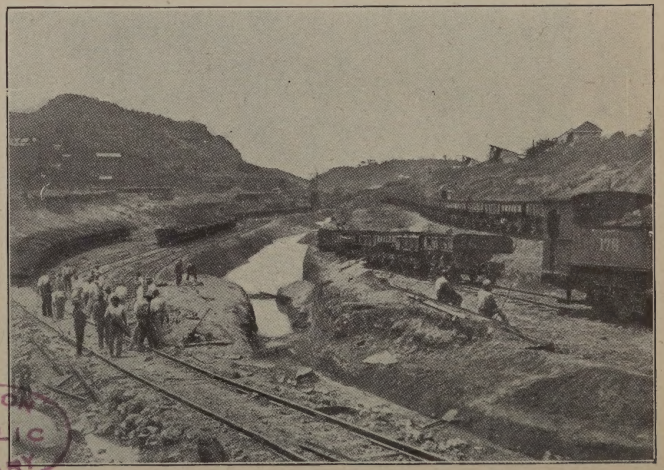
PANAMA CANAL, GREAT CULEBRA CUT.



PANAMA CANAL, PIER AT LA BOCA.



PANAMA CANAL, 32 MILES FROM ATLANTIC.



PANAMA CANAL, CULEBRA CUT.

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"The Philippines are Malays, with more intelligence, more education, more courage, perhaps, than their confreres in the Peninsula.

"In one sense they would be easier to govern, because they have been for many years in contact with white men and understand their ways. Moreover, the majority are not Mohammedans.

"But, on the other hand, they have aspirations for political institutions and the management of affairs without the necessary experience, perhaps without the essential qualities to secure success.

"I should say that our experiment in the Malay Peninsula might be successfully repeated in the Philippines, provided that the controlling power made it clearly understood at the start that they meant to control and not only to advise and educate.

"If that point were never in doubt, and the means of enforcing authority were in evidence for a short time, the rest would be easy, and I firmly believe the results would surpass all anticipations."

It is the opinion of General Whittier that if any sensible nation governs the islands a Bureau of Science should be at once established and the results would be great and surprising. The General had little prejudice against Spaniards, but he was convinced by contact with people in Manila "that they are without principle or courage, and brutally, wickedly cruel, with no improvement on three hundred and twenty-five years ago in the days of Philip II. The bones (skulls, arms, legs) of their dead lie without the honor of a covering of earth, exposed in their fashionable cemetery, exhumed on account of a failure by their descendants to pay rent for the tomb. The shooting in the Luneta (their favorite driveway) of dozens of so-called 'rebels' and conspirators, notably Dr. Rizal, a man of literary merit, with no trial, vague charges of belonging to secret societies, with the hope of making their victims confess to what, in many cases, did not exist, was made a fete, advertised in the papers. 'There will be music,' and I have been frequently told that women and children attended in their carriages. The tortures inflicted with the same view of eliciting confessions, are too brutal to commit the narrative to paper.

"I have brought from Manila for the inspection of the Commissioners four carvings in wood representing tortures inflicted by the Spaniards upon the natives. They were executed by Bonifacio Arevelo, who is now practicing as a dentist in Manila. He is a man of fine presence, benevolent aspect, not sensational at all in his utterances, and in submitting them to me he wrote the wish that upon reaching Paris I would not forget that the Filipinos begged me to use my efforts

to convince all concerned of the utter impossibility of the return by them to Spanish domination. He also gives a description of the models:

"Figure No. 1.—This figure represents the chastisement which one of the municipal authorities of Jaen (Nueva Ecija) suffered in the prison of that town, the Spanish employees of the prison entertaining themselves by applying the most horrible tortures.

"Figure No. 2.—This represents an honorably and peaceably inclined resident in a village of the province of Nueva Ecija, taken prisoner, brutally treated for being suspected, without cause, of belonging to the Katipunan, and afterwards shot.

"Figure No. 3.—This figure represents one of the many natives of the Philippines whom, during the late insurrection, the Spaniards shot without previous trial, in the outskirts of the village, leaving their corpses without burial.

"Figure No. 4.—This figure represents Mr. Moses Salvador, a young Tagalo, who studied several years in Europe. He is a native of Manila, and was imprisoned in September, 1896, for being a Freemason, was horribly martyrized in the headquarters of the police, and, after many months of imprisonment, was shot by order of the Spanish General Polavieja in the Luneta, in company with several of his countrymen, all condemned on the same charge, of which several were absolutely innocent.

"The opinion of Alexandre Dumas, Sr., in regard to the Spaniards was often quoted in the Philippines, that they possess 'honor without honesty, religion without morality, pride with nothing to be proud of.'

"The rapacity, stealing, and immoralities of the priests are beyond question, and the bitterness of the natives against them has been caused and aggravated by years of iniquity. To demand a wife or daughter from a native has been a common occurrence. Failing to obtain acquiescence, the husband's or father's goods have been seized, he deported or thrown into jail, under an order easily obtained from the government in Manila. The priests' influence was paramount—they are rich, and fathers (not only of the church), despised and hated by the people.

"The inefficiency, to put it mildly, of the Spaniards in war has been so clearly demonstrated in this war that I will call attention only to the facts in Manila Bay and the defenses of the town. When it was absolutely known by everyone there, on the last day of April, that our ships were on the way and very near, that night many of their naval officers spent in town, far from the fleet. All their ships were destroyed, and every man of the American fleet (except one, upon whom

some heavy metal on one of our ships fell) reported for duty the next day. And yet Admiral Montijo applied to Dewey for a certificate of good conduct on that occasion to show to the Madrid authorities, who lately ordered him home.

"Their inefficiency (and the creditable work of the insurgents as well) is further proved by the fact that they were driven by the natives from Cavite twenty odd miles into the defenses of Manila, with never a successful attack, never a capture of arms or men. All the success was on the native side, and yet the Spaniards surrendered between 7,000 and 8,000 men, well armed, plenty of ammunition, and in good physical condition. The excuse of the latter may be that their enemy was in small bands—but they never captured one of these—and the small bands drove them to their walls. Jaudenes, the acting Captain-General, in reply to Merritt and Dewey's notice to remove his non-combatants, acknowledged that the insurrectionists surrounded the city, and that he could not move women, children, etc., out. (His fear and solicitude about the natives entering the city when I received the surrender of Manila were almost painful to witness.) This admission demonstrates as well the military ability shown by the Filipinos, whose characteristics I will now enumerate.

"Aguinaldo went to Cavite, under the permission of Admiral Dewey, in reply to a telegram sent by Spencer Pratt, Esq., our Consul-General at Singapore, who offered that chief money for his expenses. The offer was declined. After arrival (on one of our ships) he went ashore, accompanied by thirteen staff officers, to organize his army; but no adherents appeared the first day, and Aguinaldo, rather discouraged, meditated returning to Hongkong. I think Dewey advised him to make another effort, at the same time saying that he must leave the public buildings at Cavite, where he had made his headquarters. Soon, from across the bay and from all sides, men gathered. The fact that Dewey permitted the armed men to move from the surrounding districts and for the rebels to take arms (not many, says the Admiral) in the arsenal was the only help we gave him, excepting, of course, the most important destruction of the Spanish navy. From that time the military operations and the conduct of the insurgents have been most creditable. Positions taken and the movements of troops show great ability on the part of some leader—I do not say it was necessarily Aguinaldo, but he gave the directions.

"I believe the natives to be brave (under good leadership), most tolerant of fatigue and hunger, and amenable to command and discipline, if justice and fair dealing rule. They are very temperate, as most of the natives of the East are. I have never seen a drunken one, and this with the example of our soldiers, whom

they imitate in everything else; very quiet, no loud quarrels, very good house servants and cooks.

"Their skill in trades, occupations, and professions is very great. Critics will call this imitation, but imitation of good things is not reprehensible. I refer now to the common people, and so will omit very able lawyers (one or two having ranked as the best of all nationalities in the Philippines), and the higher professions.

"As accountants, they are excellent. In the custom-house sixty (more before) were employed during my administration. Any information desired, say the amount of imports and exports of last year, kind of articles, whence obtained, and where going, duties, etc., was sought from them, and the reply was always given in writing in a neat, satisfactory manner. All the cash was received by a native—$1,020,000, from August 22 to October 21, much of this in silver—all counterfeits and filled dollars were detected at once by his skill, and only $1 was returned to us from the banks. His neighbor, who kept the record of receipts, was most systematic and able. The Spaniards depended absolutely on them for the clerical work of the office, and the same in the other departments.

"I visited three factories for the manufacture of cigars and cigarettes: First, that of H. J. Andrews & Co., where 150 to 200 natives were employed; second, the Alhambra, which had 300 in April, now 600; third, the Insular, with 2,000. The Tabacallera, largely owned in Paris, I was unable to see; it has 4,000. These working people seemed to me of the best—quiet, diligent, skillful. The same qualities were apparent in the one cotton mill of the place, where at least 200 were employed.

"As mariners, quartermasters of large boats, and managers of small ones, their skill has been proverbial over the East for years, and we had great opportunities during our three weeks in the bay of proving their ability and cleverness.

"Manila straw hats have been famous for years; also pina cloth and jusi cloth, the former made of pineapple fiber and the latter made of pineapple fiber and hemp.

"The station masters and employees of the Manila Railway compare favorably with any I have ever seen at ordinary way stations. Clean, neat, prompt, well disciplined, their superiority is largely due to excellence of the general manager, Mr. Higgins, a man of great ability. Still the quality is in the men. The three servants in his house (on the line) have all learned telegraphy by observation and mitation.

"I have also some fine samples of their embroidery.

"They are admittedly extraordinary musicians, and their orchestras and bands

have found places all over the East, playing without notes with great harmony and sweetness. It seems to be instinct, and is all instrumental, with little or no vocal talent. All these accomplishments do not argue greatness, but they do show that they are something more than ignorant and brutal savages. I do not mean to ascribe to them all the virtues—they may be liars and thieves, it is a wonder they are not worse after the environment and example of centuries—but to my mind they are the best of any barbaric or uncivilized race I have ever seen, and open, I trust, to a wonderful development."

General Whittier visited Aguinaldo at Moloros and "found his headquarters in a very nice house ten minutes' drive from the railway station" and the "president" was "dressed in a smoking jacket, low-cut waistcoat and trousers, both black, large white tie—in fact, the evening dress common at our clubs during the summer." The "president was told that General Whittier would soon leave to go to the Paris Commission, and would like to be able to present to the Commission his and his people's views and demands and what relation they expected to hold to the United States in case we decided to keep the islands.

"Aguinaldo replied, rather naively, that his people were divided into two parties—those in favor of absolute independence and those of an American protectorate; that the parties are about equal; that he is waiting to see who will have the majority, in that case to take his position. I pointed out to him that it would probably be useless to try to bring those in favor of absolute independence to any change of opinion, but they must consider that they are without any navy and without capital, which is greatly needed for the development of the country; that the Philippine government alone did not possess the element of strength to insure the retention of the islands without the assistance of other governments. They would be at the mercy of half a dozen powers striving to take either a part or the whole of the islands, and they must consider that their greatest prosperity would come by the gradual accession of power under American auspices.

"He said: 'But the civilized nations of the world would see that our possessions were not taken from us.' I replied: 'How has it been in China, where England, Russia, France, Germany, etc., all strive to control territory?' To this he could make no reply. I further asked what that side would expect America, acting the role of protector, to do. He said: 'To furnish the navy, while the Filipinos held all the country and administered civil offices with its own people.' 'And what then would America get from this?' said I. 'That would be a detail,' he said, 'which would be settled hereafter.'

"I asked how far they controlled Luzon and other islands. 'Almost entirely,'

he said. That the different bands, little by little, were expressing their desire to join him. The Igorrottos had sent in some of their leaders the day before and were acting with him. That he had had three representatives from Iloilo within a few days on the same mission.

"We pursued all this subject of a protectorate for some time without getting any nearer any satisfactory result. Mr. Higgins felt that Aguinaldo had been simply repeating a lesson, but I did not feel so sure of that. He said that he had had many Americans to interview him, most of them reporters, I fancy, and he had always told them the same thing. Thereupon I stated that this was quite a different case. 'I am ordered, as an officer of the United States Army, to proceed to Paris and give evidence on points which may be of vital interest to you.' After that his tone was different. Buen Camino returned, and Aguinaldo reported to him everything he had said to us. After a little talk between the two, Buen Camino said he, and he was sure the president, was in favor of an American protectorate, and seemed to approve the suggestion that we should have the nucleus of an army; that his people should be joined to it, filling the places of minor officers; and the possibility and the hope within a few years that they should fill the most important civil and military functions.

"Buen Camino said I could be certain that if a protectorate were granted that they would do their best to have it accepted by their people on the lines that I have stated, agreeing with me fully that to hold one island and giving the others to other powers would be most unfortunate, and not to be considered.

"They expressed pleasure at my having come to them, feeling that they had been rather neglected by the Americans.

"This I dictated hastily just after the visit, and it does not give the impression which the interview left upon me—a great desire for our protection, for the improvement of their people materially and intellectually, the wish to send their young people to America for education.

"Subsequently (October 31, the day I left Manila) he sent three officers to me with the friendliest messages, expressing the wish that I should use my best influence with the Commission in their favor.

"Many methods of government, with them as allies or subjects, are possible. I had often thought that it might be expedient at first to admit them to some of the minor offices in army and civil government, and if they show capacity, to enlarge their powers and opportunities, until finally they should have entire control, after proper compensation or an agreed subjection to us for our work and assistance to them. But, and I hope that I shall not be considered English mad in my

deference to their practice, the result of so many years of successful colonial government—I am told by a governor of one of their colonies, Sir William McGregor, when I suggested such a course, that they have never thought it safe or expedient, when they have a colony of so many (in this case millions) of blacks, and so few white men, to intrust the government to the former. If of whites, as in Australia, yes, after trial trust the government to them, with what are practically supervising, or, perhaps, honorary governors, who maintain the connection with the mother or controlling country.

"It will be admitted that England has been the only successful administrator of colonial government in the world. Holland has had a great career, but possibly things are not so well with it just now in Java and Sumatra; at any rate, it is not comparable to England."

CHAPTER IV.

RESOURCES OF THE PHILIPPINES.

Memorandum of the Mineral Resources of the Islands by Dr. Becker of the United States Geological Survey, Gathered for the American Treaty Commission—Coal, Petroleum, Gold, Copper, Lead, Silver, Iron, Quicksilver, Sulphur, Marble, Kolin, Pearl Fisheries—Strategic Importance—Cebu and Negros Islands—Naval Stations—Harbors.

REPORT OF DR. GEORGE F. BECKER, OF THE UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY, ON THE GEOLOGY AND MINERAL RESOURCES OF THE PHILIPPINES.

Department of State,
Washington, D. C., November 4, 1898.

Sir: I have the honor to inclose, for the information of the Commission, copy of a letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a copy of a preliminary report made by Dr. George F. Becker, of the United States Geological Survey, in regard to the geological and mineral resources of the Philippine Islands.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN HAY.

HON. WILLIAM R. DAY,
Chairman of the United States Peace Commission, Paris, France.
(Inclosure: From Interior Department, October 29, 1898, with inclosure.)

Department of the Interior,
Washington, October 29, 1898.

Sir: In May, 1898, by arrangement between the honorable the Secretary of War with this Department, Dr. George F. Becker, geologist, of the United States Geological Survey, accompanied the military expedition to the Philippine Islands, for the purpose of procuring information touching the geological and mineral resources of said islands.

Dr. Becker has made a preliminary report on the subject, a copy of which, together with a copy of a letter from the director of the Geological Survey, submitting the same for my consideration, are herewith transmitted for your information.

Very respectfully, C. N. BLISS, Secretary.

The Honorable the Secretary of State.

MEMORANDUM ON THE MINERAL RESOURCES OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

By GEORGE F. BECKER, United States Geological Survey.

This brief memorandum, prepared at the request of Admiral Dewey, probably covers all the main discoveries in the geology of the Philippines which are of economic interest. It is drawn up from data recorded in the Spanish Mining Bureau (Inspeccion de Minas), but not published, manuscript mine reports by the late William Ashburner, verbal information obtained in Manila, and from various technical publications, of Semper, Santos, Roth, Drasche, Abella, and others.

Only about a score of the islands are known to contain deposits of valuable minerals. These are arranged below in the order of their latitude to give an idea of their geographical distribution, and to facilitate finding the islands on the map. The latitude of the northern end of each is taken as that of the island. The character of the valuable minerals stated in the table will afford a general notion of their resources.

MINERAL-BEARING ISLANDS AND THEIR RESOURCES.

Island.	Lat. N. end.	Character of mineral resources.
Luzon	18° 40′	Coal, gold, copper, lead, iron, sulphur, marble, kaolin.
Catanduanes	14 8	Gold.
Marinduque	13 34	Lead, silver.
Mindoro	13 32	Coal, gold, copper.
Carraray	13 21	Coal.
Batan	13 19	Do.
Rapu Rapu	13 15	Do.
Masbate	12 37	Coal, copper.
Romblon	12 37	Marble.
Samar	12 36	Coal, gold.
Sibuyan	12 30	Gold.
Semerara	12 7	Coal.
Panay	11 56	Coal, oil, gas, gold, copper, iron, mercury (?).
Bilikan	11 43	Sulphur.
Leyte	11 35	Coal, oil, mercury (?).
Cebu	11 17	Coal, oil, gas, gold, lead, silver, iron.
Negros	11 ..	Coal.
Bohol	10 10	Gold.
Panaon	10 10	Do.
Mindanao	9 50	Coal, gold, copper, platinum.
Sulu Archipelago	6 30	Pearls.

The distribution of each mineral or metal may now be sketched in somewhat greater detail. In many cases the information given in this abstract is exhaustive,

so far as the available material is concerned. The coal fields of Cebu, however, have been studied in some detail by Mr. Abella, and in a few other instances more extended information has been condensed for the present purpose.

COAL.

So far as is definitely known, the coal of the Philippine Islands is all of Tertiary age, and might be better characterized as a highly carbonized lignite. It is analogous to the Japanese coal and to that of Washington, but not to the Welsh or Pennsylvania coals. Such lignites usually contain considerable combined water (8 to 18 per cent) and bear transportation ill. They are also apt to contain much sulphur, as iron pyrite, rendering them subject to spontaneous combustion and injurious to boiler plates. Nevertheless, when pyritous seams are avoided and the lignite is properly handled, it forms a valuable fuel, especially for local consumption. In these islands it would appear that the native coal might supplant English or Australian coal for most purposes. Lignite is widely distributed in the archipelago; some of the seams are of excellent width, and the quality of certain of them is high for fuel in this class.

Coal exists in various provinces of the Island of Luzon (Abra, Camarinos, Batan, Sorsogon). The finest beds thus far discovered appear to be in the small Island of Batan, lying to the east of the southern portion of Luzon, in latitude 13° 19′. These seams vary from 2 feet 6 inches to 14 feet 8 inches in thickness. Analyses have been made in the laboratory of the Inspeccion de Minas, and the mean of seven analyses gives the following composition:

	Per cent.
Water	13.52
Volatile matter	37.46
Fixed Carbon	44.46
Ash	4.56
Sum	100.00

One pound of this coal will convert 6.25 pounds of water at 40° C. into steam at 100° C. The heating effect is about three-fourths of that of Cardiff coal. The same beds are known to exist in other small adjacent islands, Carraray and Rapu Rapu. A number of concessions for coal mining have also been granted on the main island of Luzon, just south of Batan, at the town of Bacon. No doubt the beds here are either identical or, at least, closely associated with the coal seams in the little islands.

The coal field of southern Luzon is said to extend across the Strait of San Ber-

nardino into the northern portion of Samar. Here coal is reported at half a dozen localities, but I have been able to ascertain no details as to the thickness or quality.

In Mindoro there are large deposits of coal in the extreme southern portion (Bulacao) and on the small adjacent islands of Semarara. This fuel is said to be similar to that of Batan.

The islands of Masbate and Panay contain coal, the deposits of which thus far discovered do not seem of much importance. Specimens from the southwestern portion of Leyte, analyzed in the laboratory of the Inspeccion de Minas, are of remarkably high quality, but nothing definite about the deposit is known to me.

The first discovery of coal in the archipelago was made in the island of Cebu in 1827. Since then lignitic beds have been found on the island at a great variety of points. The most important croppings are on the eastern slope, within some fifteen or twenty miles of the capital, also named Cebu. Though a considerable amount of coal has been extracted here the industry has not been a profitable one hitherto. This is at least in part due to crude methods of transportation. It is said, however, that the seams are often badly faulted.

At Uling, about ten miles west of the capital, the seams reach a maximum thickness of fifteen and one-half feet. Ten analyses of Cebu coal are at my disposal. They indicate a fuel with about two-thirds the calorific effect of Cardiff coal and with only about 4 per cent ash. Large quantities of the coal might, I suspect, contain a higher percentage of ash.

The Island of Negros is nearly parallel with Cebu and appears to be of similar geological constitution, but it has been little explored and little of it seems to have been reduced to subjection by the Spaniards. There are known to be deposits of coal at Calatrara, on the east coast of Negros, and it is believed that they are of important extent. In the great island of Mindanao coal is known to occur at eight different localities, but no detailed examinations of any kind appear to have been made. Seven of these localities are on the east coast of Mindanao and the adjacent small islands. They indicate the presence of lignite from one end of the coast to the other. The eighth locality is in the western province called Zamboanga, on the gulf of Sigbuguey.

PETROLEUM.

In the Island of Cebu petroleum has been found associated with coal at Toledo on the west coast, where a concession has been granted. It is also reported from Asturias, to the northwest of Toledo, on the same coast, and from Algeria to the

south. Natural gas is said to exist in the Cebu coal fields. On Panay, too, oil is reported at Janiuay, in the province of Iloilo, and gas is reported from the same island. Petroleum highly charged with paraffin is also found on Leyte, at a point about four miles from Villaba, a town on the west coast.

GOLD.

Gold is found in a vast number of localities in the archipelago from northern Luzon to central Mindanao. In most cases the gold is detrital, and found either in existing water courses or in stream deposits now deserted by the current. These last are called "aluviones" by the Spaniards. It is said that in Mindanao some of the gravels are in an elevated position, and adapted to hydraulic mining. There are no data at hand which intimate decisively the value of any of the placers. They are washed by natives largely with cocoanut shells for pans, though the batea is also in use.

In the Province of Abra, at the northern end of Luzon, there are placers, and the gravel of the River Abra is auriferous. In Lapanto there are gold-quartz veins as well as gravels. Gold is obtained in this Province close to the copper mines. In Benguet the gravels of the River Agno carry gold. There is also gold in the Province of Bontoc and in Nueva Ecija. The most important of the auriferous Provinces is Camarines Norte. Here the townships of Mambulao, Paracale, and Labo are especially well known as gold-producing localities. Mr. Drasche, a well-known German geologist, says that there were 700 natives at work on the rich quartz veins of this place at the time of his visit about twenty-five years since. At Paracale there are parallel quartz veins in granite, one of which is twenty feet in width and contains a chute in which the ore is said to assay thirty-eight ounces of gold per ton. One may suspect that this assay hardly represented an average sample. Besides the localities mentioned, many others of this province have been worked by the natives.

The islands of Mindoro, Catanduanes, Sibuyan, Simar, Panay, Cebu, and Bohol are reported to contain gold, but no exact data are accessible.

At the south end of the small island of Panaon, which is just to the south of Leyte, there are gold quartz veins, one of which has been worked to some extent. It is six feet in thickness, and has yielded from $6 to $7 per ton.

In the Island of Mindanao there are two known gold-bearing districts. One of these is in the Province of Surigao, where Placer and other townships show gravels and veins. The second district is in the Province of Misamis. Near the settlement of Imponan and on the Gulf of Macajalar, there are said to be many

square kilometers of gravel carrying large quantities of gold with which is associated platinum. The product of this district was estimated some years since at 150 ounces per month, all extracted by natives with bateas or cocoanut-shell dishes.

COPPER.

Copper ores are reported from a great number of localities in the Philippines. They are said to occur in the following islands: Luzon (provinces of Lepanto, Benguet, and Camarines), Mindoro, Capul,* Masbete, Panay (province of Antique), and Mindanao (province of Surigao). Many of these occurrences are probably unimportant. The great Island of Mindanao, being practically unexplored, is full of possibilities; but as yet no important copper deposit is known to exist there. An attempt was made to work the deposit in Masbete, but no success seems to have been obtained. On the other hand, northern Luzon contains a copper region which is unquestionably valuable. The best known portion of this region lies about Mount Data, a peak given as 2,500 meters in height, lying in latitude 16° 53′, longitude 120° 58′ east of Greenwich or 124° 38′ east of Madrid. The range of which data forms one peak trends due north to Cape Lacay-Lacay and forms a boundary for all the provinces infringing upon it.

Data itself lies in the Province of Lepanto. In this range copper ore has been smelted by the natives from time immemorial, and before Magellan discovered the Philippines. The process is a complicated one, based on the same principles as the method of smelting sulpho-salts of this metal in Europe and America. It consists in alternate partial roasting and reductions to "matte," and eventually to block copper. It is generally believed that this process must have been introduced from China or Japan. It is practiced only by one peculiar tribe of natives, the Igorrotes, who are remarkable in many ways.

Vague reports and the routes by which copper smelted by natives comes to market indicate that there are copper mines in various portions of the Cordillera Central, but the only deposits which have been examined with any care are those at Mancanyan (about five miles west of Mount Data) and two or three other localities within a few miles of Mancanyan. The deposits of Mancanyan are described as veins of rich ore reaching seven meters in width and arranged in groups. Mean assays are said to show over 16 per cent of copper, mainly as tetrahedrite and allied ores. The gangue is quartz. The country rock is described as a large quartzite lens embedded in a great mass of trachyte. An attempt has been made

* I am unable to find this island, which probably is a very small one.

by white men to work these deposits, but with no considerable success. The failure does not seem to have been due to the quality or quantity of ore found.

LEAD AND SILVER.

A lead mine has been partially developed near the town of Cebu, on the island of the same name.

The most important deposit of argentiferous galena is said to be at Torrijos, on the small island of Marinduque (latitude 13° 34′). A metric ton, or 1,000 kilograms, is said to contain 96 grams of silver, 6 grams gold, and 565.5 kilograms of lead.

In Camarines, a province of Luzon, lead ores occur, but are worked only for the gold they contain.

IRON.

There is iron ore in abundance in Luzon, Carabello, Cebu, Panay, and doubtless in other islands. In Luzon it is found in the provinces of Laguna, Pampanga, and Camarines Norte, but principally in Bulacan. The finest deposits are in the last-named province, near a small settlement named Camachin, which lies in latitude 15° 7′ and longitude 124° 47′ east of Madrid. A small industry exists here, wrought iron being produced in a sort of bloomery and manufactured into plowshares. The process has been described in detail, so far as I know. It would appear that charcoal pig iron might be produced to some advantage in this region. The lignites of the archipelago are probably unsuitable for iron blast furnaces.

QUICKSILVER.

Rumors of the occurrence of this metal in Panay and Leyte have failed of verification. Accidental losses of this metal by prospectors or surveyors sometimes lead to the reports of the discovery of deposits, and ochers are not seldom mistaken for impure cinnabar.

NON-METALLIC SUBSTANCES.

Sulphur deposits abound about active and extinct volcanoes in the Philippines. In Luzon the principal sulphur deposits are in Daclan, in the Province of Benguet, and at Colasi, in Camarines. The finest deposit in the archipelago is said to be on the little Island of Biliran, which lies to the northwest of Leyte.

Marble of fine quality occurs on the small Island of Romblon (latitude 12° 37′). It is much employed in churches in Manila for baptismal fonts and other purposes.

Marbles are also quarried at Montalban in the Province of Manila, and at Binangonan in the Province of Marong.

There are processions for mining kaolin at Losbanos in Laguna Province.

Pearl fisheries exist in the Sulu archipelago and are said to form an important source of wealth.

Manila, September 15, 1898.

DATA CONCERNING THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS: THEIR HISTORY, PEOPLE, GEOGRAPHY, GEOLOGY, RESOURCES, AND STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE.

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES ON THE STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF THE PHILIPPINES.

By Ensign EVERETT HAYDEN, United States Navy.

The data herewith, selected as carefully as possible in the short time at my disposal, consist for the most part of quotations from authoritative sources, giving an outline history of the islands, their geology, geography, people, and resources. There is included also a copy of a special memorandum of information prepared for the President, by direction of the Secretary of the Navy, on the islands of Cebu and Negros, their mineral and other resources and availability as naval stations, and a compilation of data regarding coal and petroleum in the Philippines and vicinity, a subject of the greatest importance in connection with the present value and disposition as well as the future development of the islands.

Jagor, the well-known German authority, made the following striking prediction in the concluding words of his work on the Philippines, published in 1573:

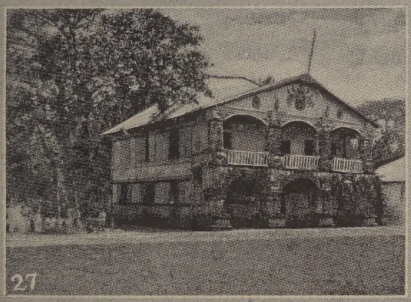
"In proportion as the navigation of the west coast of America extends the influence of the American element over the South Sea, the captivating, magic power which the great Republic exercises over the Spanish colonies will not fail to make itself felt also in the Philippines. The Americans are evidently destined to bring to a full development the germs originated by the Spaniards. As conquerors of modern times, they pursue their road to victory with the assistance of the pioneer's ax and plow, representing an age of peace and commercial prosperity in contrast of that by-gone and chivalrous age whose champions were upheld by the cross and protected by the sword. A considerable portion of Spanish America already belongs to the United States, and has since attained an importance which

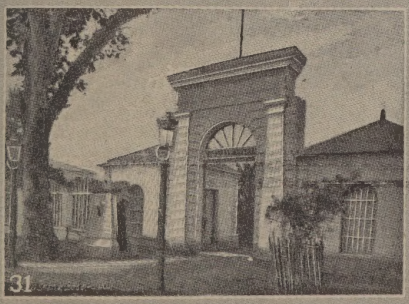
could not possibly have been anticipated either under the Spanish Government or during the anarchy which followed. With regard to permanence, the Spanish system can not for a moment be compared with that of America. While each of the colonies, in order to favor a privileged class by immediate gains, exhausted still more the already enfeebled population of the metropolis by the withdrawal of the best of its ability, America, on the contrary, has attracted to itself from all countries the most energetic element, which, once on its soil and freed from all fetters, restlessly progressing, has extended its power and influence still further and further."

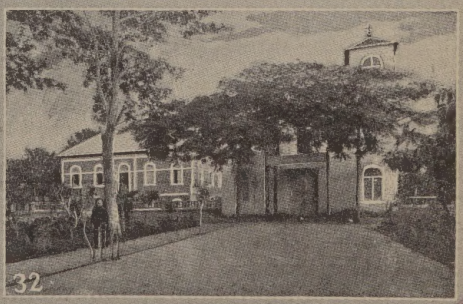
The actual present resources of the islands are well indicated in the accompanying papers, and in considering their future, under the control of one or more governments that develop and foster, rather than conceal and suppress, natural resources and native talent, we must bear in mind the probable vast increase in production, population, and commerce, accompanied by the introduction of modern methods and all the established improvements in transportation, communication, and sanitation. The commercial future of the islands, under such new conditions, will be a revelation to the world, and their strategic position and features must become of supreme importance in this great future field of commercial and naval rivalry.

It has been pointed out by a recent writer that the opening of the Suez Canal brought untold misery upon the comparatively happy and industrious Malays in the Philippines, inasmuch as it resulted in the establishment of a Spanish line of steamers, bringing bureaucratic administration in place of the old paternal regime and awakening into renewed life and activity the dormant curse of Spanish civil and military rule. It seems safe to predict, however, that with the opening of the Nicaragua Canal, which will put 500 miles of the Sulu Sea, from Surigao to Balabac, on the direct great-circle route of equatorial steam navigation around the earth, the dawn of a new and glorious era of prosperity will succeed the long night of nearly four centuries of Spanish domination.

The Philippines are very nearly as large in area as the British Isles; they are larger than New Zealand, and as large as Italy, with her own Sicily and Sardinia and French Corsica and British Malta added. Indeed, the eastern archipelago may be roughly compared to beautiful, fertile, volcanic Italy, only more so. Imagine the plains and hills of northern Italy rent from the snowy Alps by some volcanic cataclysm to form a big island like Luzon, with Genoa for Manila; southern Italy shattered into a score of islands, large and small, Masbate, Samar and Leyte,







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25. Wives of Chief Datto Pian of Jolo. 26. House of Chief Datto Pian of Jolo. 27. Barracks of the Civil Guard in La Ermita, Manila. 28. View of Chief Datto Pian's Wagebon Ranche in Jolo. 29. Church of the Conception in Jolo. 30. The Weisic Barracks, Manila. 31. Entrance to the Military Hospital, Manila. 32. Front View of the Church of the Conception, Jolo.

VIEWS FROM THE PHILIPPINES.

RIFT IN THE JUNGLES THAT LINE THE COAST OF THE PHILIPPINES.

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ROADWAY IN BOTANICAL GARDENS, MANILA.

Negros and Sebu, Panay, Bohol; Sicily enlarged to thrice its size, like Mindanao, joined by a line of islets and reefs to the projecting cape of Tunis, as the Sulu Islands join that island to northeast Borneo; call Corsica Mindoro; elongate Sardinia to almost reach the African mainland, as Palawan does the northern point of Borneo. The inclosed Tyrrhenian Sea will then correspond to the Sulu Sea, the Mediterranean of the far East, through which commerce from the Pacific must pass on the direct route to Singapore, as it does here from Suez to Gibraltar; to the northward, the distant mainland (Austria, France, and Spain) will correspond to China, Tongking, and Siam; to the southward (Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis, and Morocco), to New Guinea, Celebes, Borneo, and Sumatra; and the strategic importance of the archipelago, in peace or war, is clearly manifest.

This great inland sea, the Sulu or Mindoro Sea, if once well charted, its channels lighted and buoyed, its Malay pirates suppressed, its fertile islands cultivated and their mineral wealth explored, must become the scene of an enormous commerce, composed not merely of the vessels of a local coasting trade, but the seagoing ships and steamers of every nation engaged in the Asiatic, East Indian, and Australasian trade. The completion of the Nicaragua Canal may result in the establishment of an equatorial steamship line whose vessels will circumnavigate the globe on schedule trips in eighty days, and the great-circle route from Brito, Nicaragua, to Singapore, via Honolulu and Guam Island, passes diagonally through 500 miles of the Sulu Sea, from Surigao Strait to Balabac.

Similarly, the shortest route from Hongkong to all Australian and New Zealand ports, from Tongking to New Caledonia, from the Yellow Sea to eastern Java, Celebes, and west Australia, and from the entire North Pacific Ocean to the Straits of Sunda and Singapore, is by way of the channels of the Philippine archipelago and its great inland sea.

Strategically the Philippines are admirably located for commercial and naval operation, in peace or in war, but every consideration of offensive or defensive war, as well as the preservation of peace, seems to me to require that the entire group shall be the property of a single power; indeed, it were far better for that power to own also what is now British North Borneo, bounding the Sulu Sea to the southward. One might think, from a casual glance at a map, that the defense of this great inland sea, with its intricate channels and numerous islands, exits, and entrances, would be difficult if not impossible. A closer examination of a chart, however, shows but seven clear channels, four on the east (San Bernardino, Surigao, Basilan, and Sibutu) and three on the west (Verde, Mindoro, and Balabac). Good harbors, timber, iron, and coal are prolific, even now when the ultimate

resources of the islands are not even estimated; hemp, the best in the world, is the product par excellence of this region. In fact, the entire material of modern naval warfare is at hand, awaiting only the personnel to utilize it. Coal, the very life of modern commerce and naval war, is abundant in many islands of the group and may occur in all. The ownership of such resources, so near at hand, by a commercial rival and possible enemy, and the establishment close by of naval coaling stations and dock yards, would not tend toward the preservation of peace or the successful finish of a prospective war.

It is not, probably, either desirable or necessary to go into details here regarding the strategic value of the various islands, harbors, and channels, better shown on charts than in type, nor to discuss the relative value of each. In fact, as stated above, all are so intimately related that it is practically impossible to disassociate them in any scheme of offense or defense.

It will be better for the welfare of the native inhabitants, for the commercial interests of all nations, and for the peace of the world if the control of the entire group of the Philippine Islands remains permanently in the hands of the United States. The more one studies the subject, in the light of past history and the certainty of a vast future expansion of our trade with China and Australasia, the more convinced does he become that sovereignty over the entire group, from the little islands north of Luzon to the farthest coral reefs that stretch toward the equator from Palawan and the Sulu Islands, is essential to our future potential energy in the far East.

Even the wild and unexplored Palawan, which forms a natural breakwater for 300 miles against the sweep of the southwest monsoon, is capable, if occupied, developed, and fortified during long years of peace, of becoming a formidable base of operations in time of war. The importance of Manila is due largely to its being for centuries the capital of the archipelago and the reservoir of its productions and supplies. Divide the group and you cut off streams of wealth that help fill the reservoir. With a rival established at Tacloban, Iloilo, Sebu, or even Ulugan, the enormous resources of the Visayas and Mindanao might, and probably would, be diverted to build up a metropolis that would surpass Manila in wealth and importance. Strategically the Philippines seem, like our Union, to be "one and inseparable."

SEBU AND NEGROS ISLANDS, PHILIPPINES: THEIR MINERAL AND OTHER RESOURCES AND AVAILABILITY AS NAVAL STATIONS.

1. The inclosed data have been prepared for the President in compliance with the order of the Secretary of the Navy dated August 8, 1898.

2. The information has been compiled in this office, from records on file here, together with quotations and abstracts of information taken from books in the library of the Navy Department and the United States Geological Survey. In the latter library a large collection of books on this general subject has been made, and a catalogue of publications relating to the Philippines.

3. The data herewith consist of an outline map of the Philippines, upon which the principal coal-bearing islands, so far as known, have been shaded in green, and quotations and abstracts from various publications relating to the two islands under consideration, including extracts from recent consular reports published by the State Department,† and cablegram from our naval attaché in Paris.

4. Negros and Sebu are about the center of the Philippine group, forming part of what are called the Bisayas or Visayas Islands. Negros comprises about 5,000 square miles, and Sebu about half as many. They are long, in a north-south direction, and narrow, and separated by the Strait of Tañan. A volcanic mountain ridge stretches the whole length of each island, rising to a height of about 9,000 feet in the north of Negros. The flanks of the ridges and the low lands near the coasts are covered with luxuriant tropical vegetation.

5. The principal coal deposits thus far developed occur in these two islands and in Masbate and Batan,‡ farther north. The coal, while inferior in quality, makes a good steaming coal when mixed with anthracite or Cardiff coal, and doubtless, when the mines are developed, will prove very valuable for naval and commercial uses.

6. The geological formation of the entire group seems to be like Borneo to the southward and Formosa to the northward, the carboniferous beds being broken through by volcanic peaks, their exposed edges upturned along the flanks of these peaks and partly covered by lava flows, etc., thence dipping under the limestone and coral beds near the sea. There seems to be no reason to doubt that the coal-bearing beds may be found upon any and all of the islands of the entire Philippine group, connecting the already developed mines of Borneo with those of Formosa. All the islands give strong indications of other mineral wealth, such as gold, copper, iron, lead, and precious stones. Their development hitherto has been haphazard and unscientific, but the results achieved are very promising.

7. With regard to the availability of Negros and Sebu for naval stations, the port of Sebu, one of the oldest in the Philippines, is small, but easily defended,

† Omitted here.

‡ A little island southeast of Luzon, lat. 13° 15′ N., long. 124° 05′ E.

and might make a useful naval and coaling station, not equal, in any way, however, to Iloilo, Manila, or Subig Bay, excepting for its nearness to known coal deposits. It should be noted that these islands in the central portion of the group can only be reached through narrow straits with intricate navigation, and if light-houses and other aids to navigation in these straits were in the hands of another power than that owning these two islands, they would be more or less inaccessible, especially in time of war.

8. The value of Negros and Sebu as naval stations for this country would be greatly lessened if various other nations established stations in other islands of the Philippine group. As coal is likely to occur in any of the islands, the tendency to establish such stations would apparently be very great, in addition to the agricultural and mineral wealth of the region.

EVERETT HAYDEN,
Acting Chief Intelligence Officer.

Office of Naval Intelligence,
Navy Department, August 9, 1898.

[Coal Trade Journal, May 1, 1895, p. 349.]

Coal Mining in the Philippine Islands.—The coal deposits in the Island of Sebu are now being extensively developed. They are receiving the support of the Government, in that they are giving preference to native over foreign coal.

[Hongkong, 1895, Chronicle and Directory for China, Japan, etc.]

This is the capital of the Island of Sebu, and ranks next to Iloilo among the ports of the Philippines. It was at one time the seat of the administration of revenue for the whole of the Visayas, but this was removed to Manila in 1840. Sebu is a well-built town and possesses fine roads, but the people are devoid of commercial enterprise. The trade of Sebu consists principally of hemp and sugar. The neighboring islands of Leyte, Mindanao, and Camiguin possess extensive hemp plantations, a large proportion of the produce of which finds its way to Sebu for shipment. There are some very valuable and extensive coal deposits in the Island of Sebu, but the mines have not as yet been worked with any enterprise. The trade in 1892 is represented by the following figures: Imports, $165,881; exports, $2,448,433, as compared with $263,695 and $3,638,039, respectively, in 1891. The principal exports of 1893 were: Sugar 17,246,442 kilograms, and hemp, 23,299,015 kilograms.

[Stanford's Compendium of Geography, Vol. II, p. 81-82.]

Sebu, or Cebu, is a long and narrow island, lying immediately to the east of Negros, from which it is separated by a strait from five to fifteen miles wide and over 100 miles in length. Sebu is 130 miles long and not more than twenty miles broad in its widest part and contains 2,275 square miles, or rather less than half the area of Negros. Several chains of mountains of no great height traverse it from north to south, but little is known of its geology except that it produces gold, silver, and lead, and has no active volcanoes. Coal occurs abundantly, and is of fairly good quality; but the complete neglect of all mineral wealth by the Spaniards is exhibited here as elsewhere. The inhabitants are almost exclusively Biscayans, but there are said to be a few Negritos. The population has greatly increased of late years, owing to the great development of the sugar and abaca cultivation, and now numbers 518,000, but locusts and low prices have recently dealt as heavy a blow to Sebu as to Panay. In all these islands sugar growing will probably give place to hemp or some more paying crop. In 1890 only 3,000 tons were exported, as against 11,000 tons in 1889, and while in the latter year thirty-four vessels—almost all of which were British—entered the port, the number in 1890 only amounted to fourteen.

The capital, Sebu, dignified by the title of city, is the oldest settlement in the Philippines, and was the seat of government until the founding of Manila. It was the first place of any importance visited by Magellan on his discovery of the group, and it was upon the little island of Mactan, which forms the harbor of Cebu, that he met with his death on the 27th of April, 1521. Fifty years later Legaspi planned and built the city. It is picturesquely situated and has a fine cathedral and several churches, but the population is not large. The island forms a province of itself, under the administration of a military governor.

[Hongkong, 1895, Chronicle and Directory for China, Japan, etc.]

The Island of Negros is extremely fertile and contributes three-fourths of the sugar shipped from Iloilo, the quality of which is excellent.

[Stanford's Compendium of Geography, Volume II, p. 80.]

Negros lies to the southeast of Panay, from which it is separated by a strait about fifteen miles in width. It is 130 miles long and on the average about thirty miles wide. Its area is 4,650 square miles. Its coast is comparatively little broken by bays or inlets, and it has no good harbors. A central chain of mountains runs through its entire length. For the most part these are of

no height, but the Malaspina or Chalcon volcano, situated towards the northern end, forms an exception. Its height is estimated at 8,192 feet, and it is in a state of intermittent activity. Owing to the narrowness of the island, there are no navigable rivers. The inhabitants are chiefly Biscayans, and number with the Negritos, from whose abundance the island received its name, about 226,000.

The island is fertile, and produces sugar, rice, tobacco, and the textile abaca and pina, and in common with Sebu and Samar a large amount of cocoa. Its coal mines appear to be no longer worked. The capital is Bacoled, on the west coast opposite to Iloilo, where the "politico-military" governor resides, and there are numerous large villages around the coast, though few in the interior. Hinigaran, the former capital, contains over 12,000 inhabitants.

[Stanford's Compendium of Geography, Volume II, p. 34.]

Lead occurs in Sebu, and iron ores are very abundant in Luzon and Mindanao. That there are extensive coal measures in the archipelago there is little doubt, but they have been little exploited, and coal forms one of the largest imports of the group. The Compostela mine only turned out 700 tons in 1881. As yet no deep shafts have been driven, and what has been obtained affords very rapid combustion, and is not well suited for steamers. Sebu and Negros are especially rich in this product. Since the archipelago lies midway between the great coal beds of northern Borneo and Formosa, it is probable that the mineral will in future be worked to great advantage.

[British Admiralty, Eastern Archipelago, Part I, Eastern Part, 1890.]

Negros Island.—So called from the number of Negritos or Actas found on it by the Spaniards; is about 118 miles long, and, though larger than Sebu Island, is neither so rich nor so populous. Its coast is very little broken by bays or inlets, and does not contain any good harbor. A central chain of mountains runs through it from north to south, which attains its greatest height toward the latter point. The rivers are but small, and unfit for the navigation of vessels of burden.

The island produces the best cocoa in the Bisayas, besides rice, maize, sugar, tobacco, cotton, and abaca (a variety of the banana plant from which Manila hemp is obtained).

Note.—The Encyclopædia Britannica says the population in 1887 was 175,000.

[From same publication as above.]

Sebu Island.—Sebu is an island of some importance and interest, as its port

has been thrown open to foreign commerce. It is long and narrow, 114 miles in length, with a greatest width of eighteen miles in the northern part. A chain of mountains traverses the island through its entire length, containing beds of mineral coal, and, it is stated, veins of gold. The rivers are numerous but small, and generally unfit for either navigation or irrigation. With the exception of a few fine valleys, cultivation is confined mainly to the seaboard. The population of the island is estimated at 38,000 souls. The chief exports are sugar, oil, hemp, tobacco, coffee, and pina silk. The chief imports are European goods, coal, and rice.

[Note.—The Encyclopædia Britannica says the population in 1867 was 452,000. Reclus gives it as 518,000.—E. H.]

[By Sir John Bowring, London, 1859.]

Speaking of minerals, it is stated that gold is found in many of the islands—"the mountains of Caraga and Zebu are the most productive. Many Indian families support themselves by washing the river sands. In the time of heavy rains gold is found in the streets of some of the pueblos when the floods have passed." Iron is also found in various islands. "A coal mine is being explored in Guila Guila, in the Island of Zebu, on the River Manango, at a distance of about six miles from the town of San Nicholas, which has nearly 20,000 inhabitants, and is by far the largest town in the island. There are reported to be strata of coal from one to four feet in thickness." Various copper mines have been worked from time immemorial, and favorable reports sent to Europe.

[From the American Naturalist, September, 1886.—By J. B. Steere.]

The south end of Negros has appeared, as we passed around it, a great stretch of grassy plains and hills, now dry and yellow, and burned over in some places. The mountains approach nearer at Dumaquete, and we could see forests on their heights. They were volcanic, and what we judged to be ancient lava streams extended down from a height of two or three thousand feet to near sea level, and with such an even grade that they looked like gigantic railroad embankments. * * * We found it (a variety of plant known as abaca, a so-called mineral hemp) growing luxuriously at a height of 3,000 feet, while those varieties used for food thrived best near sea level and in the greatest heat. * * * Deer and wild hogs were abundant.

[From Travels in the Philippines.—By F. Jagor, London, 1875.]

"Sebu, with a population of 34,000, is the chief town of the island of the

same name, the seat of government and of the bishop of the Biscayans, and within forty-eight miles† of Manila by steamer. It is as favorably situated with regard to the eastern portion of the Bisayan group as Iloilo is in the western, and is acquiring increased importance as the emporium for its products." Among products mentioned are sugar, tobacco, rice, coffee, wax, Spanish cane, and mother-of-pearl. "The Island of Sebu extends over seventy-five square miles.† A lofty mountain range traverses it from north to south, dividing the east from the west side, and its population is estimated at 340,000—4,533 to the square mile.† The inhabitants are peaceable and docile; thefts occur very seldom, and robberies never. Their occupations are agriculture, fishing, and weaving for home consumption. Sebu produces sugar, tobacco, maize, rice, etc., and, in the mountains, potatoes; but the rice produced does not suffice for their requirements, there being only a little level land, and the deficiency is imported from Panay. The island possesses considerable beds of coal the full yield of which may now be looked for, as the duty on exports was abandoned by decree of the 5th of May, 1869.

According to the Mineral Review, Madrid, 1866, the coal in Sebu is dry, pure, almost free of sulphur pyrites, burns easily and with a strong flame. The coal of Sebu is acknowledged to be better than that of Australia and Labuan, but has not sufficient heating power to be used unmixed with other coal on long sea voyages. According to the catalogue of the products of the Philippines (Manila, 1866), the coal strata of Sebu have, at many places in the mountain range, which runs from north to south across the whole of the island, approached a thickness of two miles. The coal is of middling quality, and is burned in the Government steam works after being mixed with Cardiff. Average price, Sebu, $6 per ton.

[From Oceanica.—By Elisée Reclus, New York, 1890.]

The whole surface of the Philippines is essentially mountainous, the only plains that occur being the alluvial districts at the river mouths and the spaces left at the intersection of the ranges. Most of the surface appears to be formed of old rocks, especially schists, and, in the north of Luzon, granites. Extensive coal fields are found in the central islands, especially Cebu and Negros, and in many places these carboniferous beds seem to have been buried under more recent lavas. Later limestones have also been developed by the coral builders round all the seaboard, and there is clear evidence that along extensive stretches

† Evidently German miles, of which 1 (linear)=4¾ statute.

of the coast line these formations have been upheaved to a considerable height above sea level. They form at some points broad horizontal tables round the headlands, and here are found shells and other marine remains belonging to the same species still living in the surrounding waters. But about the Gulf of Davao, in South Mindanao, the contrary movement of subsidence has taken place, as shown by the dead or dying forests invaded by the sea.

The Philippines abound in minerals. The natives collect gold in the alluvia of all the islands, but especially in the Province of Benguet, central Luzon, and about the northeast point of Surigao, in Mindanao. Copper is common in the Lepanto hills, bordering on the same central district of Luzon, where from time immemorial the natives have extracted the ore and wrought it into implements and ornaments. The blacksmiths also have at hand an excellent iron ore for their arms and instruments. Cebu is said to contain lead glance yielding nearly half of its weight in pure metal, while the solfataras of many extinct volcanoes have formed inexhaustible deposits of sulphur.

[Extracts from Letters of German Captains. XV, Hansa, Vol. 21, 1884, p. 147.]

The harbor of Zebu, capital of the Philippine island of the same name, is formed by a very narrow arm of the sea separating the Island of Macton from that of Zebu. It has a northern and a southern entrance, both very small and narrow, especially the northern one, where it is quite impossible to pass by a vessel of over 200 or 300 tons. On the other hand, there would be no difficulty in passing even a larger ship in the southern entrance.

There are for both entrances regularly appointed government pilots, who are supposed to be stationed in the northeast monsoon, near the light-house at the northern entrance, and in the southwest monsoon, near the beacons Norma and Lipata, at the southern entrance. When I came from Manila and passed the light-house at the northern entrance about 4:30 o'clock P. M., there was no pilot in sight (perhaps because it was Sunday), but as I had a good Spanish chart, and as the channel moreover is well indicated by buoys on both sides, I went on and got a pilot shortly before dark not far from the old tower Mandaui. This is the narrowest place of the channel, hardly wide enough for a larger ship lying at anchor to swing around. Although we now had the current against us, a light land breeze took us to a safe anchoring place. In the northeast monsoon the anchoring place southwest of the fort is in sixteen to twenty meters depth. Ships are moored with chains of about sixty meters each. There is a regular ebb and flood tide, but high and low water never coincide with the change of the current.

Besides, there seem to be, at the anchoring places of the larger ships, several counter-currents (eddies), for the ships lie very uneasy, rolling from side to side, and hardly have the chains been made clear during the day when there is another half turn or round turn found in them in the morning.

The best plan is, in case there is already a round turn in the chain, to make the two chains fast together, and then to give plenty of play to one chain. How great the strain is on a taut chain when the ship swings is shown by the fact that from our starboard chain, which was pretty taut, a link two inches thick was twisted loose and broken. If the chains had not been fastened together we should have lost anchor and chain. There are three wharves here, but only one of them, the one farthest east, is sometimes used by steamers and by sailing vessels arriving with cargoes of rice and salt. For use by them there are two iron mooring-buoys south of the wharf (bridge). * * *

Hard wood is good and cheap. Calking work can be done by the natives; forging, if not too expensive, by Chinese or natives.

Fresh water, I am told, is paid for at the rate of $1 per barrel. We got all of our drinking water ourselves, partly from the well near the fort, partly from that near St. Nicholas Church; the latter water is the better of the two. * * * —A. L.

[Copy of cablegram received August 5, 1898, from naval attaché at Paris.]

Have received reliable information that the commander-in-chief (of) the German squadron in China recently forwarded to Berlin, Germany, extensive report (of the) German engineer on mineral resources of the Philippine Islands, particularly coal deposits, all of which described containing considerable sulphur, excepting one deposit which, being free from sulphur, is necessary to the development of the mineral resource. I can not give name of the island containing this deposit.

Note.—A later telegram from naval attaché at Berlin states that the island above referred to is probably Sebu.

COAL AND PETROLEUM IN THE PHILIPPINES AND VICINITY.

[Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed., p. 749.]

Minerals.—Though hitherto little advantage has been taken of its existence, there appears to be in several of the islands a fair amount of mineral wealth. Two coal fields are known to exist, one beginning in Caransan in the south of Luzon, and probably extending southward across the Strait of San Bernardino

to Catbalongan, in Samar, and another occupying the western slopes of Cebu and the eastern slopes of Negros, and thus probably passing under the Strait of Tañon. In the first basin there is a bed from ten to twelve feet thick cropping out of Gatbo, which has given good results as a fuel for steamboats; in the second Centeno reports at least five beds, of varying thickness and quality. The first discovery of the mineral was made in Cebu in 1827. Hitherto little success has attended the schemes of exploitation.

[From Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed., Coal, p. 59.]

In the Dutch settlements, coal has been found in Sumatra and Borneo, the best known deposits being that at Pengaran, on the southeast of the latter island, where a mine has been worked by the Dutch authorities for several years. * * * In the British island of Labuan, off the north coast of Borneo, five workable seams, together about twenty-seven feet thick, are estimated to cover the whole island.

The most important southern coal deposits, however, are those of Australia, which extend, with short intervals, from the Gulf of Carpentaria to Bass Straits. In the northern districts the distribution appears to be somewhat similar to that seen in South America, Secondary and Tertiary basins occupying the ground near the sea, while true carboniferous coal is found further inland.

[Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed., under Formosa, p. 416.]

Coal, sulphur, and petroleum are the only mineral productions of Formosa which are known to exist in quantities sufficient to make them of economical importance. The principal coal fields are in the north of the island, near Kelung and Tam-sui, and the coal is all shipped in Kelung Harbor: In 1873, 45,000 tons; in 1874, 15,221 tons; in 1875, 27,665 tons; in 1876, 31,593 tons.

[From the Statesman's Year-Book, 1898.]

Gold mining is being carried on in Luzon with favorable prospects, and coal mining in Cebu, where, when arrangements for carriage are completed, the output is expected to be about 5,000 tons per month.

Longman's Gazetteer of the World, London, 1895, says that coal occurs in Luzon, Caransan, Negros, and Cebu.

[Australasia, Vol. II, Guillemard. In Stanford's Compendium of Geography, London, 1894.]

Philippine Islands (p. 35).—That there are extensive coal measures in the

archipelago there is little doubt, but they have been little exploited, and coal forms one of the largest imports of the group. The Compostela mine (Zebu) only turned out 700 tons in 1881. As yet no deep shafts have been driven, and what has been obtained affords very rapid combustion and is not well suited for steamers. Zebu and Negros are especially rich in this product. Since the archipelago lies midway between the great coal beds of northern Borneo and Formosa, it is probable that the mineral will in the future be worked to great advantage.

Panay (p. 79).—Gold, copper, iron, and quicksilver have been found, and coal in Antique, but none of these are worked.

Negros (p. 80).—Its coal mines appear to be no longer worked.

Zebu (p. 81).—Coal occurs abundantly and is of fairly good quality, but the complete neglect of all mineral wealth by the Spaniards is exhibited here as elsewhere.

Samar (p. 82).—Coal is found, but no attempt has been made to investigate the minerals of the island.

Mindanao (p. 87).—It is probable that gold exists in tolerable quantities, and coal also.

Java (p. 105).—Coal, indeed, is plentiful, but it is poor, occurs in thin strata, and hardly repays working. Sulphur is abundant, and a further exploitation of the mineral oils should give good results.

(P. 138.) The mineral-oil lamps which light nearly every peasant's hut consume over 20,000,000 gallons per annum. Concessions were granted in 1890, both in Java and Sumatra, for the working of petroleum, and the prospects are said to be very encouraging.

Sumatra (pp. 208, 209).—The mineral wealth of Sumatra still remains for the most part undeveloped, although it is probable that before long the rich coal fields of Ombilin, which are situated toward the head waters of the Batang Hari, will be opened. They were discovered in 1869, and have been estimated by M. de Grève to contain 370,000,000 cubic meters. The mineral is of the Tertiary period, as it is probable that most of the Sumatran measures will prove to be. M. Forbes found coal in the Palembang district, and it exists near Malabu and other places in Ache. South of Padang, at Moko-moko, it is worked. * * * Concessions were granted in 1891 for working some petroleum wells lately discovered.

Borneo (pp. 219-221).—The abundance and wide distribution of coal in

the islands is remarkable. In this respect Borneo is by far the richest of all the islands of the Malay Archipelago. Schwaner says:

"The occurrence of coal is more widespread than one might be led to think by a first examination. In the whole of the hill formation it constitutes a most important and almost never-failing factor. All fissures and openings that have been made use of for the investigation of the underground geology have led to the discovery of coal seams, and even the banks of the great rivers disclose them in many places."

As far as is known, there is no coal of greater age than the Tertiary period. Most of it belongs to the Eocene, but the brown coals of the Miocene also occur plentifully.

Mr. Motley, in his report on the geology of Labuan and neighborhood, gives the following interesting description of its peculiarities:

"The coal, dense and perfectly carbonized as it is, yet exhibits most unequivocally its vegetable origin, and not only that, but even the kind of vegetation of which it has been composed is evident from the most cursory inspection of the heaps of coal brought out of the levels. It is clearly the product not of a bed of peat produced by the decay of small vegetation, but of a mass of huge timber. At least one-half of the mass displays the grain and structure of wood, and frequently it separates naturally into the concentric layers of dicotyledonous wood. All the specimens I have examined have exactly the structure of the dipteraceous trees now forming the bulk of the timber growing above them. The trees must have been of vast dimensions. I traced one trunk upward of sixty feet, and for the whole of that distance it was not less than eight feet wide. * * *"

It is remarkable that such an evidently recent formation should be so much upheaved, the coal measures of Labuan and Brunei dipping from an angle of 24° to nearly or quite vertical, the dip being north-northwest, or about at right angles to the direction of the great chain of mountains which rises nearly parallel to the coast. Mr. Motley's account of this coal formation would lead us to conclude that dense tropical forests growing on an extensive plain or river delta have been suddenly overthrown by flood or earthquake, or by sudden depression of the land, and had been covered with a deposit of clays or sands. He well remarks on the quantities of trees and shrubs which in the tropics grow on the seashore, or even in the salt water, and thus accounts for the presence of marine shells in the shales, and even in the coal itself.

(Pages 245-246.) The coal measures are practically inexhaustible, and have

been worked at various places in almost every part of the island, both by Europeans and natives. The results, however, have been almost uniformly unsuccessful, but this failure must be ascribed to the undeveloped state of the country and other causes of secondary importance, and the mines will doubtless be worked with remunerative results in the future. The "Julia Hermina" mine, near Banjarmasin, which promised well, was hardly completed when, in 1859, an insurrection took place, the European staff were murdered, and the works completely destroyed. The Pengoran coal mine, also in the neighborhood of Martapura, was commenced in 1848, but did not average a larger annual output than about 6,000 tons, and was abandoned in 1884, as was also the neighboring Asahan mine, which had been working fourteen years with much the same results. A mine was also working in Koti, abandoned, and once more reopened in 1886.

In Sarawak the raja opened a mine on a tributary of the Sadong River in 1880, the prospects of which are promising, nearly 50,000 tons having been raised in 1886. He also purchased, two years later, a concession for the working of the seams at the mouth of the Brunei River. On the Island of Labuan is a mine, till lately abandoned, which has caused the failure of three or more companies, but is now being successfully worked; while in Pulo Laut, the large island at the southeast point of Borneo, about 5,000 tons are yearly raised by the natives and supplied to Dutch steamers. There is little doubt that petroleum, which has been found in many places, will eventually become a workable and most valuable product.

Labuan (pp. 254-255).—The Island of Labuan is situated on the northwest coast of Borneo, opposite the mouth of Brunei Bay. * * * The coal mines are now being worked by the new Central Bornean Company, who have steamers running twice a month to Singapore.

Celebes (p. 301).—Coal is found in various places in the Makassar district.

(Page 304.) Coal of an inferior quality is found on the island.

The Moluccas (p. 325).—Near Batjan are some coal mines which have been worked intermittently, though to no great profit, for nearly half a century.

Obi Group (p. 326).—Coal and lignite exist, and probably gold, but no explorations have been made, and the existing charts of the island are extremely inaccurate.

Ceram (p. 329).—Coal exists, but of what period does not seem clear.

New Caledonia (p. 457).—Gold, antimony, mercury, silver, lead, copper, nickel, cobalt, and chrome have all been obtained, as well as coal of various kinds. * * * The coal beds are believed to occupy a very large area. Of late the Government

has charged itself with their exploration, and they are about to be worked; but hitherto they have produced nothing for want of capital and proper labor. It is estimated that the coal, which is said to be of good quality, can be sold at Noumea for as low a price as 12 shillings per ton.

[Coal Trade Journal, May 1, 1895, p. 349.]

Coal Mining in the Philippine Islands.—The coal deposits in the Island of Sebu are now being extensively developed. They are receiving the support of the Government in that they are giving preference to native over foreign coal.

[Hongkong, 1895, Chronicle and Directory for China, Japan, etc.]

Sebu.—There are some very valuable and extensive coal deposits in the Island of Sebu, but the mines have not as yet been worked with any enterprise.

[British Admiralty, Eastern Archipelago, Part I, Eastern Part, 1890.]

Sebu Island.—A chain of mountains traverse the island through its entire length, containing beds of mineral coal.

[Bowring, London, 1859.]

Cebu.—A coal mine is being explored in Guila Guila, in the Island of Cebu, on the River Manango, at a distance of about six miles from the town of San Nicholas, which has nearly 20,000 inhabitants, and is by far the largest town of the island. There are reported to be strata of coal from one to four feet in thickness.

[F. Jagor, London, 1875.]

Sebu.—The island possesses considerable beds of coal, the full yield of which may now be looked for, as the duty on exports was abandoned by decree on the 5th of May, 1869.

According to the Mineral Review, Madrid, 1866, the coal in Sebu is dry, pure, almost free of sulphur pyrites, burns easily and with a strong flame. The coal of Sebu is acknowledged to be better than that of Australia and Labuan, but has not sufficient heating power to be used unmixed with other coal on long sea voyages. According to the catalogue of the products of the Philippines (Manila, 1866), the coal strata of Sebu have, at many places in the mountain range which runs from north to south across the whole of the island, approached a thickness of two miles. The coal is of middling quality and is burned in the government steam works after being mixed with Cardiff. Average price, Sebu, $6 per ton.

[From Oceanica, Elisée Reclus, New York, 1890.]

Extensive coal fields are found in the central islands, especially in Cebu and Negros, and in many places these carboniferous beds seem to have been buried under more recent lavas.

[Board of Trade Journal, London, May, 1898.]

A dispatch, dated 6th April last, has been received at the foreign office from Her Majesty's minister at The Hague, transmitting statement of the production of petroleum in the Dutch East Indies, according to which, in the course of the past year or two, there has been a considerable development of this industry, which promises to become very extensive. The prospective market for the product is a very large one, for not only among the natives of the Dutch East Indies is petroleum pretty sure to replace to a great extent the cocoanut oil now used for lighting purposes, but the whole of the eastern coasts of Asia, and especially China, will almost undoubtedly become consumers.

The oil obtained in Sumatra is reported to be of excellent quality, with a higher flashing point and with a smaller loss in refining than the current American oils, while the cost of production is asserted to be materially lower than that of the latter.

Among the most important enterprises lately brought before the Dutch public is the Mocara Enim concession in Sumatra. This concession appears to have been pitched upon by the well-known American monopoly, the Standard Oil Company, for the purpose of obtaining a footing in Netherlands India.

Proposals were made to and entertained by the board of the Mocara Enim Company by representatives of the Standard Oil Company, which would have had the effect of bringing the first-named company's operations directly under the control of the latter, and a general meeting of the shareholders of the Mocara Enim Company was advertised to have been held in the last days of February last for the purpose of ratifying the proposed agreement.

Immediately before the day fixed for the meeting, however, the board of the Mocara Enim Company received from the Netherlands colonial minister a categorical declaration to the effect that the company's concession, which is of a preliminary nature only, would not be ratified should the company be placed under the control of the American monster monoply. The meeting had in consequence to be postponed.

It is understood that negotiations with the Standard Oil Company have been

PANAMA CANAL, 3 MILES FROM THE ATLANTIC.

PANAMA CANAL, 9 MILES FROM COLON.

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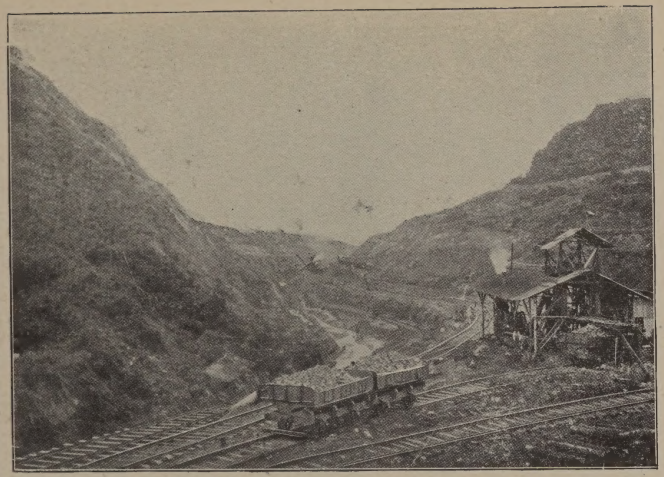
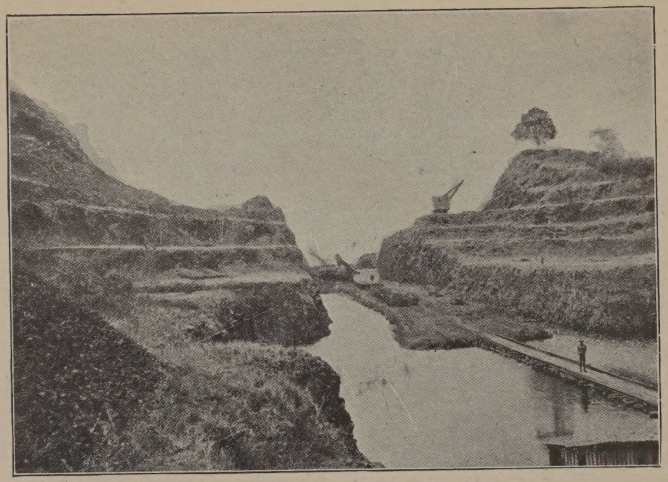
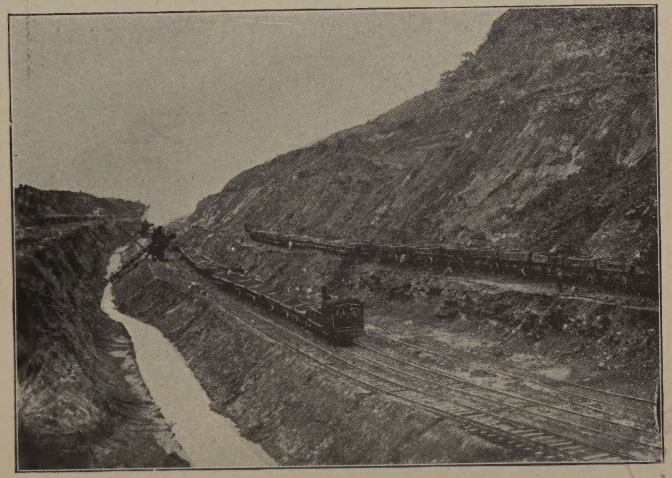


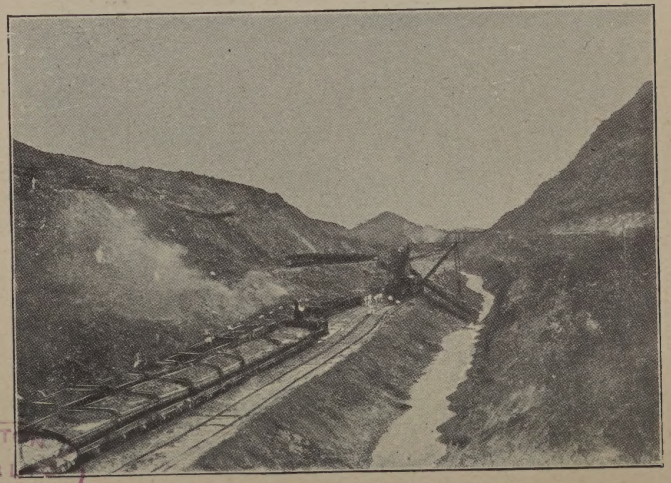
PANAMA CANAL, END OF CULEBRA CUT.



PANAMA CANAL. 27 MILES FROM ATLANTIC.



PANAMA CANAL, 33 MILES FROM ATLANTIC.



PANAMA CANAL, 34 MILES FROM ATLANTIC.

LIBRARY

broken off for the present; but it is stated that the latter company had already purchased a considerable interest in the Mocara Enim Company.

Since the interference of the colonial minister the Royal Netherlands Petroleum Company, for the exploitation of petroleum wells in the East Indies, which is the principal undertaking of that nature in Sumatra, has also made proposals to the Mocara Enim Company with a view to a practical amalgamation.

As yet, however, no decision has been arrived at by either company as to the course to be adopted, but it is thought probable that a meeting of the Mocara Enim Company will be held shortly.

Cebu.—The two coal mines situated in the east coast of the Island of Cebu are said to yield sufficient coal to supply the local demand, and the quality is stated to be a little inferior to Australian and better than Japanese.

Amour Valley.—The Amour Valley and those of several of its tributaries are rich in coal. In the valley of the Zeya, near its confluence with the Selendja, is found an inferior mineral, and in the Boureya Valley almost vertical seams have been proved in three or four places. In the neighborhood of Innokentieva, on the Amour, several lignite seams three feet thick are worked by the inhabitants, and on the lower Amour a series of seams, together six and one-half feet thick, has been discovered. Near Vladivostok coal deposits abound, while they also occur on the shores of the Japan Sea.

Sakhalin.—Coal has been largely worked for forty years in Sakhalin, and at the present time attention is being especially directed to the deposits discovered in the immediate neighborhood of the gold mines on the shores of the Okhotsk Sea.

[Engineering, London, August 12, 1898.]

Gold is also found in some quantity, and there are two coal mines situated on the east coast of the Island of Cebu, which yield sufficient coal to supply the local demand, and the quality is stated to be little inferior to Australian and better than Japanese.

[Advance Sheets of Consular Reports, No. 131, June 3, 1898.]

Ambassador Hay sends from London, under date of May 18, 1898, a pamphlet, written by Mr. Frank Karuth, F. R. G. S., entitled A New Center of Gold Production, describing conditions in the Philippines. Mr. Karuth, who is president of the Philippines Mineral Syndicate, Limited, says in the letter to Ambassador Hay accompanying the pamphlet:

* * * I do not know of the occurrence of true coal in the islands. The

beds which have been intermittently worked in the islands of Cebu and Masbate consist of lignite of very good quality. Some years ago large outcrops of such coal were found near the beach in the Island of Masbate; but most of it, which could be got without mining, has been removed for the use of interinsular steamers. One of the syndicate's engineers, a man of experience as manager of coal mines in Lancashire, found Masbate coal quite useful for steamers. He calculates the quantity of coal available in a concession of about sixty acres at 1,200,000 tons. The Masbate beds are so tilted as to form an angle of 70° with the horizontal.

* * *

Masbate.—The coal which up to present times has been found in the Philippine Islands is not true coal, but lignite, probably of the Tertiary period, and of a variety which can scarcely be distinguished by the eye from true coal. There is no reason why true coal should not eventually be found, for it is found and worked in Japan, whose geological formation has much in common with that of the Philippines. There has been no systematic search made in these islands for coal, and wherever it has been found it has betrayed its presence by outcrops. Thus, in the Island of Masbate, a local steamship owner drew his supplies from a bed of coal which is so tilted as to have the appearance of a vein. He supplied himself as long as his native laborers could get the coal with crowbars.

Mr. Hilton, who examined this bed cursorily, estimated the available quantity of coal at about 600,000 tons in that particular concession. He is, however, of opinion that very much larger quantities are available in adjoining concessions. These mines are practically untouched, and, as they are situated within a few miles of the coast, they can be worked at a profit by whomsoever should venture to introduce the necessary capital. Mr. Hilton, after trying it in a local steamer, gives it the character of a "very good steam coal." A similar quality of lignite has recently been found in the district where the Philippines Mineral Syndicate is now working, and it will soon be tried for the production of steam.

Cebu.—The only coal deposits which have been to a certain extent developed in the Philippine Archipelago, and of which a scientific and reliable record exists in the shape of a report by the chief inspector of mines, Señor Enrique Abella y Casariego, are those in the Island of Cebu. This report is embodied in a work entitled Rapida Descripcion Fisica, Geologica y Minera de la Isla de Cebu (Archipelago Filipino). * * * The coal deposits of Cebu were first examined in 1855 by the Government mining engineer, Señor Hernandez, who, without hesitation, described the coal as "lignita" (lignite). A few years later, however, another Government engineer, Señor Centeno, declared the formation in which

the coal occurs to belong to the true carboniferous system, and proclaimed the discovery of a true coal field of large dimensions, the eastern rim of which cropped out in the Island of Cebu, while its western rim came to the surface in the Island of Negros. Analysis proved Señor Centeno to be in the wrong, for the contents —or carbon—of the coal of Cebu do not exceed 54 per cent, against the minimum of 75 per cent, which true coal contains.

Señor Abella describes the Cebu coal as lignita piciformes (pitchy lignite), very black, and in some instances resembling cannel coal. In carefully conducted official trials, best Cebu coal figured as follows in relation to good Australian and British coal, viz., 156 parts Cebu equal to 147 parts Australian and 121 parts British coal.

The carboniferous formation extends over the greater part of the Island of Cebu. From Balamban and Sogod, as far as Malabuyuc and Bojoon, a distance of over fifty miles, there is scarcely a village that has not its show of coal outcrops. These have been worked on many points, and the aggregate amount of development is not inconsiderable.

At one time the Government attached so much importance to the coal deposits in Cebu that it established a monopoly, but this was soon abandoned and the industry thrown open to all comers. For a time coal mining in Cebu became quite a rage, any number of concessions were taken up, and several companies established for their development. In one or two cases a considerable amount of capital was expended. Although faults frequently occur, large quantities of workable coal were found; but the absence of roads, and the necessity of investing large sums in railways, in order to meet the competition from England, Australia and Japan, soon caused a reaction and put a stop to the industry. The present annual production of Cebu does not meet one-tenth of the demand of Manila, where the annual consumption of coal exceeds 60,000 tons * * * In the mines of Ulung five beds have been ascertained to occur, measuring, respectively, 3 feet 8 inches, 3 feet 8 inches, 3 feet 8 inches, 5 feet 8 inches, 5 feet.*

* * * * * * *

[Advance Sheets of Consular Reports, No. 152, June 28, 1898.]

On the small Island of Batan, to the southeast of Luzon, just through the Straits of San Bernardino, there are extensive coal deposits, now worked by

* Note by Mr. Karuth.—True coal has not been found as yet in the islands. All the coal mined in Cebu, Masbate, and elsewhere is "lignite" of very good quality, but wanting the proportion of carbon which is characteristic of true coal. True coal will perhaps be found in the islands of Mindero and Mindanao.

Messrs. Gil Hermanos, of Virao, Island of Catanduanes. This coal is used by their own steamer Josefa Gorroño, plying around the coast of Catanduanes, and occasionally coming to Manila with hemp, and also by other local steamers. The mine is called Visaya, and stocks of coal are generally on the beach. There is a safe anchorage for vessels close by during the northeast monsoon. In the southwest monsoon vessels can anchor anywhere around in smooth water. The coal is not equal to Japanese, but is good enough for emergency and easily obtainable. The mines are situated in latitude 13° 15″ north, longitude 130° 16″ east (meridian of San Fernando), approximately.

Other extensive coal mines are also being worked in the village of Compostela, close to the city of Cebu. This coal is of superior quality and stocks are always available.

* * * * * * *

[China Sea Directory, London, 1889, and Supplement, 1893.]

Northwest Coast of Borneo (p. 145).—Coal is obtained from mines in the vicinity of Muara Harbor. (Supplement, 1893, says: "These mines are known as the Brooketown collieries. The seam being worked is twenty-eight feet thick. There are many coal seams in the vicinity of Muara River.") The mines now being worked (1888) are connected by a tramway with the pier at the village, and are one mile distant from it. The coal is light, very friable, but of good quality, and is delivered on board for $6 per ton. Quantities from 500 to 2,000 tons are kept in store, under cover. Two fifty-ton schooners and a small tug are available for coaling vessels at the anchorage, and sixty tons can be put on board from them in twelve hours, the coal being taken off in bulk and put on board in baskets.

In February, 1888, the principal mine was on fire; but as coal seams varying in thickness from eighteen to twenty-five feet, running in a north by east and south by west direction have been found between Bruni Bluff and Pisang Mount, and are believed to exist from the town of Bruni northward to the sea, the supply in this district, as soon as the necessary mining skill and money are forthcoming, may be said to be practically inexhaustible. The annual output of the mines, worked with the present crude means, is 10,000 tons, the depth as reached being eighty-five feet. About 220 Malays are employed.

Labuan (p. 158).—A large supply of coal obtained from the coal mines at the north end of the island was formerly kept in store in Victoria Harbor; latterly about 300 tons obtained from the Muara coal mines has been usually kept in stock and put on board in baskets, either from the jetty or from lighters, at $7 a ton. The attendance of lighters can not always be depended on.

Tong-King (p. 42, supplement).—Coal mines have been found a few miles off Mines River, east of Hongai Bay or Port Courbet. A railway about four miles in length connects the Nagotna mine with the port jetty, and a large output was anticipated in 1891, something approaching 800 tons daily. The coal is said to be of good quality. A steamer of 2,000 tons burden can lie afloat at the jetty, and there is a good workshop for small repairs.

Tong-King (p. 486).—Several channels lead from Fai tsi long Bay, past Colosse Island, 738 feet high, to Kebao, where important coal beds have been found similar to those at Port Courbet.

Borneo (p. 4).—Borneo appears to be rich in minerals. In the state of Landak the great diamond of the rajah of Matan was found. The territory of Montrado, north of Landak, has several gold mines. In British North Borneo gold, copper, tin, and coals have been found. In Province Dent a seam of coal rises to the surface and is said to be of excellent quality.

China Sea (p. 6).—Coals can be obtained at the following ports: Sarawak, Muara Harbor, Labuan, Kudat Harbor, Manila, Port Sual, Bangkok, Saigon, Touron Bay, and Hoihau Bay.

Northwest Luzon (p. 347).—Coals are brought from Lingayen to Sual at $18 the ton.

Anam, China, latitude 16° N., longitude 107° E. (p. 461).—At Hong Sone, two days' journey to the southwest of Touron, is a considerable coal mine. The coal obtained from it burns quickly when used by itself; its price in 1883 was 29 shillings the ton.

[Eastern Archipelago, Part I. (Eastern Part), 1890. (British Admiralty).]

Negros (p. 247).—Layers of coal have recently (1879) been discovered in this part of Negros, and outcrops of coal have been found in the rivers which enter the sea near the towns of Calatrava and Talabe.

[Isaac M. Elliott, ex-U. S. Consul at Manila, in Scribner's Magazine for July, 1898, Manila and the Philippines, p. 19.]

Mindoro.—The mineral wealth of these islands is not believed to be of great importance, although vast regions are practically unexplored. Gold has been found, but not in paying quantities. A discovery of immense value was made a few years ago in an accidental manner. The American ship Richard Parsons was wrecked on the western coast of the Island of Mindoro. Captain Joy, of Nantucket, Mass., and his crew were forced to cross to a port on the eastern coast in order to reach any vessel that could carry them to Manila. To do this they

made a seventeen days' journey through the wilderness and over a range of mountains. In these mountains they came upon great ledges of coal, which are outcropping, and thousands of tons had broken off and accumulated at the base of the cliffs. On hearing of this discovery the Spanish Government immediately confiscated the lands, but they have never done anything toward developing this great deposit of coal. All the coal now used in the islands is imported from Australia.

[Johnson's Cyclopedia, New York, 1894.]

Japan.—Coal is largely worked on the northern coast of Kiushiu (Nagasaki, Karatsu), and in Yezo (Poronai).

[W. B. Williams, President. Wm. Jamison, Secretary.]

Hiteman Miners' Committee,
Hiteman, Iowa, May 31, 1898.

Dear Sir: I made suggestions to our Representative in Congress (J. F. Lacey) that it would be to the advantage of our Government if they would send an organized company of miners to the Philippine Islands to help establish and maintain order in those islands, and when that is done that we look after the mineral resources of the country. Inclosed you will find his reply, which is confidential. I shall now try to explain why I think it would be of benefit to us to control the coal mines in those islands. In the first place, the mines there have not been developed, for the reason that under the Spanish only they were taxed so that it was impossible to successfully work them.

In Caransan there is quite a coal basin—this is south of Manila—and in the upper part of the Island of Luzon* there are several veins of coal, which is of good quality; in some respects it is superior to the coal from Vancouver. Now, if we hold those islands and this mineral exists there, I think it would certainly show bad management on the part of our Government if we neglected to make use of it. And if we could supply coal for our vessels in the Indian Ocean from the coal mines in the Philippines it would be a great saving to the Government and also be an incentive to enterprise and industry. Now, Mr. Curtis, from reading your letters in the Record for the past four years, I know you are in a position so that you can call the attention of the proper authorities to the suggestions which I advance, and if I have the sanction of the authorities, I can organize a complete company of miners, from mining engineers to mule drivers, and all of the skilled labor needed around a coal mine, and if it is not too much trouble I wish

*Probably the mines near Lingayen are meant.—E. H.

you would call some of the officials' attention to this matter. I am no father's son, but I am an American.

Respectfully, yours, WM. JAMISON.

WILLIAM E. CURTIS,
Chicago Record.

Hiteman, Iowa, September 1, 1898.

R. B. Bradford, Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: My information in regard to coal in the Philippines has been gained by intimate acquaintance with a Swede miner named Swanson, who had worked for some English company in their mines north of Manila. He left here some five weeks since, and said he was going back to the islands if he could possibly get there.

Respectfully, yours, WM. JAMISON.

[Copy of cipher cablegram received August 5, 1898, from naval attaché at Paris.]

Have received reliable information that the commander-in-chief (of) the German squadron in China recently forwarded to Berlin, Germany, extensive report (of the) German engineer on mineral resources of the Philippine Islands, particularly coal deposits, all of which described containing considerable sulphur, excepting one deposit, which being free from sulphur is necessary to the development of the mineral resources. I can not give name of the island containing this deposit.

NOTE—A later telegram from naval attaché at Berlin states that the island above referred to is probably Sebu.

[By R. von Drasche, published in Proceedings of the Royal Geological Service, Vienna, Austria, March 7, 1876, p. 251.]

Reference to coal mines of Bakon, in the extreme southeast of the Island of Luzon; no details given.

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

[Johnson's Universal Cyclopedia (1895).—Article revised by C. C. Adams.]

A group of over 400 islands, extending across 16 degrees of latitude, between Formosa and the Muluccas, and forming the northern part of the Malay Archipelago. The largest are Luzon, Mindanao, Samar, Mindoro, Panay, Leyte, Negros, Masbate, and Sebu. The total area is estimated at 114,326 square miles, all under Spanish rule and divided into forty-three provinces. Population about 7,000,000. The Philippine Islands are of volcanic origin. Active volcanoes are found through-

out the whole group, such as Mayon in Luzon and Buhayan in Mindanao, and earthquakes are frequent and often violent. In 1863 Manila, the capital of Luzon, was nearly destroyed, and in 1864 the whole province of Zamboanga, in Mindanao, was fearfully devastated. The soil is exceedingly fertile, and, as water is abundant, both in lakes and rivers, and the climate is hot and moist, vegetable life reaches here an almost gigantic development.

The mountains, rising to a height of 7,000 feet, are covered to their very tops with forests of immense trees, yielding excellent timber and many of the most valuable sorts of wood. Teak, ebony, cedar, and gum trees, iron and sapan wood are interspersed with breadfruit and cocoanut trees, oranges, citrons, mango, tamarinds, and other varieties of fruit trees, the whole bound together with floating garlands of huge climbing plants and brilliant parasites. On the extensive slopes and in the valleys are cultivated abaca, or hemp, of which about 65,000 tons are annually exported. In 1890 8,000 tons of tobacco and 110,000,000 cigars were exported. The other products are cotton, sugar, coffee, indigo, rice, wheat, maize, pepper, ginger, vanilla, cinnamon, cocoa, etc. Of dangerous wild beasts there are none; oxen, buffaloes, horses, goats, sheep, and swine of peculiar but excellent breeds are extensively reared; deer, wild boars, pheasants, ducks, and fine fish are abundant; the forests swarm with monkeys, squirrels, parrots, sunbirds, and bees; the jungles with lizards, snakes, tarantulas, mosquitoes, and other insects. Gold is found, also iron, copper, coal, vermilion, saltpeter, quicksilver, sulphur (in large quantities both pure and mixed with copper or iron) mother-of-pearl, coral, amber, and tortoise shell.

The Philippine Islands were discovered in 1521 by Magellan, who died here in the same year, and a few years later the Spaniards, under Villalobos, took possession of the group and named it in honor of King Philip II. of Spain. The inhabitants consist partly of Negritos, who have woolly hair and other characteristics of the negro, and seemed to have formed the aboriginal population. They live in the interior, are repulsive and savage in aspect, and roam in bands. There are only a few thousand pure-blood Negritos left, as they have long been in process of extermination by the Malay immigrants, or of absorption through cross-breeding with other peoples. The Malays are in a large part Roman Catholics, settled in villages, and engaged in agriculture and fishing. They possess many fine branches of industry, as, for instance, their beautiful mats and their elegant linen fabrics, and they imitate European industry, shipbuilding, leather dressing, carriage building, etc., with great success. The Chinese and the mestizos, descended from Chinese fathers and native mothers, are mostly engaged in commerce. Very few Spaniards

reside in the islands, but the Chinese are very numerous, and natives of the Malayan race form the vast majority of the population.

ABSTRACT OF ARTICLE ON PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

[In Longman's Gazetteer of the World, London, 1895.]

Minerals: Gold (Luzon, Benguer, Vicols, Mindanao, Misamis, Surigao); galena (50 per cent pure); copper (arsenical pyrites, 16 per cent pure copper, Luzon, Lepanto, Camarines, Masbate, Panay); coal (Luzon, Cavansan [Carausan?], Negros, Cebu); sulphur (Leyte).

Products: Hemp, sugar, tobacco (only cultivated in all the Philippines since 1882), coffee (principally since 1880), woods, rice, some cacao, cotton. Only one-fifth of the islands are under cultivation.

Industries: Making cigars, abaca tissues, straw hats, perfumes, sugar (£2,500,000 exported).

Imports: Food, dress materials, fuel, arms, machinery, and iron.

Commerce: Greatest with England, then United States, Spain, and Germany.

Exports and imports: 1891, £10,000,000; 1892, £12,500,000.

Railroad: Manila to Dagupan, seventy miles.

Telegraph: Seven hundred and twenty miles; also cable to Hongkong.

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

[From Engineering, London, August 12, 1898.]

The present state of affairs in the Philippine Islands naturally directs attention to the condition of their trade and causes speculation to be made regarding its future. A glance at the map shows that their geographical, and therefore their political, position is very important. They, along with Borneo, form the eastern shores of the South China Sea, which are therefore one-half Spanish and one-half British, while the British Malay Peninsula and French Cochin China form the western shores, with Hongkong, our chief far Eastern possession, at the head of this narrow storm-tossed sea. Not only do they form an important station in the far Eastern seas, and a step to the vast population of China, but their great natural resources cause them to be a most desirable possession; so that from various points of view it is of the utmost importance that they should not fall into the hands of any foreign power except America or Britain, either of which would not only develop their natural resources, but also use them for

the purpose of maintaining an "open door" for the commerce of all countries with the far East.

The Germans are beginning to express the opinion that they do not possess their legitimate share of the world, and to insist that in any new partition of any part of the earth they should get their fair share. They are supposed to have cast longing eyes on the Philippines, but they are not likely to interfere by force, for they know that such a step would immediately open up a very large question, and nothing has happened in connection with the recent events which gives them any grounds for diplomatic intervention, which the United States would be certain to resent.

It is, indeed, probable that the real difficulties of the United States will only begin when they have made peace with Spain. If we are to judge from the opinions expressed in the American journals, the future government of the Philippines is very uncertain. The New England press, as a whole, is decidedly opposed to the permanent holding of the islands. It is pointed out that under the Constitution there is no machinery for the government of 8,000,000 or 10,000,000 of people who could not be admitted to citizenship. Moreover, the possession of the islands would rend the Monroe doctrine from top to bottom, and would tell very much against the United States in any difficulty with a foreign power.

On the other hand, some influential journals favor annexation and maintain that the time has come when America must abandon her isolation and join in the universal search for markets and footholds in distant parts of the world. They maintain that the possession of the Philippines would support an Asiatic fleet and give the United States a better position among the nations of the world, not only by increasing their commerce in the far East, but generally by enabling them to take that place among nations which the wealth, population, and mental resources of the country entitle it to. The Pacific coast papers are specially eager in the matter, and insist that with an important station in the far East, San Francisco and the Pacific coast as a whole would become, in time, nearly as important as is the East now. American merchants and manufacturers, under the protection of the Stars and Stripes, would develop the riches of the islands and create an immense field for commercial enterprise. Those journals not in favor of annexation are of opinion that the island should be transferred to England or Japan, whose interests are essentially the same as those of the United States. Such a step, however, would at once raise the opposition of Russia, and, probably, also of Germany and France. The well-known Russian journal, the Novoe Vremya, had the following remarks on the subject:

"It looks as if the settlement of the question of the fate of the Philippine Islands will be prolonged for some time to come, since all the powers that have any use of their hands take a keen interest in this ripe and tempting bunch of grapes. The future fate of the Philippines can be assumed in the following manner: Firstly, the United States can rest content with Cuba, and leave the Philippines to Spain; secondly, Spain may retain the Philippines, but under the guaranty of the United States the necessary reforms shall be introduced into the islands; thirdly, the Philippines might be given up by Spain, and then establish a more or less independent republic under the protection of the United States; and, fourthly, the Philippines can be annexed by the United States on the ground of enjoyment of the rights of a separate State. The last solution of the question seems to us the least likely to be carried into effect if one takes into consideration the distance of the islands from the American continent, the general predilection on the part of Americans to observe the Monroe doctrine, and the numerous population of the islands; this population can scarcely be expected to allow themselves to be turned into American citizens without a struggle."

Whatever solution is arrived at, the writer thinks it desirable that Russia should have a coaling station in the Philippines. As the war between Japan and China started a great many important questions, so in like manner is that between the United States and Spain certain to raise some new factors in the complex game which is being played in the far East.

The rebels against Spain in the Philippines evidently mean to insist on a republic under the protection of the United States, an arrangement which they say will not disturb the balance of influence in the far East, and they promise to respect and protect the interest of all powers. They remember, they say, that the Japanese are their kinsmen; that England is the great nation that commands 75 per cent of their import trade, and whose capital is invested to so large an extent in their undertakings; that America is their principal market for the export of sugar and hemp; that Germany and France are now opening up considerable trade, and that Russia, Austria, and Italy have no business connections in the islands.

The principal articles imported into the islands include: From Spain, printed cotton cambrics, colored yarns, gunny bags, hats, umbrellas, leather goods, most of the wine, comestibles, etc., lentils, pulse, beans and beer; from the United Kingdom goods made of fine yarns, such as muslins, etc., printed jaconets, corrugated and sheet iron for roofing, cast-iron and yellow-metal goods, earthenware, tinned provisions, ham, bacon, and flour; from Germany, hardware and galvanized

and enameled iron goods, cutlery, paints and oils, and beer; from the United States, practically all the flour consumed on the Manila market. The protective tariff, which came into force in 1891, has caused a large and steadily increasing quantity of the trade in cotton goods and yarns to be diverted from the United Kingdom to Barcelona, and has also put a stop, practically, to the import of linen goods. Gunny bags, which used to be imported from Calcutta, come now almost exclusively from Barcelona, and Spain likewise provides the greater part of the comestibles, wine, etc., for the same reason. The staple products and principal articles of export from the Philippines are tobacco (leaf and cigars), sugar, hemp, and copra; and of minor importance, coffee, sapan wood, and buffalo hides.

There is a large quantity of sugar machinery imported into the Philippines every year, mostly of British manufacture; but lately German manufacturers have been sending out some burnished mills, which have taken the fancy of many of the native planters, who like show and also long credit. The natural products of the islands are timber, including many valuable woods yielding resins, gums, dye products, fine-grained ornamental wood, and heavy timber suitable for building purposes, copper, and copper and iron pyrites. Gold is also found in some quantity, and there are two coal mines situated on the east coast of the Island of Cebu, which yield sufficient coal to supply the local demand, and the quality is stated to be little inferior to Australian and better than Japanese.

The report on the trade and commerce of the Philippine Islands for the year 1897, by Mr. Consul Rawson Walker, contains a considerable amount of information, but as it was written before the arrival of the United States fleet, many of the conditions are now completely changed. The most interesting feature in the report is a plan of the new harbor works at Manila, and which in the interval have been the scene of such important events. It is stated that when the works are completed at the port of Manila, there will be abundance of room, not only for men-of-war, but for all kinds of mercantile craft seeking to discharge their cargoes, or coming in ballast seeking freight. The possession of this harbor will add to the value of the Philippines as a naval and commercial station.

BOOK V.

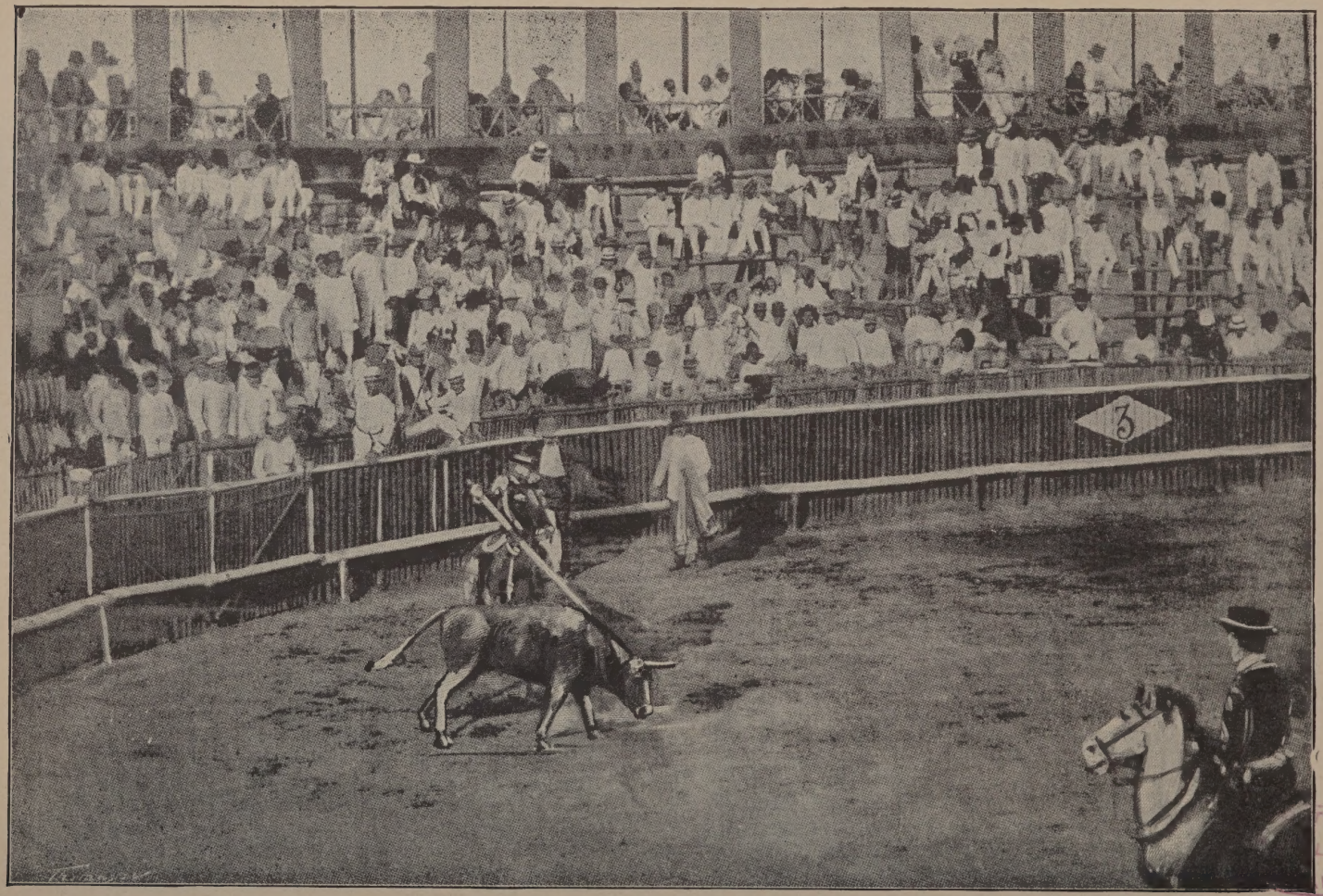
THE ISTHMIAN CANALS. THE WATERWAYS TO OUR TROPICAL POSSESSIONS, EAST AND WEST.

INTRODUCTION.

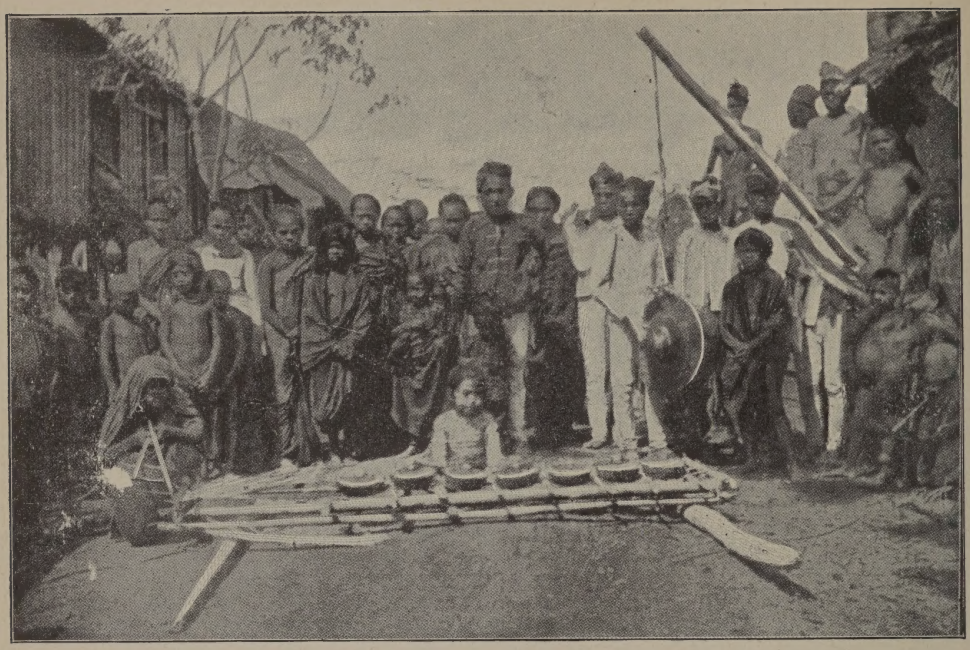
The debate about the expansion of the United States that so largely occupies the attention of our own people goes on in all civilized and semi-barbarous countries. More than ever before in the records of the nations the great powers of Europe are interested in the extension, organization and cultivation of their colonies. Those who have the largest area of possessions that are not contiguous—the scraps of distant continents and islands remote, especially in the tropics—are the most eager of the expounders and the exemplars of expansion. The only country in which there is any misgiving that appears prominently in public discussion about the pursuit of this policy is our own. There has been something of hesitation in Germany and France, but that has passed away. Italy has had a bitter experience in Africa, but she has a grand passion to possess a piece of China and is anxious to advertise her solicitude. There is no need to speak in detail of the imperial policy of Great Britain and Russia. Germany is eagerly in the market for the few remnants we did not insist upon taking of the groups of islands that were, after she lost her continents, the pride of Spain. There is no sensitiveness in any part of the world about the great powers absorbing the smaller ones except among the professors of statesmanship in the United States; and it is safe to say that no other nation has a Colonial System ready made and long tried that is in all respects as available and susceptible to the legitimate influences of public opinion, as that which we have, in the Government of the territories under the laws of Congress and the administration of the President. There are excellent and conclusive examples in our history of the success of this form of government over territories and of people that it is not the national policy to permit to become states. The peculiar distinction of our States—that element in them that makes them sovereign, subordinate only to the nationality of all the States—gives scope and verge for the expansion of our boundaries without embarrassment of the General Government, and for the consideration—to use the phrase of ex-President Harrison—of "the quality as well as the numbers" of the inhabitants. The singular sentimentality, that has had many deliverances in opposition to our own occupation of our conquests from Spain, and that has insisted strangely and with a ludicrous obstinacy in repetition, that we have been conquering archipelagoes simply through benevolence based upon infinite charity, without other selfishness than that which arises from the due consideration of our health, is something that has come down to us in a thin streak from former generations. The persons and the views, both rather cloudy in mind and will and

uncertain in attention, that have formed this milky way so that it shows faintly upon the sky that arches our imperial domain, is made of the individualities that perpetually yield to an instinct that guides and drives them into the minorities that look on and scold, while the majorities in their masterful way that is democratic and according to the forms that are republican, "order and command," the procession of the events that mark progress.

The fact that we send troop ships from both our ocean fronts to the luxuriant archipelago that borders the sea of China on the east, and that our ships going east and west meet in the harbor of Manila, girdling the earth in doing so, is of universal fame. The attention of all enlightened peoples is directed by these political, military and naval phenomena, to the Isthmus of Suez and the Isthmus of Darien, the links—would that they were missing—that bind the southern continents of America and Africa to the dominant North and vast and ancient Asia; and there is a consensus of opinion uniting the living nations that at last we must have another isthmian ship canal. One cannot look upon a map of the world without the conviction that the Isthmus of Darien will be cut through, as that the Suez Isthmus has been severed, and that the United States of America with her ocean and sea and lake boundaries, has the greater responsibility to press this gigantic work, for we would have the greater profit of it, not merely in the prosperity of commerce, but in the strength of our situation. Beyond this, the waterways around the earth, now no longer in dreamy contemplation, but matters of urgency, will aid all the good works of men by making the nations more neighborly. The Suez Canal is one of the wonders of enterprise successful in proportion to its magnitude, and the expansion of America—and the bugles have sounded it, as a movement that can never be recalled—has made definite and certain that one of the proposed Darien canals, the Panama or the Nicaragua, between the greater ocean of the globe and the Mediterranean of our hemisphere, must and shall soon be constructed. We do not enter upon the question of precedence between the Panama and Nicaragua schemes, but consider carefully in the occupancy of space the equities, just as if there were no embarrassing conditions—nothing but the physical obstacles to be overcome—giving the larger share to the Panama route because lately it has been least before our people; and the mystery of the omission of Congress to act, we have tried to clear away pro bono publico. There is a question of stock companies and international principles that must be decided before we are committed to one project or the other. We shall probably have to wipe out a few corporations and promote the negotiation, ratification and execution of honest and substantial treaties that we may plant our inevitable millions—perhaps more than one hundred of millions—under an unclouded title upon indestructible foundations.



THE ARENA, CONSTRUCTED OF BAMBOO, IN WHICH THE BULL FIGHTS ARE GIVEN AT MANILA.



A MALAY CHIEF OF MAGIBON, JOLO PROVINCE, WITH HIS FAMILY AND SERVITORS.

NATIVE WOMAN'S DRESS, MANILA.

TYPES OF FILIPINO WOMEN.

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CHAPTER I.

THE PANAMA CANAL.

The Two Mediterraneans—The Era of Enterprise in the World's Waterways—The New Panama Company—Immense Work Done—Steady Prosecution of the Task—More than Three Thousand Men Employed in Excavating—The Curiously Interesting Story of the Canal—The Misfortune of the De Lesseps Failure Not Final—Facts and Figures That Should Restore the Faded Interest of the American People.

There are two Mediterranean seas—one in the Eastern and one in the Western hemisphere. That situated between Europe and Africa and bounding Central Asia on the west from Egypt to the Hellespont is the ocean of the ancients whose history is most familiar to us—the seat of the sea power of the earlier empires—transpierced in the center by the Italian peninsula, with the Island of Sicily, for which the Greeks, Carthaginians and Romans fought, until Rome became the master of the world that surrounded the sea that was in the middle of the earth. Africa seems to hang to Asia by a narrow neck of land, and swing in the abyss of the Southern Oceans—a vast river, the Nile, flowing north from South Africa to the historic Mediterranean, the other great channels of African drainage pouring their floods into the Atlantic. Through the Isthmus of Suez is excavated the most famous of canals, and it has become the key to the British Empire, committed now to hold Egypt as long as she governs India, and cares for her commerce in Asiatic waters. We, the people of the United States, have a deeper interest in the haunts of the ancients than in other days, when we study the voyages of our regiments by way of Gibraltar and the Suez Canal en route in our troopships for Manila. The canal between Africa and Asia has become a highroad for our ships and troops from Atlantic shores to our new possessions on the other side of the world. The Gulf of Mexico is the American Mediterranean, North America on the north, and South America on the south, the peninsulas of Florida and Yucatan with the Island of Cuba separating the huge Gulf from the Atlantic Ocean and the Caribbean Sea. The correspondence between the two Mediterranean seas, that of the old world, from which Columbus came and that of the new he discovered, is in many respects remarkable. No map of the world fails to make conspicuous the two seas that are central to the old and the new. South America seems suspended like a prodigious pendulum, as we turn

a model of the globe, by the Isthmus of Darien, to North America, whose gigantic arctic region is fixed in eternal ice; and the construction of a canal uniting the American Mediterranean with the Pacific, as that of Suez with the old Mediterranean by way of the Red Sea with the Indian Ocean, and that, by the Sea of China with the Pacific, has ceased to be of dreams like those of flying to the moon, and is a colossal enterprise, not only an ultimate hope, but an improvement certain of execution at no very distant day. There is Capital and Labor to do it, and the first difficulty is the obstinate and momentous one of the choice of routes. There are rival plans, the Panama and the Nicaragua. The latter has absorbed the greater attention in America, the former in Europe. It is probable that sooner than would be readily conjectured, both will be completed and in competition until they find it reasonable and profitable to adopt the railroad trunk-line transcontinental policy, fixing rates to improve the standing of the stock, representing tremendous investments. Once it was a wonder that there should be a railroad across the continent of North America. Now the average citizen does not know the number of lines that bind our dominions in bonds of steel, and span our Rocky Mountains and alkali plains with such ease of transfer that we cease to compute them as elevations or spaces, save as in distance measured by time, the freight rates and car fare.

If the Isthmus of Darien had been a sandy plain like that of Suez, it would have been cut through by a ship canal long ago, and the thoroughfare undoubtedly the property of England, possibly with France for a partner, but the English would have had the majority interest in navigation, the greater weight of capital, the higher appreciation of commerce, and the deeper and keener sense of possession.

The world heard, along with the measurements of the rugged strip of rocks that is the chief obstruction of the circumnavigation of the earth in the tropics, of the peaks of Darien, from which Balboa beheld the broader of the Oceans. The discovery of the Pacific was the opening of the most wonderful waste of waters in the world, and the imagination of adventurers soon peopled this great deep with surpassing visions of splendor, and there have been four centuries of blended history and commerce.

D. C. Rodrigues, LL. B., in a work on the Panama Canal—Chas. Scribner & Sons, 1885—devoted a chapter chiefly to the first centuries of the history of the American isthmus. As Rodrigues wrote, we quote "The Panama Canal," pages 5-17:

"The idea of piercing the isthmus between the two Americas is almost contemporaneous with the first knowledge of the isthmus itself. The early navigators

could not help noticing how near to each other were the two oceans, and how comparatively easy would be (they thought) the cutting of a canal through that narrow strip of land between them. The celebrated Portuguese navigator, Antonio Galvao, as early as 1550, wrote an essay on the subject, wherein he suggested four different lines, one of which was through the lake of Nicaragua, and the other by the Isthmus of Panama. Lopez Gomara, the Spanish historian, mentions in 1551 the four routes of which he very likely learned from the monograph of Galvao.

"The idea, however, remained dormant for fully two centuries. One of the earliest exploits of Nelson was the attack on Port San Juan in 1779, with the ulterior purpose, it appears, of controlling the river and lake communications between the two oceans, of which the fort was supposed to be the best debouche. Fever, however, decimated his crew, and he returned to England. In the meantime Charles III. of Spain sent out the really first exploring expedition under Manuel Galistro, in 1780; but the subsequent political complications in the European politics diverted attention from his project. In the beginning of our century, Humboldt, who studied on the spot the problem of piercing the isthmus, strongly endorsed its feasibility, but all Europe was then, and remained for many years afterwards, in a great and general political reorganization. Most of the Spanish colonies in America threw off the yoke of the mother country between 1820 and 1825, and, although the first survey of any part of the isthmus did not really take place until twenty years later, the well-known configuration of the isthmus strengthened the belief in the possibility of opening a canal, and the question was now and then ventilated. It is to the great credit of the Spanish Central American republics that as soon as they had secured their independence they devoted themselves to the problem of procuring aid to forward the idea of interoceanic communication. In 1823, Lacerda, afterwards Governor of Nicaragua, called the attention of the Legislature of the Republic to the subject. Two years later we find a minister of the Republic in Washington addressing a note to the Secretary of State, Mr. Clay, urging the United States to co-operate for the construction of a canal which, he says, should have been built long before. That proposal, dated February 8, 1825, really invited the United States to conclude a treaty for a canal so as to "perpetually secure the possession of it to the two nations." At that time no sufficient data had been brought to light to warrant Mr. Clay in committing the United States to a policy which otherwise would have been entirely acceptable to President Adams and to the American people. Mr. Clay appointed a new minister to Central America, and instructed him to further investigate

the matter. In 1826 the Mexican Government ordered a survey of the Tehuantepec to be made by General Orbeguozo, who, however, only made a casual examination.

"In 1828, Boliver, President of the Republic of New Granada, gave to John A. Lloyd and to Falcmar a commission for a reconnoissance, with the immediate object of a roadway between the two oceans. They found the mean height of the Pacific or Panama to be 3.52 feet above the Atlantic at the Chagres' mouth, and that at low water both oceans are the same quantities below their respective mean levels: and as to interoceanic communication, they seemed to favor the isthmus at its narrowest region, just where there is a depression in the great range of mountains.

"One year after the return of Lloyd, the King of the Netherlands, as patron of a private association, arranged with Central America for cutting a canal 'to be open on same terms to all nations.' But the political troubles between Belgium and Holland caused the scheme to miscarry.

"For five years no effort was made that is deserving of consideration until the United States Government dispatched Chas. Biddle to the isthmus as an agent to investigate what plans, surveys, estimates, etc., had been made, and the report on the expediency of opening negotiations with the Central American Government for the building of a canal. Biddle died soon after arriving at the isthmus, but not before he had obtained for himself from Colombia a concession to build a railway across the Isthmus of Panama, which act President Jackson disapproved of in strong terms.

"About a year afterward, the President of Central America, General Morazin, ordered a reconnoissance of the Rio San Juan route by John Bailey, an Englishman.

"In 1838, New Granada, anxious to take the lead of Nicaragua, listened to the proposition of a French house of Solomon & Co., and granted it a concession to build a canal by a supposedly newly discovered route where no locks would be required. Six years later on, Louis Falippe commissioned Napoleon Garella to verify the surprising reports of Solomon's agents. Garella's investigations were, perhaps, the most serious that had been undertaken until that time. They constitute, at least, the first semblance of a regular survey. He disproved the reports submitted to him, and came to the conclusion that a canal was possible between Porto Bello and Panama, with thirty-five locks and a tunnel, 5,350 meters in extent, at an elevation of 99 meters and about 135 feet above high water on the Pacific. The scheme, however, came to nothing.

"In the same year Nicaragua gave a concession to a Belgian company, the negotiation being carried on by the Nicaraguan minister in Paris, Castellon, but it also came to nothing. On the other hand, Marcoleta, two years later on, left Brussels, where he represented his government, and went to Paris and London in order to arrange for a concession to Prince Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, then a prisoner in Ham.

"It is apparent that none of these schemes was ever supported by any powerful agency, or with steadiness enough to be carried through. There was always a doubt about the possibility of the work, or a doubt that it might never be possible to obtain money enough to push it to a conclusion. On the other hand, advantageous as it was evident the canal would be to the whole world, the shipping trade that would seek it did not appear to be extensive enough to remunerate the capital that would be required. But at last the world found a powerful incentive to give close attention to the political and commercial importance of the canal. The acquisition of California by the United States, and the discovery of gold in its territory, marks a new era in the history of the attempts to make serious studies of the isthmus with a view to establishing a continuous water communication between the two oceans. The problem, too, now became one of actual, live political importance to the Americans, and the period between 1848 and 1861 was full of interest to them on account of the political discussion with Great Britain as to the preponderating influence in Central America and the occupation of the isthmus by either government.

"While that problem was not settled, the Americans, anxious for means of communication, if not by water then by an overland route, obtained from New Granada a concession for a railway; and for that purpose they formed a company in 1849, and instructed the surveys to Colonel Hughes and to J. C. Trautwine. The United States Government soon afterwards sent General Bernard, of the corps of engineers, to survey the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, also with a view to building a railway. Bernard found the route impracticable, while Hughes and Trautwine succeeded much better in Panama and designed a road of the total length of 47.314 miles, of which about half was to be level between 1850 and 1855 by the engineers Totten and Trautwine.

"In the meantime the idea of a canal was not to be given up. The United States Minister in Nicaragua, Elijah Hise, concluded at the same time (1849) with that government a treaty for establishing 'a passage and communication between the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean, to facilitate the commerce between the two oceans, and to produce other great results.' Owing to its sev-

eral provisions of a political nature the authorities at Washington did not approve that scheme, known henceforth as the 'Hise-Selva Convention.' But the country received the arrangement with every mark of approval, and a company was at once organized by Cornelius Vanderbilt, Joseph L. White and others under the style of 'American Atlantic and Pacific Ship-Canal Company,' which obtained from Nicaragua the right to build the proposed canal, that was, we repeat in 1849, when the English were trying hard to get a firm hold on what was supposed to be the future termini of the canal, while the Americans were protesting against that occupation, and had themselves repudiated the treaty concluded by their minister in Honduras, Squier, for the cession by the latter country to the United States of the Tigre Island, in the Fonseca Bay. It was from these conflicting interests that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850 originated.

"However, the 'American Atlantic and Pacific' was organized by strong men, who proposed to survey the route thoroughly and then appeal for money, both in America and England. On March 9, 1850, Norberto Ramirez, 'Supreme Director' of Nicaragua, confirmed the company's grant, and the company commissioned Colonel O. W. Childs to make the necessary studies. He made reconnoissance from several of the proposed routes, and, after a careful work, in which he was aided by J. D. Fay and S. H. Sweet, he came to the conclusion that 'the line leading from the mouth of the Rio Lajas, at Brito, presented more favorable conditions for the construction of a canal than any other.' His survey is said to be the first in the isthmus that conformed itself to the requirements of true engineering. Child's report was submitted to Colonels Turnbull and Abert, of the United States Topographical Engineers, who confirmed its accuracy, and then, at the request of the United States Government, it was revised by two English authorities, Colonel Aldrich, of the Royal Engineers, and Mr. James Walker, C. E., who, on July 16, 1852, confirmed its conclusions.

"The 'Atlantic and Pacific' company, however, did not succeed in raising the money. Walker's expedition to Nicaragua, fomented mainly by the slave power, but emphatically disowned by the Washington authorities, caused the Nicaraguan Government to become very suspicious of the United States, and in 1856 the company's grant was declared null and void. Thanks, however, to the ability of the Secretary of State, Lewis Cass, a convention, known as the 'Cass-Yrisarri Convention,' was negotiated in Washington on November 16, 1857, making annual arrangements with respect to a communication from ocean to ocean through Nicaragua.

"Let us now see what was going on in other parts of the isthmus in the fourteen years between 1850 and 1864.

"A rich New York merchant, Mr. Frederick M. Kelley, impressed with the belief that Humboldt must have been right as regards the feasibility of a canal through Darien, sent, in 1851, J. C. Trautwine, a prominent civil engineer, who had been associated with Colonel Childs, and until his death was more or less connected with the isthmus explorations, to make a reconnoissance of the head-waters of the Atrato, of the Gulf of Darien, and of the mythical Raspadura Canal, through which the Indians were said to cross from ocean to ocean. Although the result of this expedition was by no means encouraging, Mr. Kelley organized two others in 1853 to go over the same ground, which, however, did not discover anything which had not been brought forward by Trautwine.

"Mr. Kelley then tried the headwaters of the Atrato, and thence in the direction of the Truando, sending out two parties, in 1853 and 1854, the latter under Captain Kennish. Later on he came to Europe to submit his plans, surveys, etc., to the English and French savants, and he was everywhere received with the greatest marks of regard.

"On his return to America, having been unable to accomplish anything in Europe, President Buchanan, who while minister in England had taken an interest in Mr. Kelley's enthusiastic labors, procured the passage by Congress of a bill authorizing the President to appoint army and navy officers to verify the survey already made for a ship-canal. Agreeably to the act of the Legislature, the President appointed Lieutenant N. Michler of the army and Lieutenant T. A. Craven, of the navy, to verify the survey of Captain Kennish. Those officers made separate reports. Michler was of the opinion that the construction of a canal presented many difficulties, that the cost was incalculable, and that the effects of a deadly climate on the laborers must be taken into account. But he thought the scheme was possible, especially if Kennish's route were abandoned and another one, which he now proposed, were taken up instead—viz., that which follows up the course of the Truando, except when this river bends to the north, when the route ought to follow a straight line to the Atrato, twenty-two miles above the village of Sucio. The route would then strike the range of mountains, which it would cross by means of a tunnel 12,250 feet in length, following down in the Pacific slope the course of the Paracichichi. Michler estimated the cost of this canal—75 miles long, including the tunnel, 100 feet high above the water—to be $135,000,000, or £27,000,000, which was twice as much as had been estimated in America, according to the data of Kennish himself. Mr. Kennish

was not satisfied that it would be safe to persist in that Truando-Atrato route, at least for the moment.

"This public-spirited American then turned his attention to the possibility of a sea-level canal, even if a great tunnel became necessary. He first asked General Totten, of the Panama railway, to let him have his views as to that route being available. Totten reported that the Chagres river could not be controlled and would break up the canal, and, besides, ten or twelve locks would have to be made. Mr. Kelley directed his efforts to the San Blas route, in that part of the isthmus which is narrowest, between the Gulf of San Blas, on the Atlantic, to the mouth of the Bayano, on the Pacific. Two expeditions were sent out, composed of Rude, Sweet, McDougal, and others, in 1863 and 1864, and they were nearly successful, but could not finish their labors on account of the interference of the Indians. Altogether Mr. Kelley has spent from his private resources about £25,000 in this laudable purpose. Everywhere in the world where there was a congress of gentlemen to confer about the routes it would seem that Frederick M. Kelley, of New York, should have been listened to, if not with admiration and affection, at least with respect. And yet at the Paris 'International Scientific Congress' of 1879, when an American delegate asked the committee on the selection of a route to give a hearing to the project of Mr. Kelley from San Blas to Panama by the Bayano river, which was seconded by Sir John Stokes, who added that what was known of that route justified a hope that the project might deal advantageously with some of the difficulties, there was a great deal of opposition to the proposal to hear Mr. Kelley. M. Simonon, known for his extremely superficial and not altogether reliable articles on the United States in 'La France' and 'Revue des Deux Mondes,' exclaimed: 'We are not here to register these schemes. Do they propose that we shall set about and examine everything that the Americans have been doing for the last ten years? We should lose our time. We have to discuss only the projects of M. M. Wyse and Reclus, Blanchet and Menocal, and others.' M. Simonon might as well have eliminated the two latter names. He and his friends did not want to hear but of the Wyse-Reclus project, and in their cynical effrontery they even snubbed a man like Kelley!

"Leaving now the Darien aside, let us see what was going on in the isthmus in these same fourteen years, from 1850 to 1864, apart from the work in Nicaragua and the labors of Mr. Kelley.

"Dr. Edward Cullen, a Dublin physician, interested himself very much in the project of a ship canal between the Gulf of San Miguel and Caledonia Bay;

and in 1852, after calling Lord Palmerston's attention to his scheme, he interested in it the contractors Fox, Henderson, and Brassey, of London, and obtained for them and himself a concession from Colombia for such a canal. The contractors dispatched Lionel Gisborne, C. E., to make an exploration. He reported favorably, but his report is full of errors, due to the superficial character of his examination, the result of which is published in his book, 'The Isthmus of Darien in 1852.' At any rate, his endorsement of the Caledonian route attracted wide interest in the subject, and in the United States President Pierce in 1833 authorized the Secretary of the Navy to commission Lieutenant Isaac C. Strain, who was not a new explorer of Central and South America, to go over the proposed route and report upon its feasibility for a 'ship canal on the grandest scale.' Also 'avoiding all infractions of international law.' Lieutenant Strain reached Caledonia Bay from the United States in January, 1854, and, with twenty-seven men, started for the interior of Darien. This expedition became one of the most important in the history of the isthmus. British capital was ready to be invested in the common scheme, but Strain was to give the last word. He soon discovered that Gisborn's report was altogether unreliable. Strain was confronted by mountains 3,500 feet in height instead of only 150 feet. His party could not help taking different routes, climbing steep hills and meeting roaring rivers. Strain himself was lost sight of, and searching parties were organized, one of them by Gisborn himself. The history of the terrible privations and sufferings undergone by Strain and some of his men, from hunger and thirst, and the enforced abandonment of one of their companions, who, though still alive, was too weak to follow them, and the death of others, is one of the most stirring narratives in the annals of the difficult explorations of the world. When Strain was found he said that its failure was in itself a great success, for it gave the death blow to the Cullen scheme, thereby preventing great sacrifice of life and money. In 1856, as we have already said, Nicaragua annulled the concession to the 'Atlantic and Pacific,' and a year afterwards the United States Government ordered the Michler and Craven surveys in the Darien. Except Mr. Kelley's expeditions, nothing was undertaken by the United States Government or its citizens from 1857 until 1869. In 1857 the political agitation in the United States was already assuming the most serious character, which revealed itself in the breaking out of the Civil War a few years later on, and even at the conclusion of the internecine strife, the public mind was too much preoccupied with the reorganization of the Union, with 4,500,000 newly made citizens, to give any attention to the subject of interoceanic communication. During the war the necessity for it became apparent, and

the Pacific Railway bills were carried, but beyond that nothing was done, and, considering the position assumed towards Congress by Andrew Johnson, who substituted for the murdered President Lincoln, nothing could have been done by the Government in that time. In 1860 Daniel Ammen, then lieutenant in the United States navy, impressed by the result of Strain's reconnoissance, addressed a communication to the New York Geographical Society, suggesting to it to send out an expedition, and giving in detail the task that should be intrusted to it. After the war Daniel Ammen, who had been promoted to the rank of captain, had frequent occasions to discuss the matter with prominent officers of the Government, and he interested General Grant very much respecting the necessity for further surveys. Up to the end of the Civil War the only semblance of a regular survey in the isthmus made by a Frenchman was that of Garella already referred to. In 1861 M. de Poydt examined the Tuyra (Darien) and several of its tributaries, and in 1864 he returned to make a reconnoissance of the Gulf of Darien by the Tanelo river. His data, however, altogether unreliable.

"In 1865 Señor Gogorza discovered some old maps and induced some capitalists in Paris to fit out an expedition under M. Lacharme, to study a passage by the River Panuza, a confluent of the Tuyra. While in the field Lacharme abandoned the proposed route and followed the course of the Paya up to the watershed, and then that of the Cacarica to the Atrato, whence he came back satisfied as to the possibility of a canal fifty miles long, with the summit, near the village of Paya, only 190 feet above the sea level. Beyond that nothing else was ever done in the isthmus by Frenchmen until the Wyse-Recluse expeditions."

The conditions of the Panama climate were treated with great intelligence in "The Isthmus of Panama and What I Saw There," by Dr. C. D. Griswold, M. D.—Dewitt & Davenport, 1852. We quote as an essential part of the story of the isthmus the extremely valuable observations of Dr. Griswold that touch the science of the sanitary situation—pages 90-100:

"The latitude of that part of the isthmus over which the Panama Railroad passes is between 8 and 9 degrees north, and, consequently, is subject twice in the year to the vertical rays of the sun, viz.: about the 21st of April and near the middle of August. The year is divided into two seasons, with little else to distinguish them than that the one is wet and the other dry, and in this they are very strongly marked. The rainy season is their winter and corresponds with our summer, the rains beginning to fall about the 1st of May, usually, and termi-

nating in December; and thus, although this is their coolest season, in consequence of the heavy rains and evaporations, yet it is the period when the sun's rays fall most vertically, and, therefore, the two great elements in the production of unhealthy exhalations, viz.: heat and moisture, are operating in their extremest degrees at the same time. But it should be understood that, while the surface is undergoing the change from wet to dry, that miasma is eliminated most rapidly.

"During the first two or three months of the wet season it does not rain more than is generally found agreeable to the comfort, and to advance the growth of vegetation; and about the 21st of June it clears up and probably not a drop of rain will fall for a week. This season is called by the natives El Veranito di San Juan (little summer of St. John). Now, during this period, the earth is alternately saturated and parched, and, consequently, there is always more or less fever prevailing. But it is at the commencement of the dry season, when the rivers that have been swollen by the heavy rains fall to their usual level and the low grounds and marshes that have been inundated become dry, that we look for what may be termed strictly the sickly season.

"Dysenteries and diarrheas prevail more commonly during the wet season, and for very obvious reasons. Notwithstanding the elevation of the sun during the day the nights are often quite cool. Now, there is nothing more favorable to the development of these diseases than sudden changes of temperature; and here we have them. The laborer at work in the field first swelters under the hot sun and then is suddenly cooled off by a shower of rain, and most likely sleeps at night exposed to the chilly air, which under all circumstances should be most scrupulously avoided.

"With such influences as these acting, it would be very unreasonable to expect but that the country would be more or less unhealthy, which is truly the case, yet four-fifths of the cases of disease which occur are simple intermittent fever, or ague and fever, which the judicious use of fifteen grains of quinine will entirely remove, leaving the patient, after one paroxysm, as well as he was before.

"By observing proper precautions a great deal may be done to avoid the miasma, which is the essential cause of the fevers. Miasma is eliminated while the surface is drying, after having been saturated by an overflow of the streams or previous rains, consequently at such times the atmosphere contains more poison than at any other. Another fact which has long been observed is that the evening or night air is most of all pernicious, not so much because it is cool or damp, but from the unhealthy exhalations which hover near the earth like smoke and fog during the night more than at any other time. The pleasant evenings after

clear days, which are always delightful in that climate, are by far the worst, especially if there has been rain within a short time previous. The night air is so balmy and fresh after a hot day that it is almost impossible to resist the temptation to enjoy it, at least with open windows or in the veranda, yet it is very imprudent to do so. Another precaution, of more consequence still, is to close up from the night air the sleeping room, which for reasons already assigned should never be on the ground floor. While sleeping the system is very much relaxed, and, perhaps, drenched in perspiration, and, consequently, far more impressible than at any other time, and, moreover, about 12 o'clock the temperature of the atmosphere usually becomes much lower than at any other part of the twenty-four hours. Now, in order to avoid the miasma on one hand and the sudden change of temperature on the other, it is always desirable to sleep in an upper room, and this should invariably be constructed with a ventilator in the roof.

"There is another class of causes far more numerous, and, perhaps, more important, by which I mean everything calculated to excite fever after the system has become predisposed to it. Foreigners residing in this country usually become, after a time, a good deal enervated; they find they cannot perform near as much labor, either physical or mental, as in a northern climate. An extreme degree of lassitude overtakes them at times, and they feel it almost impossible to perform any duties whatever. This is the effect of miasma; the system contains the fuel of fever, which only requires to be ignited. Now, this is the state in which exciting causes are instrumental in producing the disease, and anything may be deemed such which excites or taxes the system to any considerable extent, as excessive fatigue, exposure to the sun long continued, or a shower of rain while perspiring, overindulgence in eating, and, above all, in the use of stimulating drink. During my services of nearly six months, as one of the surgeons to the Panama Railroad Company, I never saw a single case of fever from which I apprehended a fatal result but in persons of intemperate habits, and the only two patients whose cases terminated fatally under my charge had been immediately previous on a debauch.

"Of all exciting causes of fever I believe this by far the most potent in its results, if not the most common. I am aware that there are exceptions to this—that there are those who bear up under the influence of the use of stimulating drinks—but they must be considered as exceptions, and their number is very small. The effect of stimulants is to derange the functions of the liver, which is also the effect of the climate, and under the influence of both there are few constitutions that can long resist diseases.

"Nor is it the use of alcoholic drinks on the isthmus alone that is found

injurious, but those who, previous to going there have been intemperate—whose constitutions have become in the slightest degree impaired—are almost sure to break down at once. I have seen this effect in so many instances that I have no hesitation in setting it down as an almost invariable rule, and, therefore, would advise any such unfortunate individual to keep off the isthmus if he values his life as of the least possible consequence.

"Everyone has probably heard of the 'Chagres fever,' which is usually spoken of with an emphasis which strikes terror to the timid, especially if they have ever been exposed to the atmosphere of that place.

"Although the name is not, by any means, a classic one, yet it has the advantage of being correct in a general sense, for I do not believe that there is another place in the world where the causes of diseases are developed and fostered to a greater extent than they are in this place of most unenviable notoriety. The consequence is that a bad and fatal form of fever prevails there at times, which is most emphatically the fever of Chagres, and the unmeasured use of intoxicating drinks is one of its principal causes.

"Exposure to the rains of that country is another very exciting cause of fever and should be very carefully avoided. This has been one of the great causes of fever and dysentery among the laborers on the Panama Railroad. Often they would scarcely get to their work when a sudden shower would fall upon them, and when perspiring profusely over the spade or pick. If they abandoned work for the day but few would have the prudence to change their clothes for dry ones, and, perhaps, resume the same wet garments the following morning. Now, nothing can be more prejudicial to health anywhere than such habits as these, and when we add to this the, perhaps, worse practice of sleeping with the windows and doors of their quarters open, which they would always insist upon doing, it is more a matter of wonder than otherwise that they endure the climate as well as they do. The railroad company makes the most liberal provisions for their comfort, but it was always impossible to make them understand that there were any reasons for closing a house other than to keep out the cold. The native, on the approach of a shower, strips off his shirt, which is probably the only garment he wears; securing it in a dry place, he lets the rain fall upon his bare back and then resumes his covering after it is all over.

"This is truly a primitive mode of protection from rain, yet from what I have seen I judge it to be the best. The perspiration may be checked for the time and the system receive a shock from so plentiful a shower bath; but the function of the skin is immediately restored by the dry covering, and, on the whole, upon

hydropathic principles, I am not sure but the subject has received a tonic after nature's purest method, and without interfering with his time or business. But when a native gets the fever he repudiates this practice altogether, so much so that it is often exceedingly difficult to get them to take any remedy combined with water; and they most scrupulously avoid the use of water externally, even in quantity sufficient to keep themselves clean. The native's remedy for fever is limes, the juice of which they suck from them, while the fever is on, with slices of the same placed upon the forehead and temples, and with this simple treatment and abstinence from water and food they readily recover. Bathing in the streams is a very common practice among them during the dry season, but they seldom indulge in this luxury after 10 o'clock, and rarely at all during the rainy season.

"A very widespread impression prevails in the public mind in favor of the southern climate to those who are predisposed to or affected with consumptive diseases, and as a general thing such is the case; but the Isthmus is an exception to the general rule; for, whether or not it is the approximation of the two oceans, and almost constant sea breezes, or the extreme dampness of the climate; either or both of these causes; in no place have I seen consumption more rapidly developed; indeed, it is a disease of which the natives very commonly die. The same is true of almost every other taint in the system.

"A very important consideration for those who visit this climate is that of dress. The experience of the English and American Army and Navy surgeons in tropical climates is well sustained here with regard to the use of flannels. There is nothing which so well protects the cutaneous surface against the effects of sun and rain as this material; it prevents the rapid evaporation from the surface, and consequent sudden check of the perspiration; and a shower of rain or the night air may be borne with far greater safety if the skin is protected by this covering; and light gauze flannel next to the skin will usually be found to add much to the comfort; but to those who are frequently exposed a good substantial red or blue one is much preferable.

"Another preventative which I deem of great importance, and which has hitherto been entirely neglected, is the use of fires. During the rainy season the atmosphere is very damp, and pervades everything; even the closest doors will not exclude it, and clothes will become mouldy without frequent sunning or the liberal use of camphor gum sprinkled among them. Such an atmosphere, especially in a sleeping room, must, of course, be more or less detrimental to health; but its effects may be entirely overcome by the occasional use of a fire in the afternoon, when the air is frequently so cool as to render it very grateful to the senses. Heat is, more-

over, one of the most powerful disinfecting agents we have, but how far it would prove effectual in dissipating the miasma is not certainly known, although there is no doubt but that it would to a considerable extent."

In the Forum of March, 1893, an article appears, "Panama: The Story of a Colossal Bubble," by Ernest Lambert. This paper relates the personal appearance of Count de Lesseps of Suez Canal fame on the Pacific Ocean, and the picturesque way in which in a fictitious manner he handled a spade on a steamboat, performing the ceremony of turning the first sod or soil or sand, as the function might be, in the formal inauguration of an enterprise. Mr. Ernest Lambert writes:

"In 1880, on the day set for the initial ceremonies of the Panama Canal work, a little flag-bedecked vessel steamed out of the harbor of Panama with Count Ferdinand de Lesseps and an illustrious company on board, bound for La Boca, the point on the Pacific shore of the Isthmus at which the canal was to emerge. Through some miscalculation the steamer was delayed in arriving until after the tide had begun its rapid fall. The eminent voyagers eyed the shore wistfully and looked at one another in consternation as the captain vainly essayed to land them among the rocks. La Boca flags beaconed encouragingly from the spot where the veteran 'piercer of continents' was to turn the first shovelful of earth; but the tide continued to fall and the distance to the shore increased. In this dilemma the versatile leader proved his brilliant fertility of resource. Uncovering his silvery locks he addressed a felicitious harangue to his companions, called for a spade, and turned on the steamer's deck an imaginary Isthmian clod. Then champagne was opened, everybody cheered, and the little steamer swung about and sailed away gayly with fluttering banners. In January, 1893, when his doom had been practically sealed by disclosures hardly paralleled in this or any other century, police agents visited the French mansion of this same man with a legal summons. Aged and infirm, he arose from a sick-bed, called for his cross of the Legion of Honor, clasped it theatrically to his breast and fell back fainting.

"These two incidents accurately typify the real spirit that has governed, from first to last, the conduct of the most tremendous engineering feat of modern times. Beside which, as its history shows, the cutting of the Mont Cenis Tunnel or the Suez Canal was mere child's play. M. De Lesseps' indefatigable predecessor with the Darien project, if not its real initiator, it is not perhaps generally known, was an American, Frederick M. Kelley, of New York, who should never be lost sight of in posterity's ultimate award. Before even the Suez Canal was attempted Kelley had begun to wander up and down, from country to country and capital to capital, like Columbus with a new route to the East in his brain, striving to enlist in his fasci-

nating scheme for saving millions of dollars annually to commerce and shortening the ocean journey by many thousands of miles. As early as 1852, when only 28 years old, Kelley, then a Wall street banker, became sole owner of the Columbian concession, subsequently transferred to French hands. Within three years he had accompanied, or dispatched, three expeditions to search for a depression in the Cordillera barrier that should enable him to utilize the Isthmian rivers running southward in an artificial waterway, to be continued thence by a short cut to the Pacific shore. Armed with maps and plans, he secured a respectful hearing from President Pierce and Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War, who, however, lacked funds to order a Government survey. In Europe Humboldt and Robert Stephenson encouraged him; the British institution of Civil Engineers voted him a gold medal for a paper 'Demonstrating the feasibility of connecting the two oceans by a canal without locks,' and Napoleon III. even offered to make a survey at France's expense, after Kelley had unfortunately compromised himself with the English. In 1857 President Buchanan did order a Government expedition, which returned in 1858, one officer reporting favorably, another adversely. With the outbreak of the Rebellion Kelley's concession expired, and he withdrew, impoverished, from the struggle. But in 1863, when the San Blas route was talked of, his old interest blazed up anew; he talked over wealthy friends and was instrumental in the dispatch of two other expeditions. It was not until 1875 that De Lesseps, who had met Kelley years before in London, organized his Isthmian Exploring Society, and inaugurated the movement that culminated in the International Canal Congress of 1879 and the adoption of a route specifically condemned by the most competent experts.

"Flushed with the merited success of his great Suez achievement, just then beginning to confound all augury, M. De Lesseps was in a position to engage enthusiastic public support in any effort to blow the airiest of bubbles. Goethe's nineteenth century dream of canals at Suez and Panama, and linking the Rhine and the Danube, he had realized as to the first particular; why should he not do so as to the second? The very croakings against Suez of incredulous statesmen and engineers, from Palmerston and Stevenson down, he was ready to cite in defense of a new undertaking. The favorite taunt of his English enemies, that he was 'no engineer, but a mere diplomatist,' he met with the same refutation. Nothing else in his record, to be sure, sustained him. It was not as an engineer that he began his Tunis apprenticeship; in Algeria, Madrid, Rome and Alexandria impugners of his diplomacy never excused him on technical grounds. Even at Suez, what M. Leon Say has called his genius for 'unravelling the future of international relations,' coupled with the adroit distribution of Bachsheesh and the propitiation of

VIEW OF LA ESCOLTA STREET, CITY OF MANILA.

BATHING POOL ON ROAD TO DAS MARINAS, AT IMUS, PROVINCE OF CAVITE.

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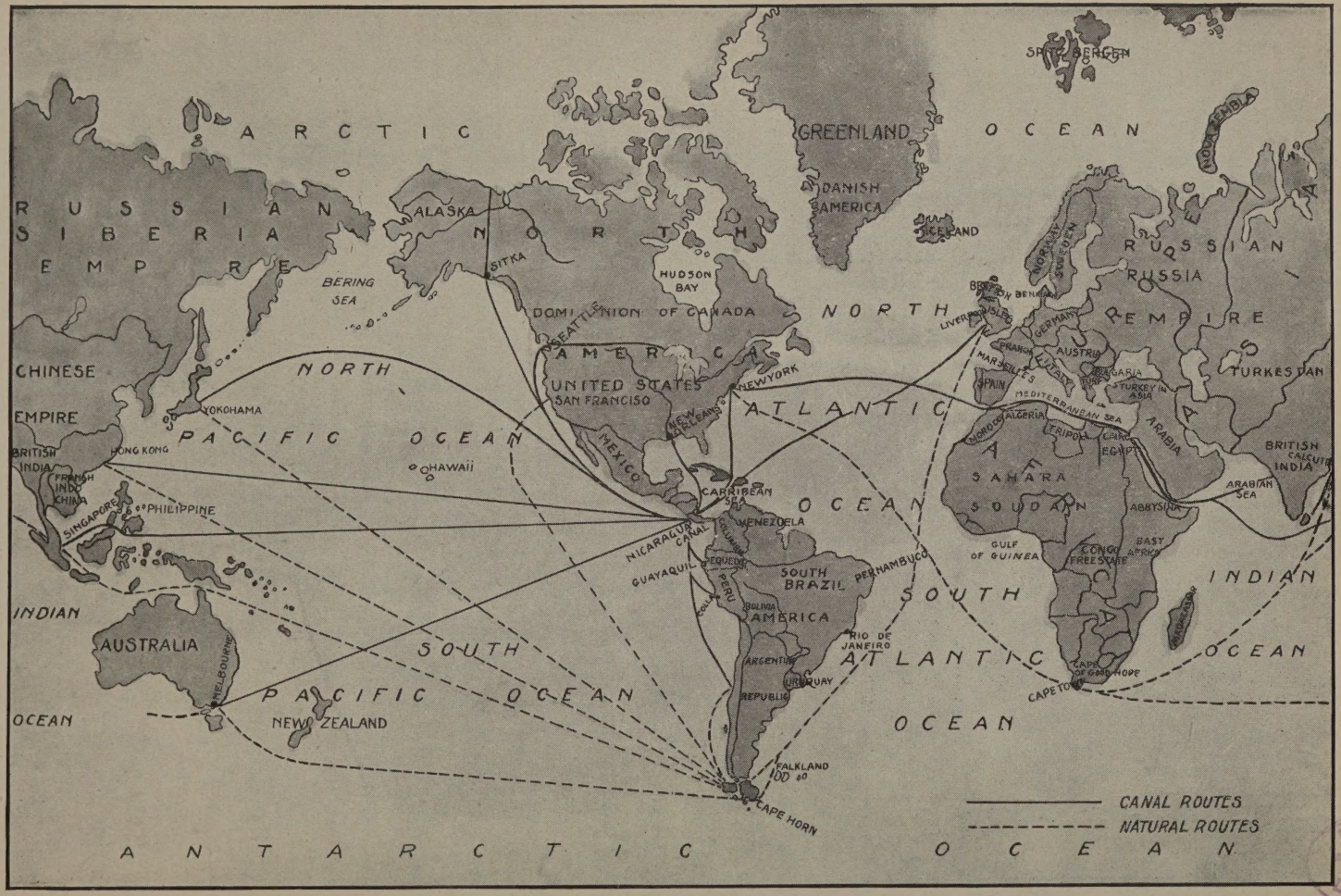

MAP SHOWING NATURAL WATERWAYS AND CANAL ROUTES, NOW AND FUTURE, TO OUR NEW POSSESSIONS EAST AND WEST.

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a willing and unscrupulous potentate, undoubtedly won him success where the very Caesar of engineers might quickly have buried his hopes in the desert sands. Certainly the calling of the Canal Congress, to extricate himself from the disagreeable responsibility of choosing expertly between five routes and eight competing propositions, was not the device of one who had reasoned out to its minutest detail the masterly solution of a great practical problem. Thus, indeed, at the outset a crumbling foundation was laid for the ambitious structure that has now so disastrously collapsed. Exactly what he knew personally of the precise nature of the task before him it is not now difficult to estimate. When the Congress met he was said to regard the elements requisite to a practicable canal as, 1, no locks; 2, good harbors; 3, the avoidance of other than tidal rivers—conditions, in effect, duplicating those at Suez. In the Congress it was positively decided that no canal with locks could accommodate a traffic sufficiently large to yield an adequate revenue; and when, at the closing session, by a vote of 78 to 8, 12 abstaining, the Congress formally declared in favor of the present route, it was understood that the adherence to the Suez model and the accommodation of future great vessels, rather than immediate commercial profit from existing opportunities, were the governing considerations. As a third element of weakness, it may be noted that the stipulations in the concession to Lieutenant Wyse, approved by President Paera of Colombia in 1878, were not uniformly favorable; nor were its advantages adequately improved. While granting the right of construction for 99 years from the date the canal was opened, it required the international commission to decide the route not later than 1881. The guarantees were then to form within two years a construction company, finishing the canal within another twelve years, or forfeiting all rights, together with the work accomplished, and all but the movable plant. The President to Colombia was authorized (not required) to grant a maximum extension of six years 'if, in an extreme case, beyond the control of the company, and after one-third part of the canal is complete, they should recognize the impossibility of finishing it in twelve years.' Not a word was said concerning recovery or indemnification in case of failure before the specified proportion was completed. M. Wyse, no doubt, whose experience has been a little more fortunate than Kelley's, never anticipated such a contingency or dreamed of the bungling indiscretion that was to link his name with the most colossal failure of the times.

"It would be the most gross injustice for the world to forget that Count Ferdinand De Lesseps, though failing in his Panama Canal endeavor, must forever be counted as one of the great men of his generation. He realized one dream. It was beyond mortal strength that one man, however gifted and brave, should win a

double immortality in constructing canals through the sands of Suez and the rocks of Darien. He could not accomplish the impossible. That which is wonderful is the gigantic work that was done before it was established that there was a formidable margin between the estimates covered by resources and the remainder. The stupendous proportions of the task are now fully before the world, and the surprise is, turning from the exaggeration of the failure of De Lesseps, to discover the immensity which has been achieved."

After the failure of the old Panama Canal Company in February, 1889, the property passed into the hands of a receiver, who, seeking to save from ruin the vast number of subscribers of moderate means, referred the technical problems to a "Comité d'Etudes" selected from among the best engineers of France. In May, 1890, this commission made an able report, indicating the numerous points which demanded further investigation before final plans could be judiciously adopted, but suggesting the general features of such a plan, based on a study of all existing data. To make these further investigations a new company was organized in October, 1894; and since that date it has quietly prosecuted its labors and has now collected all the information needed to command the confidence of engineers in its definite project. It is to set forth this project, and to indicate its superiority to anything possible in Nicaragua, that the present article is written. It may be proper to add that the writer, as a member of a technical commission of engineers, made last spring a careful examination of the entire route of the Panama Canal, and is thus possessed of definite personal information, in some degree assisted by having formerly traversed Nicaragua. The following are the essential features of this project, endorsed, with some possible future modifications in detail, by a Comité Technique, containing French, English, German, Russian and American engineers, among them the chief engineers of the Manchester and of the Kiel ship canals.

The original plan contemplated placing the canal in the bed of the Chagres, and conducting the river to the sea through artificial channels. This project was long ago definitely abandoned, being replaced by the familiar system of locks and dams which has been so often successfully applied to other rivers. Careful measurements and studies of the regimen of this torrential stream have shown the system to be entirely applicable to it, and that none of the constructions demanded will exceed the limits of recognized engineering practice. To these advantages it should be added that two good harbors already exist at the Atlantic and Pacific terminals; that an American railway is in active operation parallel and in close proximity to the line of the canal throughout its entire extent; that about 40 per cent of the whole length has been actually excavated, and that great progress has been made

on the intermediate portions; and finally, that extensive preparations have already been made for accommodating the army of laborers which will be required on any Isthmian canal. These reasons certainly demand that the comparative merits of this route should be considered before adopting any other location for the canal now generally believed to be essential to meet the needs of our Atlantic and Pacific coasts.

In Nicaragua the general conditions are distinctly inferior. Two ports must be artificially prepared; one at least of great practical difficulty, since nature has already closed the old harbor. About 120 miles of railroad must be built, mostly traversing a wilderness. Almost nothing has been done in the way of construction or of preparation for the work. Of the whole length of 176 miles, 68 miles follow the bed of a crooked river, where the prevailing trade winds and the currents resulting from the whole outflow of Lake Nicaragua will unite to aggravate the difficulties of shipping in transit. The length of the route is about four times that of the Panama Canal, adding proportionately to the time of passage; finally, at least one dam is demanded, quite without precedent in our canal construction, besides several miles of huge embankments in the San Francisco basin, where the foundations are extremely bad, and where a rupture at any future time would entail veritable disasters.

But passing from generalities, the details of the Panama project will first be considered.

The Canal Proper.—The total length is 75 kilometres (46.5 miles), of which five (3.1 miles) lie in the Bay of Panama, between Isle Naos and La Boca. Of the 70 kilometres (43.4 miles) of inland construction, 24 kilometres (14.88 miles) on the Atlantic side (between Colon and Bohio) and 7 kilometres (4.34 miles) on the Pacific side (between La Boca and Miraflores) will be at the sea level, and of this distance about 25 kilometres (15.5 miles) are now essentially excavated, thus there remains only 38 kilometres (23.5 miles) to be traversed by the aid of locks; and here also so much actual work has been done that no visitor can pass over the line without appreciating that the canal can no longer be regarded as an experiment.

Of these 38 kilometres between Bohio and Miraflores, the first 22 (13.64 miles) extending from Bohio to Obispo will traverse a vast lake 5,500 hectares (13,585 acres) in extent, created in the valley of the Chagres by a dam at Bohio. Its level above the sea will range between a minimum of 16 metres (52.48 ft.) and a maximum of 20 metres (65.60 ft.), the normal level being 17 metres (55.76 ft.). A reservoir of 150 million cubic metres (52,950 million cu. ft.) is thus provided to con-

trol in part the floods of the river. Access to the lake will be furnished by two double locks at Bohio.

There thus will remain to be considered only the 16 kilometres (10 miles) lying between Obispo, where the canal leaves the Chagres River and Miraflores, where sea-level is reached. This section includes the continental divide at the Culebra, approached on the side of the Atlantic by the valley of the Obispo, a tributary of the Chagres, and on the Pacific by the valley of the Rio Grande. The great economic problem to solve has been to determine the most advantageous level for the bottom of the canal between these two points, with a view to afford the best balance between the coast and the time of constructing the locks and dams on the one hand and deep cutting on the other.

This problem, with its adjuncts of how to best supply the summit level during the dry season, how to regulate the floods of the Chagres during the rainy season, and how to provide hydraulic power for lighting and operating the canal at all seasons, has been most thoroughly studied on the spot by the new company since its organization in 1894. Space is lacking to detail the trial excavations, aggregating 3 million cubic metres, the surveys, the borings, the gaugings of the water courses and the many other details which have been investigated in the most elaborate manner. Suffice it to say that, after comparative estimates of 16 variants, the Comité Technique has advised the adoption of a level of 20.75 metres (68 ft.) above mean tide, which, should experience in the active prosecution of the work render it expedient, will admit of modification, either by adding two more locks, raising the level of the cut to 29.5 metres (97 ft.), or of suppressing one or perhaps two locks, and thus reducing it to 10 metres (33 ft.).

This definitive plan, placing the bottom of the canal at a level of 20.75 metres, involves two double locks at Obispo, raising the water surface at the summit level to a maximum of 31.25 metres (102.5 ft.) and a minimum of 29.75 metres (97.58 ft.); one double lock at Paraiso dropping these levels to 23.25 metres (76.26 ft.) and 22.25 metres (72.98 ft.), two double locks at Pedro-Miguel, dropping them to 6.25 metres (20.5 ft.) and 5.25 metres (18.22 ft.); and a tidal lock at Miraflores, where the water level varies between 3 metres, or 10 ft. above, and 3 metres below mean tide. (On the Atlantic side the tidal oscillation is only a few inches, and no such provision is needful.) The length of these levels in every case exceeds 2 kilometres (1.24 miles), thus avoiding trouble from oscillations due to lockages. In reference to the deep cutting at Culebra—the bugbear of former days—it is only needful to say that the excavation has already been carried below the level of the soft upper strata, which gives so much trouble by sliding, and is now and will continue to be

in an indurated clay schist, requiring blasting, and passing to veritable rock. Serious trouble need no longer be apprehended here. This problem has been studied most thoroughly by the new company—involving the removal of about 2 million cubic metres of material, the sinking of many pits and borings, and the construction at the worst point of a tunnel 210 metres long (689 ft.) at a level of 41 metres (134.5 ft.).

In locating the line of the canal, great care has been taken to avoid abrupt curves. A minimum radius of 2,500 metres (8,200 ft.) is adopted for the central cut, and of 3,000 metres (9,840 ft.) for the rest of the line, except near Bohio, where radii of 2,500 metres and 2,000 metres (6,560 ft.) occur in enlargements having a bottom width of 62 metres (203.4 ft.), and near Obispo, where one radius of 1,700 metres (5,576 ft.) occurs with a bottom width of 80 metres (262.4 ft.). Even with the large standard curves adopted, suitable enlargements will be provided to render the route perfect in this important detail, in respect to which it is more favored by nature than either Kiel or Manchester, as appears from the following figures:

	Canals			
	Manchester.	Kiel.	Panama.	Nicaragua.
Total length, kilos	54	98.6	74.5	284
Minimum radius, metres	571	1,000	1,700	.....
Normal radius, metres		...	2,500* / 3,000†	1,220§ / 1,311‡
Length, straight	63%	63%	57%	.....
Curvature:				
2,500 metres or more	15%	...	41%	.....
Less than 2,500 metres	22%	...	2%	.....
2,000 metres or more	27%	29%	42%	.....
Less than 2,000 metres	10%	8%	1%	.....

*Central. †Elsewhere. §Eastern divide. ‡Western divide.

The cross-section to be given the canal varies in different localities, as shown in the following table: The depth is uniformly 9 metres (29.52 ft.); and the side slopes usually 3 base to 2 height in earth, and 2 base to 3 height in rocky cuts. In respect to berms and revetments, the latest practice, as recommended by the recent International Congress of Engineers at Brussels, will be followed.

	Earth		Rocky cuts	
	Section, sq. m.	Bottom width, metres.	Section, sq. m.	Bottom width, metres.
Colon to Bohio	406.5	30	380.2	34
Lake Bohio (minimum)	571.5	50	531.0	53
Summit level	379.5	36	379.5	36
Paraiso to Pedro Miguel	406.5	30	380.2	34
Pedro Miguel to Miraflores	406.5	30	380.2	34
Miraflores to La Boca*	720.0	30	.....	..
Bay of Panama (low tide)	693.0	50	.....	..

*Low tide.

Enlargements 600 metres (1,968 ft.) long and 60 metres (196.8 ft.) wide at bottom, to enable vessels to pass each other, will be provided in the canal at intervals of about 8 kilometres (4.96 miles); but immediately above and below the locks these dimensions will be raised to 700 metres (2,296 ft.), and 62 metres (203.4 ft.).

The Locks.—The locks, all founded on rock, are to be double, the larger chamber having a serviceable length of 225 metres (738 ft.), a width of 25 metres (82 ft.), and a depth of 9.5 metres (31.16 ft.) at the sides, and 10 metres (32.8 ft.) at the middle. The smaller chamber has the same serviceable length, with intermediate gates to reduce it to 130 metres (426.4 ft.) when desired; a width of 18 metres (59.04 ft.); and the same depth as the other. The larger will be constructed first, together with the foundations and head of the smaller, thus permitting the latter to be completed after opening the canal to traffic. The maximum lift has been fixed at 9 metres (29.5 ft.), except at Bohio, where provision for 10 metres (32.8 ft.) will be made, for use during extreme floods of the Chagres, which last only for a few hours.

The gates will be pivoted single leaf type, and water will be supplied by pipes buried in the lock floors and delivering on each side and throughout the whole length of the chamber, the flow being regulated by valves of the low level cylindrical pattern. Entrance to the chambers from either direction will be facilitated by crib piers, 60 metres long, with detached heads to protect the structure against shocks.

The Dams.—There will be six dams, five located on the line of the canal at Bohio, at Obispo, at Paraiso, at Pedro-Miguel and at Miraflores, and one at Alhajuela, 16 kilometres (10 miles) above, on the upper Chagres. Of these only the first and last need be considered, as the other four are minor affairs presenting no engineering difficulties (three of them are to be of masonry and one of earth).

The dam at Bohio will be of earth, abutting on conglomerate rock at the sides, and founded on a compact bed of clay, believed to be diluvial. The length of the crest will be 392 metres (1.286 ft.); the extreme height above the bed of the river, 23 metres (75.4 ft.), and above the foundation 28.5 metres (93.5 ft.). The width at the crest which rises 3 metres (10 ft.) above the highest level of the lake, will be 15 metres (49.2 ft.); the upstream slope has a height of 1 on a base of 3, with four berms each 3 metres (10 ft.) wide, the whole revetted with stone laid dry; the downstream slope has a height of 2 on a base of 3, with one berm 3 metres wide, and is supported by a mass of loose rock rising to a sufficient height to protect the dam if, in spite of all precautions, it should chance to be overtopped by a sudden flood during construction. A puddled core, and a concrete wall at the upper toe, will cut off any possible leakage. The mass of the dam will be of excellent material,

found in the close vicinity. During construction the river will be diverted through the rock cut for the locks, with ample provisions by reservoirs for combating larger floods. All the details have been carefully studied, and the project has received the unanimous approval of the Comité Technique.

The dam at Alhajuela will be of concrete masonry founded on and abutting against compact rock. The length of crest will be 285.5 metres (936.4 ft.); and the height, 41 metres (134.5 ft.) above the bed of the river and 50 metres (164 ft.) above the deepest part of the rock foundation. The cross-section conforms to the conditions of recent engineering practice.

To facilitate construction, a tunnel 300 metres (984 ft.) long and 75 square metres (807 sq. ft.) in cross-section will be driven through the ridge to a bend of the river below, and a temporary dam will divert into it the minor flood discharges of the river. To meet the case of larger floods, the dam will be raised alternately on the two sides, thus allowing space for a portion to be overflowed without interrupting the work. These details have been carefully studied, and meet the approval of the Comité Technique.

Engineers will recognize the immense advantages possessed by the Panama route, in the matter of dam construction, over the conditions found in Nicaragua, where the diversion of the San Juan River is admitted to be impracticable, and where the foundations present extraordinary difficulties and demand an unusual structure quite without precedent for canal purposes.

Regulation of the Chagres River.—This subject, comprising the control of the floods and the supply of the summit level, has received the elaborate investigation demanded by its importance. Space is lacking for details, but the general features are the following:

At Alhajuela the low water surface of the river is 28 metres (91.84 ft.) above sea level; at Gamboa, 14 metres (46 ft.); and at Bohio, 0 metres. The mean annual discharges at these three points respectively are 63 cubic metres (2,224 cu. ft.), 84 cubic metres (2,965 cu. ft.), and 121 cubic metres (4,261 cu. ft.) per second. During the three low water months (February, March and April) these mean volumes fall to 27 cubic metres (953 cu. ft.), 31 cubic metres (1,094 cu. ft.), and 39 cubic metres (1,376 cu. ft.), the minimum being 9 cubic metres (318 cu. ft.), 10 cubic metres (353 cu. ft.), and 14 cubic metres (459 cu. ft.). The maximum flood volumes closely estimated on the basis of the floods of 1879, the largest within the memory of the inhabitants, is at Gamboa 2,040, cubic metres (57,539 cu. ft.) per second, and at Bohio 3,100 cubic metres (109,410 cu. ft.). The floods of the river, great and small, are of the torrential type, resulting from the heavy and widespread tempests

of the rainy season. Their duration is extremely short, rarely exceeding in the greatest floods 48 hours at Gamboa and 96 hours at Bohio. The maximum heights ever attained above the low water stage are about 11 metres (36.1 ft.) at Gamboa, and 12 metres (39.36 ft.) at Bohio. These figures, resulting from years of patient and careful observations, have furnished the basis for solving the two great questions of river regulation presented by the problem of the canal.

Upon an estimate, known to be safe, of allowing 1,000 cubic metres (35,300 cu. ft.) per second to freely pass Gamboa and 1,200 cubic metres (42,360 cu. ft.) to freely pass Bohio, reservoirs to contain 100 million cubic metres (3,500,000,000 cu. ft.) above Alhajuela, and 150 million cubic metres (5,295,000,000 cu. ft.) above Bohio are needful to restrain the greatest known floods; and these reservoirs are provided by the dams already described. In no other than the flood of 1879 would so large volumes be demanded.

The level of these lakes to be regulated by overflow weirs of the Stoney type, which have given perfect satisfaction on the Manchester Canal, and which have the great merit of allowing the sills to be placed below the water surface without serious leakage.

The volume of 1,000 cubic metres (35,300 cu. ft.) per second permitted to pass Alhajuela will follow the bed of the Chagres to Lake Bohio. The volume of 1,200 cubic metres (42,360 cu. ft.) allowed to escape from the latter, will pass by two overflow weirs—one to the left of the canal discharging 500 cubic metres (17,650 cu. ft.) per second through the bed of the Chagres and its derivation; and the other at the sources of Rio Gigante discharging 700 cubic metres (24,710 cu. ft.) by a route also separated from the canal.

To supply the summit level during the season of low water, the inflow of 20 cubic metres (706 cu. ft.) per second will be required. To provide 7,000 horsepower for lighting the canal and operating the gates, 15 cubic metres (530 cu. ft.) per second are demanded, falling 32 metres (105 ft.) at Alhajuela, and 16 metres (52.5 ft.) at Bohio, and acting on turbines driving dynamos to transmit the power in the form of electricity. The reservoir capacity, in excess of the low water flow of the Chagres, to supply these two needs, is 130 million cubic metres (4,589 million cu. ft.). The area of the lake above Alhajuela is 2,300 hectares (5,750 acres) at the level of 61 metres (200 ft.) above tide water and 3,000 hectares (7,500 acres) at the level of 65 metres (213 ft.), the crest being 69 metres (226 ft.), calling for a layer of water 9 metres (29.5 ft.) deep to contain 100 million cubic metres for flood storage and 130 million for low water supply. Upon this basis the capacity of the lake has been regulated.

To transport the needful volume of water (20 cubic metres per second) from Alhajuela to the summit level, a feeder 16 kilometres (10 miles) long will leave the lake at a level of 58 metres (190.3 ft.) above tide, and follow the left bank to a lateral valley, discharging gently into the summit level about a kilometre (0.62 miles) from the locks at Obispo. The fall between the lake and point of delivery will be 17 metres (55.8 ft.), and the cross-section is established to carry from 25 (882) to 40 cubic metres (1,412 cu. ft.) per second, with a view to meeting all possible contingencies of a largely increased traffic. At these heights water will flow into the canal even if the higher summit level should finally be found to be the more advantageous. The feeder traverses a difficult region and will be costly, but all details of construction have been successfully elaborated.

At Lake Bohio, as already stated, a capacity of 150 million cubic metres is needed for storage during great floods, and to assist the overflow weirs in regulating the level during the sudden influx of smaller floods. This volume calls for a layer of water 3 metres (10 ft.) deep; and another metre has been added, to contain a reserve for supplying evaporation in the lake during the dry season.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the hydraulic problems presented by this turbulent river—at one time regarded as so serious—admit of satisfactory solution. This is hardly the case in Nicaragua, where one of the great difficulties of the project is the regulation of a summit level depending on that of an immense lake 2,700 square miles in extent, receiving directly the drainage of 8,700 square miles of territory, together with that of 2,250 square miles more through the tributaries of the San Juan River above the dam at Ochoa; conditions which render the ordinary method of storage reservoirs wholly inapplicable. Nevertheless a delicate regulation of this level, and at an artificial height, is essential to avoid on the one hand drowning a cultivated district on the west shore, and on the other hand exposing rocks in the navigable bed of the San Juan. These difficulties are aggravated by the necessity of placing the overflow weirs near Ochoa, at a distance of more than 100 kilometres (62 miles) from the lake.

In this connection it may also be noted that in the matter of rainfall the Panama Canal is the more fortunate. All the difficult excavations and works of construction, except those near Bohio, lie in the interior where the annual downfall, as determined by 32 years of observation, is 93 ins., or only about 50 per cent. more than on our Gulf coast; while in Nicaragua, the most difficult constructions, including the Ochoa dam and the San Francisco embankments, lie in a district where the downfall, as determined from the data collected by the Nicaragua Canal Company (about seven years' observations), is 256 ins., or nearly three times as much.

Estimates.—This subject has received the most careful study, both in determining quantities and unit prices. Much valuable data as to the latter, based on actual experience on the Isthmus, has been available. The cost of each different project, and there have been sixteen different variants, has been estimated in detail, and a selection between them has thus been reached intelligently. The sum needed for the work of construction proper is, in round numbers, $100,000,000. The element of time is more difficult to determine, but the volume remaining to be excavated at the Culebra being a little less than 12 million cubic metres (15,600,000 cu. yds.), it is believed that ten years is a conservative estimate.

The Nicaragua Canal.—To the general relative merits of the two canals already considered may be added that the Panama route lies in the interior of Colombia, while that by Nicaragua lies near the Costa Rican boundary, where hostilities are liable at any time to cause difficulties, as they already have done during the canal examination by the Walker commission last spring. Also that in respect to danger from possible earthquakes, which might easily cause trouble at the great locks, Panama is by far the more safe, because no active volcano is found within a distance of at least 200 miles from it, while three lie in the close vicinity of the route of the Nicaragua Canal, and one within only forty miles of its western locks. Last April an earthquake destroyed substantial masonry buildings at Leon, only 100 miles distant from these lock sites.

But while it is thus easy to compare the two canals in their general features, and to see that the route by Panama is much superior to that by Nicaragua, when details are considered, we are confronted by the fact that really no definite project can be claimed for the latter. The company's project, as revised by the Government Commission, of which General Ludlow was president, is shown on the accompanying drawing, which may be compared with that given to illustrate the Panama project; but it should be noted that the latter has double the horizontal scale, thus failing to impress the eye, by fifty per cent., with its relative merit in respect to length. The data upon which this project was based were so unsatisfactory to the Ludlow Commission that they reported: "for obtaining the necessary data for the formation of a final project, eighteen months' time, covering two dry seasons, and an expenditure of $350,000, will be required." A new commission has been appointed, and new surveys inaugurated; and it appears from the views of the individual members, as given before the select committee of the Senate in June, 1898, that the changes undergoing study are radical in their nature, and that, although some at least of the engineering difficulties which impressed the former Government Commission are recognized as grave, no means of avoiding them have yet been dis-

covered. Under these conditions it is apparent that confidence cannot be accorded to such a project; and that really there is only one canal, that of Panama, whose construction could be judiciously undertaken at the present time. It is to be hoped before the Government embarks on so important a work that the relative merits of the two routes will be examined and judged by a commission of expert engineers, for it is certain that only one canal is now needed, and that that one should be the best possible.

One of the discussions of the people that has accompanied the thoughtful attention of mankind to the various schemes for the practical removal of the barrier between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans unbroken north of the Straits of Magellan—well described as an enormous canal provided by natural causes—is the comparative height of the water in the two oceans that are so near and yet so far, at the Isthmus, and this mysterious matter is treated according to the popular taste in "Sport, Travel and Adventure in Newfoundland and the West Indies," by Capt. W. R. Kennedy, R. N.; William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London, as follows:

"This opens the question as to what effect the Panama Canal will have upon the tides and currents of the Caribbean Sea. One would naturally suppose that the water in the canal would flow continually from east to west, or from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, on account of the constant set of the current and the prevailing winds being from that direction. The difference in the height of the tide at Colon and Panama is very remarkable. At the former place the rise and fall of the tide is only three feet; whereas at Panama the difference between high and low water mark is, as far as I remember, nearly twenty. The tide is nine hours later at Colon than it is at Panama, so that when it is high or low water at Panama it is half-tide at Colon.

"As a matter of fact, I am inclined to think that in the event of what is called a tide-level being cut through the Isthmus—that is, a canal without locks, open to the ocean at either end—there would be no continuous stream of water flowing through the canal in any one direction, but the result would probably be that the tides would flow in from either end, meet in the middle and flow back again, as may be seen in the Straits of Magellan, which, after all, is but a huge canal of Nature's own construction.

"It is quite possible that the rush of water may be so great as to seriously interfere with the passage of ships entering the canal, in which case it will be necessary to form a lock at the Panama end. It may even be necessary, in view of the difference in the depth of the harbors at either end, to slope the bottom of the canal from

Colon downwards to Panama. This, according to Max Adler's laughable story,* would have the effect of causing the water to flow downhill, thereby draining the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean!

"But, joking apart, the tendency of the water must be to find its own level, and if it can be shown that the mean level of the two oceans is not identical, there must be a constant flow in the direction of the lowest level.

"Now, it is not at all certain that the mean level of the Pacific and Atlantic oceans is the same; and it is quite possible that, owing to the rotation of the earth on its axis, and the formation of the land in the neighborhood of the isthmus, the water may be piled up on the Atlantic side and drawn away from the Pacific side. A glance at the map will show what I mean. And we all know how a strong breeze will keep a river back, or, if in the same direction as the flow of the river, will drive it out of a lock and thus raise the river; so this theory may not be so absurd after all. I leave it to those learned in such matters.

"There is another view of the case which never struck me till now. Geologists are of the opinion that at one time the Isthmus of Panama was submerged, and South America an island. They are led to this conclusion by the totally different class of animals to be found in South and North America. At that time the Gulf stream which now warms our shores must have flowed westward through this channel, and the British Isles were a frozen zone unsuited for human habitation. Cut through the isthmus, and the warm waters of the Gulf stream may to a very limited extent be deflected in the direction of their former course. The effect would be probably no more than drawing off a kettle of water from the river Tweed, and the immediate effect on our climate be imperceptible; but it might to a very trifling extent have some influence—about as much, perhaps, as the endeavor to shampoo an elephant with a single egg!

"I was led to this diversion from my recollection of the canal scheme twelve years ago, when I was ordered to report on its feasibility. At that time there were no fewer than five schemes for connecting the Pacific with the Atlantic Ocean. I sorted these schemes, and came to the conclusion that the only one likely to be attended with any success was a direct tide-level canal across the Isthmus of Panama. I shall be disappointed if this opinion be found not to be correct."

We avail ourselves of the official publications by the New Panama Canal Company for details of the condition of the work done, supported by photographic views remarkably beautiful and instructive. First, it is desirable to look at the law,

*Elbow-Room. By Max Adler.

and we give Articles 5 and 6 of the Panama Canal concession of May 18, 1878, under which the canal is being completed:

Art. 5. The government of the Republic hereby declares the ports at each end of the canal, and the waters of the latter from sea to sea, to be neutral for all time; and consequently, in case of war among other nations, the transit through the canal shall not be interrupted by such event, and the merchant vessels and individuals of all nations of the world may enter said ports and travel on the canal without being molested or detained.

In general, any vessel may pass freely without any discrimination, exclusion or preference of nationalities or persons, on payment of the dues and the observance of the rules established by the company for the use of the canal and its dependencies.

Exception is to be made of foreign troops which shall not have the right to pass without permission from Congress, and of the vessels of nations which, being at war with the United States of Colombia, may not have obtained the right to pass through the canal at all times by public treaties wherein is guaranteed the sovereignty of Colombia over the Isthmus of Panama, and over the territory whereon the canal is to be cut, besides the immunity and neutrality of the said canal, its ports, bays and dependencies and the adjacent seas.

Art. 6. The United States of Colombia reserves to themselves the right to pass their vessels, troops, ammunitions of war at all times and without paying any dues whatever.

The passage of the canal is strictly closed to war vessels of nations at war with another or other nations, and which may not have acquired, by public treaty with the Colombian Government, the right to pass by the canal at all times.

The United States of America is the only nation with which Colombia has ever made a treaty wherein is guaranteed to Colombia the neutrality of the Isthmus of Panama and the sovereignty of Colombia over said territory, as above provided; and, therefore, it is the only nation having the "special or remarkable advantages" provided for by the treaty.

Under this treaty Colombia granted concession to the Panama Railroad, which railroad was thereupon constructed and for forty-three years has been in continuous operation. On several noteworthy occasions the United States has protected the railroad property, in compliance with the obligations of this treaty.

Also, in contemplation of the provisions of this treaty, Colombia granted in 1878 the concession for the Panama Canal now owned by the new Panama Canal Company; and like protection to the canal, as to the railroad, will, of course, be

assured by the United States under this treaty. Over $150,000,000 have been actually invested in the Panama Canal works, two-fifths of the entire canal work have been completed, and the balance is under active construction, in firm reliance upon the protection assured by the United States under said treaty to the "Isthmus of Panama from its southernmost extremity until the boundary of Costa Rica."

The present organization of the new Panama Canal Company is as follows:

Executive Officers: J. Bonnardel, President; Maurice Hutin, Director-General; Edward Lampre, Secretary.

Board of Directors: Mr. Bonnardel, President, director of the Western Railroad Company of France; Mr. Baillet, ex-judge of the Commercial Court of Orleans; Mr. Brolemann, director of the Credit Lyonnais, and also president of the Franco-Canadian Credit Foncier; Mr. Chanove, managing director of the Steel and Iron Works of Huta and Bankova, in Russia; Mr. Jonquière, inspector of Public Lands and Works, and director of the Realty Company of Lyons, France; Mr. Lebègue, director of the Bank Société Générale and ex-director of the Bank of France (Branch for Nancy); Mr. Méliodon, director of the Comptoir National d'Escompte of Paris and of the Credit Foncier of France; Mr. Ramet, ex-president of the Commercial Court of Rennes, France; Mr. De St. Quentin, director of the Credit Industrial Commercial; Mr. Souchon, director of the Coal Mining Company of Saint Etienne.

Commercial Representative at New York: Xavier Boyard, 45 Wall Street, New York City.

General Counsel: Sullivan & Cromwell, United States Trust Co. Building, 45 Wall Street, New York City.

The photographic illustrations belong in picturesque America, and are most effective in placing before the eye that which has been done. The illustrations were made from photographs (not merely drawings) of various sections of the work, taken the latter part of the year 1897 and in the year 1898, and are intended to convey to the reader some idea of the present condition and progress of work on the canal.

The plate showing a portion of the completed canal, with a boat in the foreground, illustrates the condition of the canal for fourteen miles from the Atlantic, inland. This portion of the canal is navigable, as is also about four miles from the Pacific, inland.

The various cuts of the Culebra completely refute the charge that it was impossible to make a suitable excavation at this point.

The other illustrations show the progress of the work and the character of the

plant employed in its execution. Most of this machinery and plant is of the most approved American design and manufacture.

MAP AND PROFILE.

The profile shows the three plans all equally feasible and about equal in cost, but differing in time required for execution. Level 20.75 has been adopted, subjected to further reduction of the number of locks if found desirable in completion.

It also illustrates the large proportion of work already completed, and clearly indicates, by dotted lines, the original surface line (indicated in black) and the cutting down of the same to the present levels (indicated in red).

The map shows the route of the canal from ocean to ocean, and the line of the Panama Railroad, which is contiguous.

International Technical Commission, composed of engineers of United States, France, Russia, England, Germany and Colombia: Mr. A. Robaglia, General Inspector of Bridges and Roads (France), retired, President; *Mr. Bouvier, General Inspector of Bridges and Roads (France), retired, Secretary; Brig-Gen. Henry L. Abbot, Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army, retired; Mr. E. Castel, General Inspector of Mines (France), retired; Mr. V. Daymard, Chief Engineer of Transatlantique Co. (France); Mr. Fargue, General Inspector of Bridges and Roads (France), retired; Mr. A. Fetley, Chief Engineer, Aqueduct Commissioners, New York City, United States America; Mr. Fulscher, "Conseiller intime" at the Department of Public Works of Prussia, formerly Engineering Director at the works of the Kiel Canal (Prussia); Mr. Hersent, Civil Engineer (France); Mr. W. Henry Hunter, Chief Engineer of the Manchester Canal Co. (England); Mr. Koch, Councillor Department of Public Works, Director of the Technical Academy of Darmstadt, formerly Engineering Member of the Imperial Commission for the Kiel Canal (Prussia); Mr. Jules Martin, Inspector General of Ponts et Chaussées, retired (France); Mr. C. Skalkowski, formerly Director of Mines for the Department of Agriculture and Lands (Russia); *Mr. Sosa, Chief Engineer of Colombian States (South America).

Brief history of the predecessor company, the old Panama Canal Company (the Universal Interoceanic Canal Company), 1880-1888:

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

The widespread interest in the financial failure of the old Panama Company

*Recently deceased.

can be explained by the universal character of the undertaking, the celebrity of the man who was at its head, and the importance of the interests involved.

In France this failure, unfortunately, served at the time certain political purposes; therefore public attention was diverted from the undertaking itself.

It must, however, be conceded that the construction of the interoceanic canal is a commercial enterprise like any other. For its successful planning and execution every detail must first be carefully studied. The solution to be arrived at should not be based upon preconceived ideas, however attractive these may appear. Such a method is dangerous, especially so in an undertaking, which in its greatness, difficulties and complexity, has no precedent.

An impartial examination of the financial failure of the company founded by Mr. De Lesseps discloses a number of causes which had more or less grave consequences, speaking either from a financial or technical point of view, but all relate to an initial or fundamental cause, that is, from its beginning there was an omission to make careful and thorough surveys to determine the character and cost of the work, as well as the time necessary to complete it.

It would be unjust, however, to underestimate the importance of the work accomplished, and the results obtained, by the old company. They will be fully presented later herein.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS HELD AT PARIS IN MAY, 1879.

Notwithstanding its extreme interest, it is not possible even to summarize the history of the discoveries, explorations and plans of maritime canals on the American Isthmus prior to the year 1879, at which time an international congress met in Paris and, after an examination of the several plans which had been presented, adopted the following conclusion:

"The Congress is of the opinion that the cutting of an international sea level canal, so desirable in the interests of commerce and of navigation, is possible, and that this maritime canal, in order to provide the indispensable facility for access and use that a passage of this kind should offer, ought to be constructed from the Gulf of Limon (Colon) to the Bay of Panama."

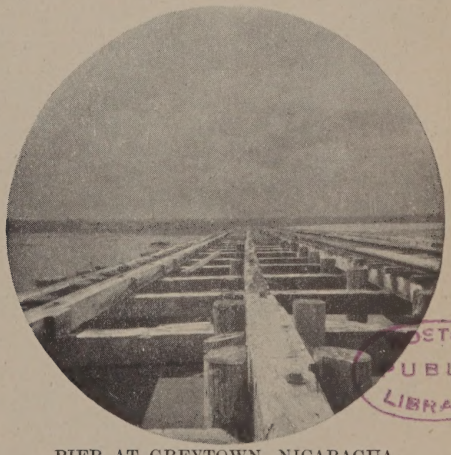
The conclusion of the Technical Commission of this Congress were slightly less formal, and were thus expressed:

"It is the opinion of the Technical Commission that the Interoceanic Canal should be constructed from the Gulf of Limon to the Bay of Panama, and this Commission specially recommends the building of a sea level canal along this route."

THEATRE AT SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA.

SCHOOL HOUSE IN SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA.

VIEW ON SAN JUAN RIVER, COSTA RICA



PIER AT GREYTOWN, NICARAGUA.

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BANANA TRAIN ON LINE FROM PORT LIMON TO SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA.

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Reference to the debates which took place in the Congress of 1879 discloses that although a great majority of its members recognized the superiority of the proposed plan (Colon-Panama) many among them, and not the least eminent and experienced, declare, that if the realization of the plan of a sea level canal was to be urged because it was most conducive to the great growth of traffic, as well as to the safety and rapidity of its passage, it was to be feared that this would present too many difficulties, or too great a cost, and that a canal with locks would fully satisfy the wants of navigation.

No doubt the personal opinion of Mr. De Lesseps, the originator of the Suez sea level canal, had great weight in the decision of the Congress. Mr. De Lesseps had always asserted that the canal between the Atlantic and Pacific should be constructed at a constant level.

We are compelled to admit that the completed surveys and work accomplished in the Isthmus of Panama undeniably demonstrates that Mr. De Lesseps' ideal is now practically susceptible of realization; but Mr. De Lesseps was entirely mistaken concerning the conditions of execution in the first attempt he made.

The Congress of 1879 had calculated that the time for the finishing of the canal would be at least twelve years, and it fixed the probable expense of the undertaking at $214,000,000. Supposing that the interest on capital during construction amounted to $26,000,000, there would be a total expenditure of $240,000,000.

Mr. De Lesseps, in the beginning of the year 1880, went to the Isthmus of Panama with a company of engineers for the purpose of completing the surveys which had been submitted the preceding year to the International Congress. The estimate of the construction work proper authorized by this Commission amounted to $166,800,000.

At the same time this Commission expressed the opinion that with good and judicious organization the work might be concluded in eight years. Mr. De Lesseps believed it to be possible to reduce this estimate of expenditures.

It was under these conditions that the work was commenced in 1881. After employing two or three years in making more careful and thorough surveys, and in preparatory work, the real difficulties of the undertaking began to be understood.

It must be remembered that everything had to be created, at an enormous expense and very slowly, in a country entirely lacking in natural resources, and situated at a great distance from the source of supplies.

It must be recalled, also, that there had been great want of foresight, in proportion to the importance of the work, and this explains the grave consequences which ensued. Notwithstanding the existence of the Panama Railroad along the line of the canal at nearly every portion of it, the first installation was extremely tedious and costly. Finally it was necessary to construct a large number of buildings to house about 15,000 employes and workmen; hospitals, stores and workshops had to be erected. All of this plant and the preparation of the equipment had already cost enormous sums, and required a considerable length of time before the actual excavation of the work could be commenced. These special difficulties everywhere encountered in the Isthmus were inevitable. It was then impossible to find proper workmen in the neighborhood of the work. Considerable effort was necessary to obtain laborers from other countries and bring them to the Isthmus, and, in proportion as the work grew in extent, salaries increased, as well as the cost of everything.

At that time the unhealthfulness of the climate, due, in a large measure, to the excavation and uplifting of the surface of the ground, also interfered with the progress of the work.

To-day, on the Isthmus of Panama, the sanitary conditions have much improved because of the opening of the canal, and also on account of the deep excavations below the surface, and no difficulty whatever is now felt from the climate, while labor is readily obtained from Jamaica.

The construction of an interoceanic canal presented problems extremely difficult of solution, since, by the very nature of things, the indispensable elements for all preliminary investigations were lacking. To definitely solve these problems the results of many years of observation and experience was required. Just this very thing occurred at Panama, particularly in the excavation of the large cut at Culebra. The first surveys indicated the mountain to be solid rock, while, on the contrary, a layer of clayey soil was very soon encountered (the crumbling away of which has been greatly exaggerated). At the present time the excavations of the new company, which have been carried to a very considerable depth, prove that the entire formation, with the exception of the surface layer, consists of a fairly hard rock of such nature and arrangement that there is no fear of crumbling of the embankment and consequent filling up of the cut, no matter what its depth may be. It is, of course, impossible to enter here into the details of the work done by the old company. It is sufficient to know that, when the old company at length decided to build a lock canal, it was financially impossible to do so, because its credit was so greatly impaired that it could not obtain the necessary financial support. In 1889

a receiver was appointed by the French court and with unlimited powers—particularly to transfer or to assign to any new company all or any portion of the company's assets.

The receipts of the old company from the sale of its bonds and stock amounted, in round figures, to $260,000,000.

The items, both of receipt and expenditure, are now a matter of record as a part of the receivership and may be found on the files of the court and in the reports of the experts appointed thereon.

These figures are most suggestive. They show, in the first place, that the expenditures actually made upon the Isthmus amounted to $156,400,000, and that, of this, the cost of excavation and embankment proper amounted to $88,600,000. In the second place, the reports show the great importance of expenditures incidental to and connected with the work. No doubt such last-mentioned expenses were to some extent extravagant, but, nevertheless, it must be admitted that, for the most part, they were necessary and will be utilized in the completion of the work by the new company.

To properly appreciate these expenses the plans and profiles must be carefully followed.

The facts just given are deduced from statements made by a special commission appointed by the receiver of the old company. In all its appraisals and valuations this commission has evinced extreme discrimination and fairness.

After having made these statements this commission desired to determine the actual value of what had been done by the old company, and upon this point states:

"The enormous amount of material at hand ready to be utilized, the great number of works established, lands received and to be received, labor actually expended, experience gained, supplies laid in, preliminaries mapped out, including the right of way, are worth to the new company at least 450,000,000 francs ($90,000,000)."

ORGANIZATION OF THE NEW PANAMA CANAL COMPANY OCTOBER 20, 1894.

The receiver asked for and obtained from the Colombian Government two successive extensions of the concession, extending the time for the completion of the canal to October, 1904. (The Government of Colombia has just granted an additional extension of six years more.)

Finally, in 1894, the court and those having legal charge of the interests of

the old company made an impartial examination of the situation and came to the following conclusions:

First—That the work actually accomplished by the old company in the Isthmus was very large, substantial and available.

Second—That notwithstanding an interregnum of four years, the work previously accomplished was in a satisfactory condition.

Third—That the locations occupied, and the plant on the Isthmus, had been well cared for by the receiver, and were sufficient for the continuation and accomplishment of the work without extensive and expensive preparation.

Fourth—That the climatic dangers, the difficulties of the undertaking, and the cost necessary for its accomplishment had been grossly exaggerated.

It was therefore resolved to reorganize the old company, under new management and new conditions.

On the one hand the work was to be renewed and continued.

On the other hand to ascertain, by investigation and the widest experience, whether the construction of the canal could be completed under reasonable conditions of time and money.

It was in this spirit that the New Panama Canal was organized in October, 1894, under the general laws of France. Its constitution and method of operation were rigorously restricted.

From the financial point of view it was thought advisable that a large number of financial institutions of France should purchase the stock of the new company, and should be represented in the administration of its affairs by their officers, so as to insure for the new company the hearty support of these great financial interests, as well as the high character and large experience of the gentlemen composing the board. The stock was declared by the charter to be non-negotiable until the final technical plans were prepared and adopted. The company was organized with a cash capital of 65,000,000 francs, or $13,000,000, actually paid in.

Thus were assured to the undertaking the sympathies and support of the financial world. All speculation in the stock of the company before the adoption of final plans was prevented, as the stock, being non-negotiable until said event, could not be registered and quoted at the Exchange.

The Board of Directors is composed of entirely new and independent members, no one of whom had any official relation to the old company.

The new company has been officially recognized by the United States of Colombia, and its titles and concessions have been fully confirmed by that Government.

OPERATIONS OF THE NEW COMPANY.

The new company, according to its charter, carefully considered all plans that could attract the attention of serious-minded and practical men, and carefully compared the advantages and disadvantages of each.

This careful method demanded an exact and complete knowledge of the local conditions and the character of the soil where the work was to be carried on, and also full knowledge of the ways and means for its execution; in a word, a thorough knowledge of all the fundamental facts which enter into the undertaking.

The new company already had the benefit of the results of the preliminary investigations made by the old company and by the receiver. It completed these by carrying on extensive operations upon the work so as to become thoroughly acquainted with the country, while also forwarding the completion of the canal itself. These operations, long and laborious as they were, accomplished not only the solution of the general problem, but a practical settlement and disposition of numerous lesser problems.

The new company resolved to carry on the excavations in such an extensive manner that there would remain no hypothetical conditions concerning future work. The work thus carried on for this purpose was also a part of the necessary work on the canal, and therefore forms a portion of the cut of the canal itself.

The time devoted to these investigations and experiences was more than three years, to which must be added the investigations and experiences of the past. But time has not been lost, for it is an infallible principle in large undertakings that, the more detailed and careful the surveys, the surer and quicker the execution of the work. It may also be added that important public works executed too hastily without sufficient preliminary surveys to determine what is necessary to be done and what is impossible, inevitably lead to grave mistakes and delays, if not to disaster.

A great number of plans have been considered, but from the beginning it was resolved not to deviate from the following principles:

First—That every plan involving any difficulty impossible of execution in the allotted time, and within the limit of expense, should be rejected.

Second—That in the solution of the technical and detailed problems of the work only those plans should be considered which had the support of experience, and every new idea which might tend to mislead should be rigidly excluded.

Third—That in arriving at the proper solution it was necessary to consider the particular place where the work was to be executed, and also to make due allowance

for the influence of the climate of the region. Hence the necessity of undertaking only work not requiring exceptional conditions.

The present company, after acquiring in October, 1894, the canal works, plant, machinery, concessions, stocks and other assets of every description of the old company, realized at the outset that the most judicious way to employ its capital was to enter into an entirely new study of the engineering features of the undertaking, and also to begin, on a substantial scale, such an amount of work as would set at rest beyond question all doubts as to the quality of materials to be encountered (not only on the surface but also in the underground strata which it was expected to reach in all the excavations), while at the same time constructing the canal itself.

The new company, accordingly, with the aid of the plant at hand and of such new machinery as it was found expedient to purchase, went to work with a force of several thousand men and put in the field a large engineering force.

SYNOPSIS OF THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE CANAL WORKS AND THE PLAN OF CONSTRUCTION, AS UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED BY THE INTERNATIONAL TECHNICAL COMMISSION.

Line of Route. Two-fifths of entire canal works now actually completed, and balance under active construction with 4,000 workmen and large force of engineers.

Although the skill of its own board of engineers is worthy of the highest confidence, the new company, out of abundant caution, and in order to place beyond doubt the final conclusions, caused to be appointed an

INTERNATIONAL TECHNICAL COMMISSION,

composed of engineers selected from different nationalities, a course which assures to the company the benefit of the widest experience, the severest judgment and most independent conclusions.

The commission is composed of the most eminent engineers of the United States, France, England, Germany, Russia and Colombia, all of whom have been connected with works of magnitude, and each of whom is distinguished for the highest character and experience. As to all traffic, statistical and economic questions, the new company also established a Special Commission, presided over by Monsieur Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, the eminent economist and a member of the Institute of France.

The members of this commission (whose names appear on a preceding page) are the most distinguished and able men in their profession, and it is self-evident that no one of them would compromise his reputation and honor, acquired through a long life of eminent service, by formulating conclusions upon unfounded, incomplete, superficial or uncertain information, nor such as would fail to stand the severest tests.

This commission was organized in February, 1896, and besides individual examination, study and correspondence; committee work on special subjects; personal inspection on the Isthmus through a committee of their number; full discussion and frequent exchange of views; study of all preceding plans and the daily development work upon the Isthmus, this commission has held over one hundred recorded sessions.

They have also with great care and large expense made most careful observations—continuing over a period of two years—of the Chagres River for the purpose of ascertaining the various conditions of this river at all times and under all conditions, that they might have definite and reliable data upon which to base their conclusions respecting its treatment.

This eminent commission of engineers reached its final and unanimous conclusion on November 16, 1898, embodied in the elaborate

REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL TECHNICAL COMMISSION,

which has been adopted by the company, and under which the work of construction is proceeding. These conclusions, signed by every member of the commission, establish the entire feasibility, practicability and cost of completing the canal. It is based upon years of continuous study and testing of every element. Different plans, equally practicable, but varying in probable cost, have been studied. Many months have been spent in preparing, revising and studying each of them. This work has not been done hastily and superficially. These eminent engineers, chosen especially for their eminence in special departments of engineering work, have studied the questions in all their details—technical, climatic, physical, geologic and economic. Each member rests his reputation on his signature to the report.

The report of the commission is probably the most authoritative document ever presented on an engineering subject, prepared by them, as it has been, with the greatest care, after the most thorough and competent investigation and examination, with most exhaustive surveys before them respecting every foot of the

ground to be treated, and by the most experienced and eminent engineers of five different nations.

This report was, on December 2, 1898, delivered by the new company to the President of the United States for the use of the Government.

The following described plans are based on said report:

The Panama Canal extends from Colon, on the Atlantic, to Panama, on the Pacific Ocean.

Its total length is 46.2 miles, including 3.35 miles dredged in the Pacific to deep water.

The great chain of the Cordilleras, which runs along the Isthmus, presents at the point selected a pass which is not too high to preclude the construction of the canal, while the parts contiguous to both are low.

The profile of the canal consequently presents, in the central part, a high summit, from which the ground slopes gradually (although irregularly) towards the low grounds adjacent to the sea.

Starting from Colon, on the Atlantic coast, is situate the new city of Christopher Columbus, the location of the works and plant of the Canal Company. From the little port of Folk River we follow the canal for about 11.8 miles. This canal is navigable, varying in depth from 16.4 to 29.5 feet. From the 11.7 to the 26.7 mile, excavation is proceeding the entire distance, and the embankments consequently thrown up gradually rise from the level of the sea to about the height of 49.2 feet, with cuts such as the one of Bohio, which is 131.2 feet in depth, and those of San Pablo and Matachin, which are from 82 to 98.5 feet.

From the 28th mile rises the central mass of earth called the Cordillera. A good deal of work has been done between the 28th and 33d mile. Very near here Culebra is reached, where the labor has been much diminished by the character of the upper layers. The cut begun by the old company has been continued by the new company, and now has an average depth of 164 feet.

The slope towards the Pacific Ocean is now reached, and here the declivity of the land becomes great. Work is being carried on the entire distance. The height of the embankment varies from 49 or 65 feet to about 196.5 feet, diminishing at the 40th mile to from 6.5 to 16.4 feet. From this point to the Pacific the canal has been completed to the depth of from 6.5 to 26.2 feet. From mile 42.8 to the great depths near Naos, at mile 45.9, the canal is completed so as to be navigable to a depth of from 16.5 to 29.5 feet, which was recently excavated by the new company to an average depth of 27.8 feet below the level of the sea.

THE WORK ALREADY DONE CONSTITUTES FULLY TWO-FIFTHS OF THE ENTIRE WORKS.

The portions of the canal adjacent to the sea have been excavated, and, although the Chagres River has been for years flowing through them, they can be partially utilized.

At the present time the topography of all the grounds involved in the project, and the character of the materials to be encountered, are accurately known and delineated; deep and extensive excavations, as well as numerous soundings and borings, have made known the subterranean strata underlaying the surface, and by those means no doubt is left as to the soundness of the materials through which the canal is to be dug to great depths and on which the foundations of the locks, dams and other structures are to be established.

Sixteen different plans have been worked out in detail, including estimates of cost and of time needed for construction.

It is on these complete data furnished by the local engineers and by the observations of its own members on the Isthmus that the International Technical Commission has based its conclusions, embodied in the plans which will be outlined later herein.

The original purpose of the old company was to build a canal without locks, freely open from ocean to ocean, but after several years of work the plan was abandoned, owing to the enormous excavation necessary to cut through the central mass of the mountains (the Culebra) and the difficulty and expense of properly taking care of the occasional torrential flow of the River Chagres.

The alternate plan was to reduce materially the depth of the central excavation and to establish therein a system of locks, to be fed from the Chagres River. This is the plan adopted by the new company.

From what precedes, it may be seen that three principal problems presented themselves—i. e.:

First.—The determination of the depth to which the central mass must be excavated and of the number and height of the locks to be built.

Second.—The designing of the proper methods for the regulation of the flow of the Chagres River.

Third.—The feeding of the canal.

I.—Depth of Excavation (altitude of the summit level of the canal bottom). The number of locks determined by the depth of such excavation (altitude of canal bottom).

It is obvious that the deeper the excavation the more time will be required

for the work and the less locks will be needed; also, that too shallow an excavation, while requiring less time, would require more locks.

The necessity of feeding the canal from the Chagres River, and of providing proper storage for its freshets, are also an element in the determination of the altitude of its bottom level.

This complex problem is obviously capable of several solutions, and before reaching a final decision the International Technical Commission studied a number of alternate plans, which, after proper consideration, were reduced to three, in which the altitudes of the summit level of the canal are fixed at 29.50 meters (96.78 feet), 20.75 meters (68.08 feet), and 10 meters (32.81 feet), respectively, above mean water in the Atlantic.

Of these three plans the commission, after mature deliberation and under the present condition of experience furnished by the work already done, has decided that 20.75 meters (68.08 feet) above the sea, with four locks on each slope, as the altitude at which the bottom of the canal should be placed to make the time necessary for excavation of the balance the most probable time required for the construction of the locks and dams—a result obviously desirable for the proper conduct of the undertaking.

If, however, it be found during the construction of the work that the excavation may require more time, the bottom can be placed at the elevation 96.78 feet (in which case one lock would be added to present plans on each side of the canal); or if, on the contrary, it be found that the work can be done more expeditiously than expected, the bottom can be placed at the elevation 32.81 feet (in which case one lock on each side would be omitted from the present plant); and in either case the change could be done without interfering with the general plan, provided a decision be not too long delayed.

The plan herein described is based on the plan adopted by the International Technical Commission with an altitude of 68.08 feet (20.75 meters) above mean sea level.

The summit level, 118.11 feet wide at bottom and 318.35 feet long, is in the deep cut of the Culebra; the upper strata are clayey with easy slopes; below this is a rocky formation, which is to be excavated in wide steps. In the canal prism a berme is left under water.

The next level, from Obispo to Bohio, with a bottom width of 164 feet, is 13.37 miles long.

At Bohio another group of two double locks empties into the Atlantic level, which has a width of 98.4 to 111.5 feet on bottom and a length of 14.84 miles.

On the Pacific side, the summit level terminates at Paraiso with one double lock.

The adjacent level from Paraiso to Pedro Miguel is 7,963 feet long, and ends at the latter place with two double locks.

The next level, from Pedro Miguel to Miraflores, is 7,930 feet long, and terminates there with one double lock.

The Pacific level, adjacent to the latter, is 4.69 miles long to La Boca, beyond which a channel 3.36 miles long is excavated to deep water.

The depth of water in the locks is to be generally 29.5 feet and is not to exceed 32.8 feet.

All the locks are to be double, the working length being for both 738.22 feet. The width of one of the twin locks is to be 82.02 feet, and the width of the other is 59.05 feet (with an intermediate gate), although, in the opinion of several members of the commission, it might be preferable to build both locks of the width of 82.02 feet.

It is designed that the slopes of the canal, especially in the deep central trench, are to be protected by stone revetments.

The route of the canal is the same as was originally adopted, and is thought to be judicious, the curves not having less than 9,843 feet radius in the normal course of the canal, with the exception of one of 8,200 feet.

The curvatures are gentle, not sharp. The smallest radius is 8,200 feet. Of the 46 miles of the canal 26.75 are straight, and 15 have radii equal to or not exceeding 9,850 feet.

The aim of the commission has been to resort to simple forms of structures; moreover, it may be seen from its plans that, notwithstanding the magnitude of the work, every part has been kept within the limits of well-established precedents.

II.—Absolute control of the Chagres River by the construction of two great dams which capture and store the floods, supply the summit level with water during the dry season, feed the canal, furnish abundant hydraulic power transmitted by electricity for operating the locks and lighting the entire length of the canal by night.

For a considerable part of its length the location of the canal is in the valley of the Chagres River, a torrential stream which, although inconsiderable in dry times, is subject to sudden and sometimes enormous freshets; hence the necessity of providing such means as would prevent the destruction of the canal, unless diverted or regulated by proper means.

Such was the problem which presented itself to the old company. One of the main causes of the failure of the old company was evidently the lack of proper preliminary studies for the solution of such an important problem of engineering, the almost total neglect of the question of the disposal of the Chagres being especially noticeable.

The receiver of the old company, fully realizing the deficiency, appointed a commission of engineers, whose comprehensive report contained useful recommendations, several of which are embodied in the plans now adopted by the new company.

As it is impossible to admit of the flow of the Chagres River directly into the bed of the canal, it must be either diverted or so disposed of and regulated as to be harmless in times of freshet.

Diversion having been rejected from the inception of the project as impracticable, or, at any rate, too expensive, it has been decided to regulate the flow by the creation of large artificial lakes sufficiently extensive to store the largest freshets, with proper overflows for the safe disposal of them, without interfering harmfully with the regime of the water in the canal.

The location, and especially the altitude of the aforesaid lakes, obviously depends, to a large extent, upon the height at which the bottom of the canal is established, and will be described later; but that presents no difficulty.

In order to properly regulate the flow of the Chagres, two large dams will be erected.

(a) One of these dams will be located at Bohio at the last group of locks on the Atlantic side. It is to be built of earth on a sound argillaceous foundation, and the depth of water against it is not to exceed 65.62 feet.

The maximum height of its water surface is to be 65.62 feet above mean sea level.

This dam will transform the Chagres into a vast lake, the boundaries of which have been accurately established. It will extend a distance of 13 miles to Obispo, where the canal will leave the river. The lake formed by the Bohio dam will cover an area of 21.5 square miles. Its lowest level is fixed at 52.5 feet, its normal level at 55.75 feet, and its highest level at 65.5 feet above mean tide. It will be revetted with stone, with a foundation bed of clay and abutting against rock banks. The extreme length of crest will be 1,286 feet; the extreme height above the bed of the river will be 75.5 feet, and above the lowest point of the foundation 93.5 feet. All details of construction, including the devices for

controlling the river during the progress of the work, have been carefully elaborated. The sites for the two overflow weirs are remote from the dam, and an abundance of excellent material is found near at hand.

The capacity of the Bohio dam will be from 150,000,000 to 200,000,000 cubic meters.

This dam, besides acting as a regulator of the Chagres floods, will obviate strong currents where the canal traverses the bed of the river—an extremely important matter for ocean shipping.

(b) The other dam will be located at Alhajuela on the Upper Chagres, about 9 1-3 miles from the canal; will be built entirely of concrete masonry, on a compact rock foundation and abutting against rock walls. It will be about 164 feet above the canal. The extreme length of crest will be 936.75 feet; the extreme height above the bed of the river will be 134.5 feet and above the lowest point of the foundation 164 feet.

The cross-sections and the practical details of construction are in accordance with all the requirements of modern engineering. Good rock and sand are abundant in the immediate vicinity.

This dam forms a reservoir covering 10 square miles, with a capacity of from 100,000,000 to 130,000,000 cubic meters.

One of the functions of this reservoir (made by the Alhajuela dam) is that of a feeder to the summit level of the canal, supplying the summit level with water in the dry season (January-April). But, in addition, it will assist in effectually controlling the floods of the Chagres and will furnish hydraulic power, transmitted by electricity, for operating the locks and lighting at night the entire canal from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

(c) For these purposes the reservoir will be connected with the summit level of the canal by a channel or feeder of a capacity of 25 cubic meters (6,605 gallons) per second. This feeder will be built from the Alhajuela dam to the canal, a distance of 9 1-3 miles. It starts at 190.25 feet above sea level and will be built partly on the side hills and partly in inverted siphons or tunnels, and has been shown by exact surveys to be entirely feasible.

It traverses a rough country and its construction will be relatively costly, but when compared with many irrigating canals west of the Mississippi River it offers no serious difficulties.

A short auxiliary railroad will be built along the Chagres River for the construction of the Alhajuela dam and of its connecting channel.

(d) Both dams can, consequently, accumulate a storage of at least 250,000,000 cubic meters (66,000,000,000 gallons), which, with proper adjustable weirs, are more than sufficient to control the largest freshets known.

These figures are the result of a careful study of the observations kept since the beginning of the operations of the old company and of the experience acquired since the building of the Panama Railroad.

Should any larger freshet occur (a very rare occurrence), navigation might be interrupted for a day or two, but, owing to the precautions observed in designing the various structures, the canal would suffer no damage.

(e) This entirely disposes of the question of the Chagres. It may flow to any extent which Nature may prompt. It is not only rendered harmless by being securely impounded by the great dams at Bohio and Alhajuela, which create the vast lake and reservoir described, but, on the other hand (as is well stated by General Abbot in the November Forum), "It may safely be affirmed that the Chagres River is no longer an element of danger, but is rather a useful friend, whose assistance will be of great value to the canal in its operation."

III.—THE APPREHENSION OF CAVING IN THE DEEP CENTRAL CUT.

The solution of this question cannot be more tersely nor accurately stated than it has been (in the November , '98, Forum) by the member of the International Commission, the distinguished Brigadier-General Henry L. Abbot, who made a special study of the subject:

"The question of caving in the deep central cut has been studied in the most thorough manner, involving not only many borings and pits, to determine the material to be encountered, but also a cunette excavated throughout the troublesome region along the axis of the canal, having a projected width at bottom of 32.75 feet, with slopes of about 45 degrees, and a projected elevation above sea level varying from 128 feet to 157.5 feet. This work, together with a tunnel 689 feet long and 9.75 feet wide, pierced, at an elevation of 134.5 feet above sea level, at the spot which had given the most trouble on the whole route, combined with the evidence afforded by the borings and pits at greater depth, leads to the conviction that, at Culebra, where the deepest cutting is required, the excavation has already passed through the strata subject to caving, and that the remainder traverses an indurated argillaceous schist changing to compact rock, where no fears of yielding to pressure need be entertained. At Emperador, where the cutting

required for the canal is much less, the indications are similar, except that the material at present reached is less resisting, but with proper precautions in the way of drainage, which were wholly neglected by the contractors of the old company, little or no difficulty from serious caving need be apprehended. This work of experimental excavation has been continued for more than three years, involving the removal of about 3,924,000 cubic yards. It was projected, partly to determine the proper inclination for the side slopes, and partly to estimate the unit cost. The results are highly satisfactory; and the old bugbear of a sliding mountain divide has been proved to be imaginary."

IV.—HEALTH OF EMPLOYEES.

Again we employ the words of General Abbot in the same article:

"The health of the personnel formerly caused trouble, coolies and other races not well suited to hard labor under a tropical sun being employed. With negroes from the British Antilles, little difficulty is now experienced. This matter was carefully investigated during the inspection last spring, American engineers and employees on the canal and the Panama Railroad being questioned, the fine hospital near Panama—where the company provides for its sick—being visited, and the views of the medical officers and of the Sisters of Charity, acting as nurses, being obtained. All agreed that the dangers resulting from the climate have been much exaggerated. The surgeon in charge of the hospital, Dr. Lacroisade, who has resided on the isthmus since 1887, after presenting full statistics covering the sick reports for the past year of a force of about 3,800 agents and laborers under employment, said:

"'Among the diseases attributable to the climate the most numerous are simple marsh fevers, which have not occasioned a single death. Two diseases only belonging to the epidemic type have appeared—the beriberi, of which there is no longer any question [it was imported with negro laborers brought from Africa as an experiment, and disappeared when they were sent back], and yellow fever. The latter, after having been absent from the isthmus for at least six years, was imported in 1897, and continued about six months, from March to August, when it again disappeared after very light ravages (only six deaths). Thus it cannot be considered that this pest is really epidemic on the isthmus. From the other infectious epidemics, such as variola, typhoid fever, diphtheria, etc., the isthmus appears to be almost entirely exempt. From the foregoing we may conclude that life on the isthmus scarcely incurs more dangers than elsewhere, even for Europeans who, after the blacks of the British Antilles, appear to resist the climate best. Residence here would, then, offer nothing alarming, were it not for a constant

feeling of fatigue and uneasiness due to a temperature always high and an atmosphere saturated with moisture.'

"There appears, therefore, to be no danger of serious mortality in the construction of the canal, if due care be taken to benefit by past experience in selecting the laborers."

V.—HARBORS AT TERMINI—COLON AND PANAMA.

These harbors are so well known to the commerce of the world employing the Panama route that no extended remarks need be made.

They are natural, not artificial, harbors; good and easy of access.

The ships of many European, South and Central American nations, as well as of the United States, have for over fifty years regularly and daily availed of these ports, where the maritime conditions are most satisfactory.

Neither of these harbors require protection or further excavation. They are in excellent condition.

VI.—There are no active volcanoes within 200 miles of the canal.

VII.—There are no troublesome winds or river currents to be encountered, even in times of flow.

VIII.—The existence and operation of a railroad (the Panama Railroad), which the line of the canal closely follows, greatly facilitates the work of construction and is of enormous advantage.

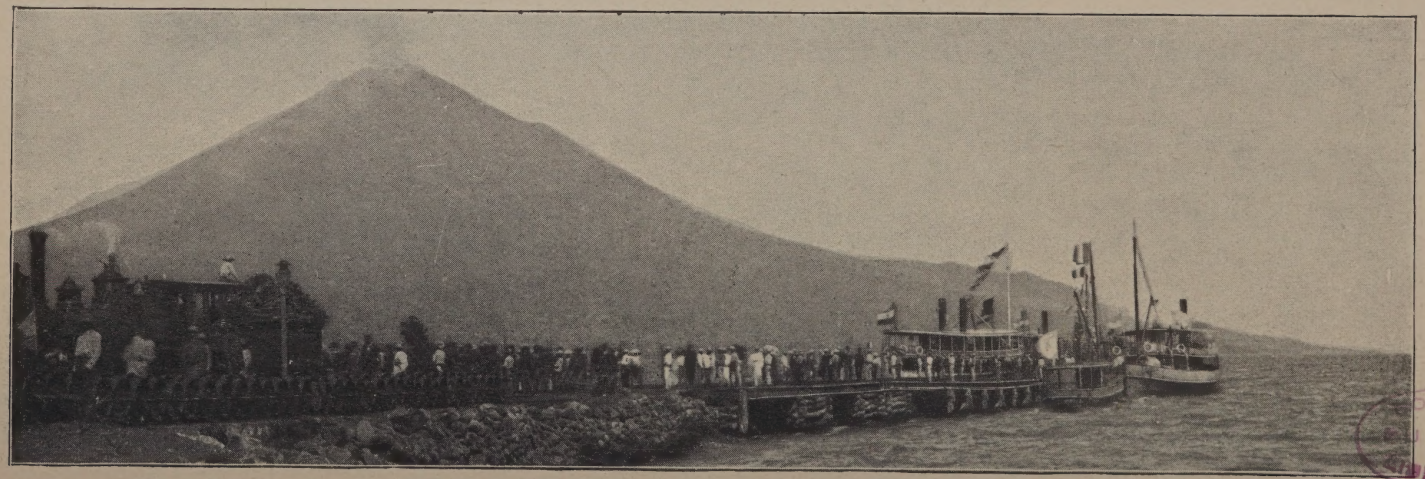
Commerce has employed the Panama route for over fifty years. The conditions of traffic are established and well known.

The Panama route constitutes a part of the coast line of the United States, connecting its Atlantic and Pacific coasts. Its terminal cities—Colon, Panama—are ancient and firmly established. Upon the intermediate line thirty railroad stations, serving the neighboring villages and settlements, give character to the route. It is not a marshy jungle. It is a settled country, and the line has been made readily accessible and habitable by fifty years' traffic, development and settlement.

Regular lines of steamers, from Germany, England, France, New York, Belgium, Spain and Italy, on the Atlantic side, and San Francisco and all Central and South American and Mexican ports, on the Pacific side, have for over fifty years regularly employed this route.

The Panama route, therefore, needs no introduction to the commerce of the world, which has continuously employed it for nearly half a century.

BIRDSEYE VIEW OF LAKE MANAGUA, FROM MANAGUA, THE CAPITAL OF NICARAGUA.



LANDING AT LAKE MANAGUA. RECEIVING PASSENGERS FROM TRAIN AT CORINTO, NICARAGUA.

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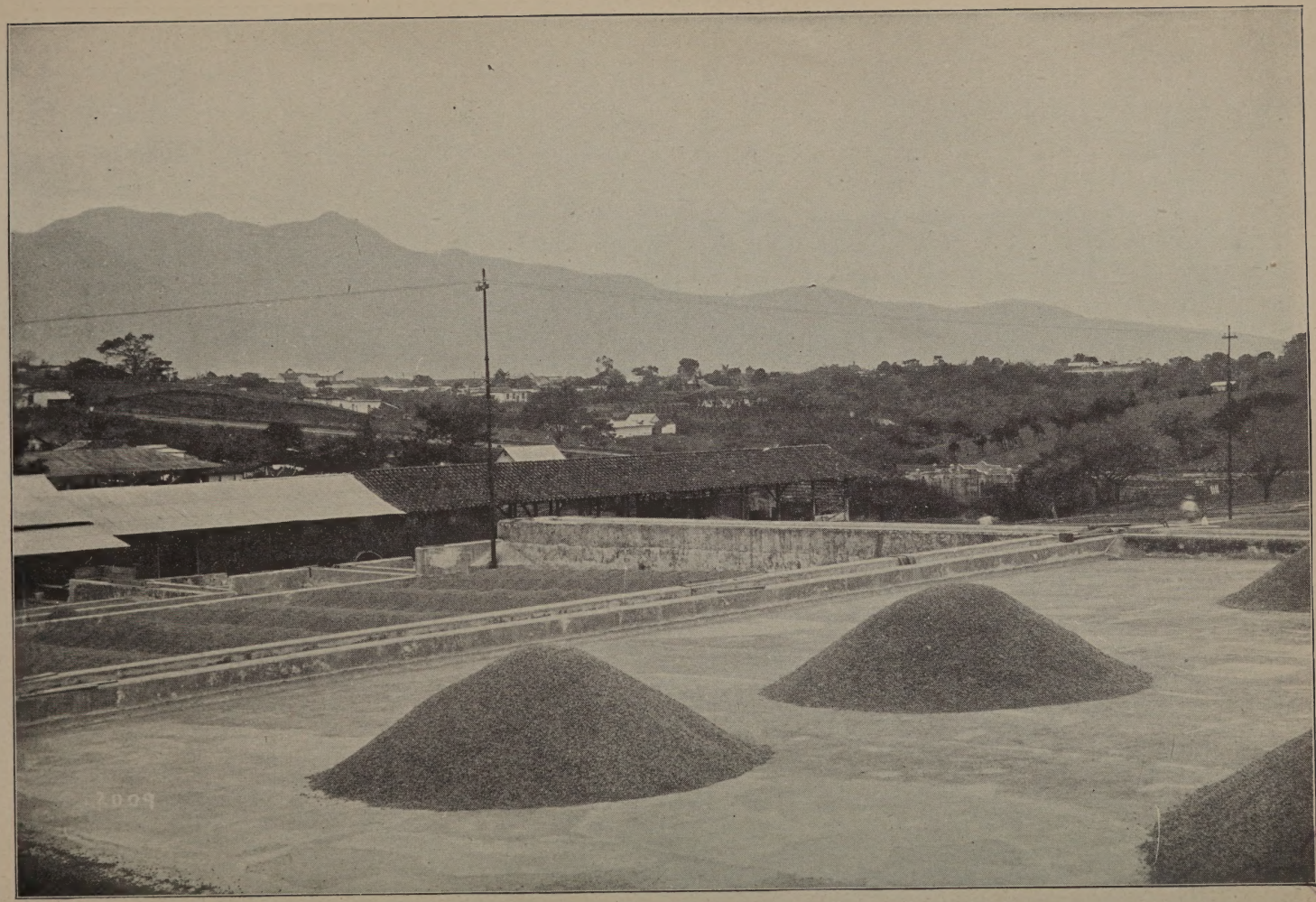

COFFEE-CURING ESTABLISHMENT AT SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA.

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IX.—The time of transit for vessels through the canal will be less than a day; merchant and war vessels of the largest size can be accommodated.

X.—For four years there have been continuously employed from 3,000 to 4,000 workmen on the canal works, besides a large force of engineers, and at this moment that number is at work on the canal.

XI.—As stated, the canal will be only 46 miles long.

Of this, 15 miles on the Atlantic side, and 7½ miles on the Pacific (about one-half the entire distance), will be at sea level.

From 12 to 13 miles on the Atlantic side and from 5 to 6 miles on the Pacific side are already completed, and, indeed, are used by the natives.

The intervening higher lands are materially cut.

This constitutes fully two-fifths of the entire work, and the remainder, as before stated, is being completed with a body of four thousand men and a large force of engineers.

XII.—There is nothing in the physical conditions on the Isthmus to prevent a change from a canal with a system of locks to a sea-level canal, should the latter seem desirable in the future.

XIII.—As above stated, the new company is now the absolute owner of the canal, canal works, buildings, machinery, material, concessions, and all other canal property on the Isthmus.

The official accounts and reports of experts, on the files of the Court in France, in the receivership proceedings, show that the expenditures actually made by the old company upon the Isthmus amounted to $156,400,000, and that of this sum the cost of excavation and embankment, proper, amounted to $88,600,000.

For the purpose of establishing the actual present and reproductive value of this property a Special Commission was constituted, of which the former Director of the National Academy of Roads and Bridges of France was chairman. This commission established the said value at $90,000,000, which is a very conservative valuation. Since such valuation, the new company has made large expenditures for construction, machinery, etc.

The present fixed assets of the company exceed $100,000,000.

And, in addition, the cash, stocks and personal assets of the company are some millions more, and ample for its needs.

The company has no mortgage or bonded indebtedness of any kind. Its prop-

erty is free from all encumbrance; it has no floating indebtedness, or other debts than monthly pay-rolls, promptly met.

The company, being financially independent and continuing the construction with its present resources, has neither created a bond issue nor solicited funds from the public nor from any government.

XIV.—The security-holders of the old company have no vote, voice, title or ownership in the property of the new company or in the administration of its affairs. By private contract, merely, the new company has agreed that after all expenses of operation, maintenance, exploitation, dividends, reserve funds, etc., are provided for, a specified share of the surplus income shall be paid to the Liquidator of the old company for the benefit of his constituents; but this agreement has no effect upon, or relation to, the absolute ownership and administration of the canal by the new company.

XV.—The estimates of cost of completion have been established from the experience acquired during the last four years of actual work on the Isthmus, and is reported by The International Technical Commission, as follows:

The total cost of the work proper under plans adopted..	$ 87,000,000
Add for contingencies	15,400,000
Total	$102,400,000
If both locks be built with a width of 82.025 feet, the cost would be increased to	$125,000,000

THE TRAFFIC OF THE PANAMA CANAL.

To determine the probable traffic of the Interoceanic Canal, many interesting works and numerous publications have been written in recent years, with widely different conclusions. This is not the place to discuss the different opinions of the writers who have considered this important question, and especially because many of them, either from personal, political or financial motives, have reached conclusions minimizing or exaggerating the amount of traffic, according to their respective interests.

The new company has carefully analyzed these earlier discussions, and has not been satisfied with the basis upon which they are founded. The company has sought a basis more reliable than conjecture, and it has pursued an entirely new and more reliable method for the settlement of this question and one not depending solely upon hypothetical conclusions. This method was found. It is

based upon the statement of the tonnage of all the vessels that, actually following maritime routes, would find it to their advantage to use that of an interoceanic canal, if the same were open to navigation.

This involved enormous labor, since it was necessary to investigate the traffic of at least 13,000 separate sailing vessels or steamers engaged in ocean navigation or coastwise trade. But the results obtained are most exact. It is sufficient to say that they are very satisfactory and show that the capital invested in the Panama Canal will be amply remunerated.

The delicate and complex questions relative to the determination of the probable traffic of the canal were examined and acted upon by a special committee appointed by the new company, the president of which commission is the distinguished and well-known economist, Mr. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, member of the Institute of France.

THE CONCESSION TO THE PANAMA CANAL COMPANY.

The concession of the new Panama Canal Company was granted by the Colombian Government by law dated the 28th of May, 1878, extended by the law of the 26th of December, 1890, and the law of the 4th of August, 1893. The time for the completion of the canal is thereby fixed at October, 1904; but in this present month of December, 1898, the Government of Colombia has granted an additional extension of six years—to 1910—subject to the formality of ratification by Congress when it reconvenes—an assured act. This concession grants to this company the exclusive privilege of excavation through the Colombian territory and the opening of a maritime canal between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans—the canal to be constructed without restrictive conditions of any kind. The concession continues for ninety-nine years from the time of the opening of the canal, either wholly or in part, for public use.

The Government gratuitously cedes to the company the land necessary for digging the canal and all its branches.

It also cedes for the purposes of the canal a zone of land 656 feet in width on each side throughout its entire length, wherever it may extend.

In addition it cedes to the company 1,235,500 acres of public lands, with all mining rights in whatever localities the company may choose.

The company has the right to introduce free of duty or any tax whatever any instruments, machinery, tools, materials, provisions, etc., to be needed for the use and construction of the canal.

No national tax nor state tax nor tax of any other kind upon the canal or its dependencies shall be imposed upon the vessels traversing said canal.

The tolls of the canal to be charged to all vessels without exception or favor, under similar conditions, is not to exceed 10 francs (or two dollars) for each cubic meter based on the actual displacement of the hull.

As a compensation for the rights and privileges granted to the company the Colombian Government is entitled to receive five per cent on the gross revenue of the company for the first twenty-five years after the opening of the canal to the public; from the twenty-sixth year to the fiftieth year it will be entitled to six per cent; from the fiftieth to the seventy-fifth year, seven per cent, and from the seventy-fifth year to the end of the term, eight per cent.

This concession was granted, and the work has been and is carried on, under the protection of the treaty between New Granada (Colombia) and the United States, made in 1846, and ratified in 1848. The portion of this treaty which refers to this subject, as well as the particular articles of the concession relating thereto, is of so much interest that they are quoted in full as follows:

ARTICLE 35 OF THE TREATY OF 1846-8, BETWEEN NEW GRANADA (NOW REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA) AND THE UNITED STATES.

"The United States of America and the Republic of New Granada, desiring to make as durable as possible the relations which are to be established between the two parties by virtue of this treaty, have declared solemnly and do agree to the following points:

"First.—For the better understanding of the preceding articles, it is and has been stipulated between the high contracting parties that the citizens, vessels and merchandise of the United States shall enjoy in the ports of New Granada, including those of the part of the Granadian territory denominated Isthmus of Panama, from its southernmost extremity until the boundary of Costa Rica, all the exemptions, privileges and immunities concerning commerce and navigation which are now or may hereafter be enjoyed by Granadian citizens, their vessels and merchandise, and that this equality of favors shall be made to extend to the passengers, correspondence and merchandise of the United States in their transit across the said territory from one sea to the other.

"The Government of New Granada guarantees to the Government of the United States that the right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Panama, upon any modes of communication that now exist or that may hereafter be con-

structed, shall be open and free to the Government and citizens of the United States, and for the transportation of any articles of produce, manufactures, or merchandise, of lawful commerce, belonging to the citizens of the United States; that no other tolls or charges shall be levied or collected upon the citizens of the United States, or their said merchandise, thus passing over any road or canal that may be made by the Government of New Granada, or by the authority of the same, that is, under like circumstances, levied upon and collected from the Granadian citizens; that any lawful produce, manufactures or merchandise belonging to the citizens of the United States thus passing from one sea to the other, in either direction, for the purpose of exportation to any other foreign country, shall not be liable to any import duties whatever; or, having paid such duties, they shall be entitled to draw back upon their exportation; nor shall the citizens of the United States be liable to any duties, tolls or charges of any kind to which native citizens are not subjected for thus passing the said Isthmus.

"And, in order to secure to themselves the tranquil and constant enjoyment of these advantages, and as an especial compensation for the said advantages, and for the favors they have acquired by the fourth, fifth and sixth articles of this treaty, the United States guarantee positively and efficaciously to New Granada, by the present stipulation, the perfect neutrality of the before-mentioned Isthmus, with the view that the free transit from the one to the other sea may not be interrupted or embarrassed in any future time while this treaty exists; and, in consequence, the United States also guarantee, in the same manner, the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada has and possesses over the said territory.

* * * * * * *

"Sixth.—Any special or remarkable advantages that one or the other powers may enjoy from the foregoing stipulation are and ought to be always understood in virtue and as in compensation of the obligations they have just contracted, and which had been specified in the first of this article."

CHAPTER II.

THE SUEZ CANAL.

The Monument of Disraeli and De Lesseps That, Though of Shifting Nature in Shifting Sand, Is More Imperishable than Marble or Brass or Any Towering Structure Reared by Human Hands—What the Great Engineer De Lesseps, Who, Though He Subsequently Made a Failure, Did Enough for Immortality, Had to Say—The Suez Canal the Grandest Work of Public Improvement in the Most Progressive Century—The Dramatic History Without a Parallel as a Scheme of Daring Scientific Fancy or Realization of Golden Dividends.

Lord Beaconsfield was the British statesman who saw the full importance of the Suez Canal to the Empire, and, with a stroke of genius and the nerve of one who had counted all the consequences and accepted them, snatched the Egyptian shares in the market, gained command of the canal and suppressed an Egyptian revolt, incidentally preparing to take the first occasion to conquer Egypt. Count de Lesseps had with his daring engineering and diplomatic finesse gained a commanding advantage for the French, and crowned his triumph by securing the attendance at the opening of the canal of his relative, the Empress Eugenie, her presence being at once a decoration and celebration. The French, absorbed in their self-consciousness after the fall of Napoleon III., and when the succeeding republic was old enough to offer temptation to intrigue, declined to aid in the subjugation of the revolted Egyptian soldiers and left the British to bombard Alexandria, crush the rebellion and possess the Nile country. Ever since the domination of England in Egypt has been a matter of course, and her commercial supremacy manifest in the business of the canal. This is the justification of the exercise of power and will continue while the Empire stands, just as legitimate as holding Gibraltar, Malta and Cypress. Egypt is England's Half-Way House to India, and the prestige of the British Empire depends upon the continuance of the potentiality of the English in Southern and Eastern Asia. Disraeli has passed away, having done a wonderful work for his country, and the Queen he made Empress of India is loyal in her grateful memory for the immense audacity and consummate conduct that increased the dignity of her station and the grandeur of her dominion. The Suez Canal is to England and Europe at large what the Panama or Nicaragua Canal completed and wide open would be for the greater American Republic, and all of the great nations, providing a water-

way in the tropics approximating to a direct channel for the circumnavigation of the globe, relieving at once the disadvantages of the Pacific coast of our country, and establishing this nation as one of the powers in Asia. We might well be content if the canal of the Isthmus of Darien was free as that of Suez, for if we ever needed to assert ourselves by force of arms we could at any time summon the physical force to vindicate our rights, and that we would find at all times the equivalent of our capacity. That would be a far stronger way of asserting ourselves than to be contentious in Congressional debates about contracts.

We quote "The Suez Canal," by Ferdinand de Lesseps: Translated by M. Do'Anvers. Henry S. King & Company, London, 1867.

This is the minute dated Maria, November 15, 1854, and addressed to His Highness, Mohammed Said, Viceroy of Egypt and its dependencies:

The scheme of uniting the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, by means of a navigable canal suggested itself to all the great men who have ever ruled over or passed through Egypt, including Sesostris, Alexander, Cæsar, the Arab conqueror Amrou, Napoleon I., and Mohammed Ali.

A canal effecting a junction between the two seas, via the Nile, existed for a period of unknown duration under the ancient Egyptian dynasties; during a second period of 445 years from the first successors of Alexander and the Roman conquest to about the fourth century before the Mohammedan era; and, lastly, during a third period of 130 years after the Arab conquest.

On his arrival in Egypt Napoleon appointed a commission of engineers to ascertain whether it would be possible to restore and improve the old route. The question was answered in the affirmative; and when M. Lepere presented him with the report of the commission the Emperor observed: "It is a grand work, and, though I cannot execute it now, the day may come when the Turkish Government may glory in accomplishing it."

The moment for the fulfillment of Napoleon's prophecy has arrived. The making of the Suez Canal is beyond doubt destined to contribute more than anything else to the stability of the Ottoman Empire and to give the lie to those who proclaim its decline and approaching ruin by proving that it is possessed of prolific vitality and capable of adding a brilliant page to the history of civilization.

Why, I ask, did the western nations and their rulers combine as one man to secure the possession of Constantinople to the Sultan? Why did the power which menaced that possession meet with the armed opposition of Europe? Be-

cause of the importance of the passage from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean is such that European power commanding it would dominate over every other, and would upset the balance of power, which it is to the interest of each one to maintain.

But suppose a similar, though yet more important position, be established on some other point of the Ottoman Empire; suppose Egypt to be converted into the highway of commerce by the opening of the Suez Canal; would not a doubly impregnable situation be created in the East? for, afraid of seeing one of themselves in possession of the new passage at some future date, would not the European powers look upon the maintenance of its neutrality as a vital necessity?

Fifty years ago M. Lepere said he should require ten thousand men for four years and thirty or forty million francs for the restoration of the old indirect canal. He thought, moreover, that it would be possible to cut across the isthmus from Suez to Pelusium in a direct line.

M. Paulin Talabot, who was associated, as surveying engineer for a maritime canal society, with the equally celebrated Stephenson and Negrelli, advocated the indirect route from Alexandria to Suez, and proposed using the barrage already existing for the passage of the Nile. He estimated the total cost at 130,000,000 francs for the canal and 20,000,000 for the port and roadstead of Suez.

Linant Bey, the able director for some thirty years of the canal works of Egypt, who has made the Suez Canal question the study of his life in the country itself, and whose opinion is therefore worthy of serious respect, proposed cutting through the isthmus, at its narrowest part, in an almost direct line, establishing a large internal port in the basin of Lake Timsah, and rendering the harbors of Suez and Pelusium accessible to the largest vessels.

Gallice Bey, general of engineers and founder and director of the fortifications of Alexandria, presented Mohammed Ali with a canal scheme coinciding entirely with that proposed by Linant Bey.

Mougel Bey, director of works at the barrage of the Nile, and chief engineer des ponts et Chausseés, also had some conversation with Mohammed Ali on the possibility and desirability of making a maritime canal, and in 1840, at the request of Count Walewski, then on a mission in Egypt, he was commissioned to take some preliminary measures in Europe, which were, however, prevented by political events from leading to any definite results.

A careful survey would decide which would be the best route, and, the scheme having once been recognized as possible, nothing remains to be done but to choose the readiest means for carrying it out.

None of the necessary operations, difficult though they may be, are really formidable to modern science. There can be no fear nowadays of their failure. The whole affair is, in fact, reduced to a mere question of pounds, shillings and pence, a question which will, without doubt, be readily solved by the modern spirit of enterprise and association. That is to say, if the advantages to result from its solution are at all appropriate to the cost.

Now, it is quite easy to prove that the cost of the Suez Canal, even on the largest estimate, will not be out of proportion with its value, shortening, as it must do, by more than half, the distance between India and the principal countries of Europe and America.

To illustrate this fact I add the following table, drawn up by M. Cordier, Professor of Geology:

		Leagues		
Names of the chief ports of Europe and America.		Via the Canal.	Via the Atlantic.	Difference.
Constantinople	Distance from Bombay.	1,800	6,100	4,300
Malta		2,062	5,800	3,778
Trieste		2,340	5,980	3,620
Marseilles		2,374	5,650	3,276
Cadiz		2,224	5,200	2,976
Lisbon		2,500	2,350	2,830
Bordeaux		2,800	6,650	2,850
Havre		2,824	5,800	2,976
London		3,100	5,950	2,850
Liverpool		3,050	5,900	2,850
Amsterdam		3,100	5,950	2,850
St. Petersburg		3,700	6,550	2,850
New York		3,761	6,200	2,439
New Orleans		3,724	6,450	2,726

With such figures before us comment is useless, for they demonstrate that Europe and the United States are alike interested in the opening of the Suez Canal and in the maintenance of its strict inviolable neutrality.

Mohammed Said is already convinced that no scheme can compare either in grandeur or in practical utility with that in question. What luster it would reflect upon his reign! what an inexhaustible source of wealth it would be to Egypt! Whilst the names of the sovereigns who built up the pyramids, those monuments of human vanity, are unknown or forgotten, that of the prince who should inaugurate the great maritime canal would go down from age to age, and be blessed by the most remote generations! The pilgrimage to Mecca, henceforth rendered not only possible but easy for all Musselmen, an immense impulse given to steam navigation and traveling generally, the countries on the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, the east coast of Africa, Spain, Cochin China, Japan, the Empire of China, the Philippine Islands, Australia, and the vast archipelago now attract-

ing emigration from the old world brought three thousand leagues nearer alike to the Mediterranean, the north of Europe, and to America, such would be the immediate results of the opening of the Suez Canal.

It has been estimated that six million tons of European and American shipping annually pass round the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn, and if only one-half went through the canal there would be an annual saving to commerce of 150,000,000 francs.

There can be no doubt that the Suez Canal will lead to a considerable increase of tonnage, counting it at 3,000,000 tons only, an annual produce of 30,000,000 francs will be obtained by levying a toll of ten francs per ton, which might be reduced in proportion to the increase of traffic.

Before closing this note I must remind Your Highness that preparations are actually being made in America for making new routes between the Atlantic and Pacific, and at the same time call your attention to the inevitable results to commerce generally, and that of Turkey in particular should the isthmus separating the Red Sea from the Mediterranean remain closed for any length of time after the opening of the proposed American lines.

The chief difference between the Isthmus of Panama and that of Suez would appear to be that the mountainous nature of the former presents insuperable difficulties to the construction of a continuous ship canal, whereas on the latter such a canal would be the best solution of the difficulty. For America a kind of compromise has been made, the route consisting partly of a canal and partly of a railway. Now if, with a view to effecting only a partial success, the nations chiefly interested have come forward at once in a case where the advantages to be obtained are fewer and the expenses far greater than they would be in the Suez Canal scheme, and if the conventions for insuring the neutrality of the American route were accepted without difficulty, are we not forced to conclude that the moment has come for considering the question of the Isthmus of Suez? that the scheme for a canal which is of far more importance to the whole world than the Panama line, is perfectly secure from any real opposition, and that, in our efforts to carry it out, we shall be supported by universal sympathy and by the active and energetic co-operation of enlightened men of every nationality?

(Signed) FERDINAND DE LESSEPS.

"All the Year Round," conducted by Charles Dickens, told the story of the Suez Canal in this pleasing chapter, in which there is a fine example of the truth stranger than fiction:

The most picturesque form of struggle, and the one which commands the most sympathy and admiration from the world, is that of the adventurer, in the honest sense of the term, who enters on some forlorn project, which has all the magnificence of a dream, and lives to be successful and triumphant.

Success is declared, and the end gained, there is invariably seen the humiliating spectacle of a complacent reception of what may not be rejected, and a smiling adoption of a portion, at least, of the honors. The rebuffs and the scoffs are set to the account of the adventurer's own indiscretion; and the world, it would seem, is too great a personage to be compelled to own to mistakes or cry peccavi. Though it welcomes the discovery—the result of so painful a struggle—and greedily turns it to profit, it is ill at ease, as it were, like some great man who has prophesied that some one or something would turn out badly, and whom the event has proved to be signally wrong.

One morning in the month of August, 1854, a French gentleman was engaged in superintending some masons who were at work adding a story to his house at La Chenaie—a house that had once been occupied by the famous Agnes Sorel.

On that morning, then, of August, 1854, when engaged with the masons, and standing on the roof of Agnes Sorel's house, the post arrived, and the letters were handed up from workman to workman until they reached the proprietor. In one of the newspapers he read the news of the death of Abbas Pasha, and of the accession of Mohammed Said, a patron and friend of the old Egypt days. They had been joined on affectionate and confidential terms. Instantly the scheme was born again in his busy soul, and his teeming brain saw the most momentous result from the change of authority. In a moment he had hurried down the ladder and was writing congratulations and a proposal to hurry to Egypt and renew their acquaintance. In a few weeks came the answer, and the ardent projector had written joyfully to his old friend, the Dutch Consul, that he would be on his way in November. Expressing the delight he would have in meeting him again, "in our old land in Egypt," but "there was not to be so much as a whisper to anyone of the scheme for piercing the isthmus." On the 7th of November he landed at Alexandria, and was received with the greatest welcome by the new ruler. The Viceroy was on the point of starting on a sort of military promenade to Cairo. It was when they had halted on their march, on a fine evening, the 15th, that he at last saw the opportunity. He felt, as he confessed, that all depended on the way the matter was put before the prince, and that he must succeed in inspiring him with some of his own enthusiasm. He accordingly proceeded to unfold his plan, which he did in a broad fashion, without insisting

too much on petty details. The easterner listened calmly to the end, made some difficulties, heard the answers, and then addressed his eager listener in these words:

"I am satisfied, and I accept your scheme. We will settle all the details during our journey. But understand that it is settled, and you may count upon me." This was virtually the "concession" of the great canal. But already the fair prospect was to be clouded, and at starting, opposition to so daring a scheme came from England, and from Turkey, moved by England. Those wonderful French savants who went with the expedition to Egypt had announced that there was a difference of level amounting to thirty feet between the two seas, so that the communication would only lead to an inundation or a sort of permanent waterfall. Captain Chesney, passing by in 1830, declared that this was not so, but the delusion was accepted popularly up to 1847, when a commission of three engineers—English, French and German—made precise levelings, and ascertained that it was a scientific mistake. Robert Stevenson, the English member of the party, pronounced the whole scheme impracticable. And a more amusing half-hour's entertainment could not be desired than the Edinburgh Review article for January, 1856, in which it is proved triumphantly that the canal must fill up, and that no harbor or pier could be made. The article argued it all out with a formal array of facts. Lord Palmerston's opposition is well known, but the shower of articles in the leading journals which ridiculed, prophesied and confuted, are now well nigh forgotten.

It was first proposed to follow a round-about route, making two sides of a triangle, with the existing line for the third. One portion of the waterway, from Damietta to Cairo, was supplied by the Nile itself. So there only remained a distance of twenty miles to be dealt with. But the Nile was itself a difficulty—the irrigation and other works would be interfered with, and there were enormous problems as to levels, etc. The direct course was therefore adopted. A curious scientific party, known as the Mixed Commission, formed of engineers from all of the leading nations, proceeded, at the close of 1855, to make a thorough examination of the question on the spot, and nothing is more creditable to science than the masterly style in which every point was investigated. The result was satisfactory, and it was determined to commence the work.

The route chosen was favored by many advantages: the distance, though ninety miles in length, was already canalized by various lakes, great and small, to the extent of about thirty miles or more. Roughly, the course was as follows: Starting from the Mediterranean, the entrance is found in a strip of sand from four to five hundred feet wide and which forms the rim, as it were, of the bowl which holds Lake Menzaleh. Here is Port Said, the gate, or doorway of the

Canal; then for about thirty miles is found the great lake just named, where there rises a slight hill, about twenty-five feet high; then a small lake, then for about thirty miles a series of gradually rising hills, culminating in a rather stiff plateau. Beyond the plateau is Lake Timseh, about five miles long, where there is the half-way port, Ismailia. Then succeeds another plateau, large basin, known as the Bitter Lakes, extending about twenty miles, while the rest is land up to the Red Sea. These lakes were in some places dry. There were no sluices or locks, though these lakes would be greatly enlarged by the admission of the waters.

The canal might have been about fifteen miles shorter had it been lower down in the Gulf of Pelusium, but the cost and time would have been greater, as there were no lakes in that line. It is narrow, not allowing more than one vessel to proceed at a time; but there are numerous "lie-by" places where vessels can pass each other. This is necessary, as sometimes so many as thirty vessels are in the canal at a time. It will take vessels drawing so much as five and twenty feet.

That England, with her Asiatic possessions, dreaded the Suez Canal under French control was manifest from the first efforts of De Lesseps, who not only surmounted the physical difficulties of cutting through the Suez, but was constantly opposed by English diplomacy.

"The Nineteenth Century," December, 1882, page 840:

"While the Canal is in the hands of a French company, supported by France, it lies in the hands of a Power more formidable than Arabi to close it temporarily to England and open it to her foes—a Power, be it remembered, which, though friendly now, might be hostile to-morrow and has geographically a week's start of us on the road to India, while by blocking the canal she would have three week's start at least of a fleet stopped at its mouth. No one will doubt the expediency, at all events, of depriving the possibly hostile Power of this dangerous advantage, though some persons may question our moral right to do so.

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"While the influence of England was paramount at Constantinople the opposition of Lord Palmerston prevailed with the Sultan, who refused to ratify the Khedive's concession to France. When the Crimean and Franco-Austrian wars had enormously exalted the prestige of France (rather at the expense of England) the concession was granted to M. De Lesseps (virtually to France), though not in its original shape, which would have been an intolerable menace and danger to

England. The original concession was not in fact merely the right to construct the canal, but to possess a slice of Egypt (of indefinite extent), commanding the whole course of the canal, and which would very soon have become virtually a French territory.

"To refer to the immense preponderance of English shipping benefited by the Canal traffic only shows that in peace time we gain by the facilities created. Lord Palmerston, who was neither a fool nor a bigot, never denied that in peace time a short route for commerce, if obtained, would be beneficial to England. What he recognized as a great danger was that if France made the Canal she would arrogate entire control over it, plant her flag on the banks, and appoint every official and pilot. The facts have more than justified the prediction, and but for the events of 1870-71, which prevented France from backing the arrogant pretense of the Canal officials, we should have been involved in very serious difficulties, or actual war on two recent occasions.

"But although the influence of France overpowered the opposition of Lord Palmerston, enabled her to obtain the concession from the Khedive in its most objectionable form, Lord Palmerston did not give up the struggle. Rightly judging the danger of the encroachment and the object of obtaining the territory bordering the new waterway to India, he protested against a French imperium in imperio in Egypt. Perhaps the Emperor (Napoleon III.) was more moderate in his views than the projectors of the Canal; but in any case the territory of the canal company was bought back by Egypt (at a Shylock price) much, we may suppose, to M. de Lesseps' disgust.

"On no theory, except the audacious Napoleonic idea of a France supreme and Europe submissive, could M. Thiers have taken the part he did. France insisted that all Europe should succumb to her. The firmness of Lord Palmerston prevailed. A British fleet bombarded St. Jean d'Acre, and landing a force which threatened Ibraham's communications, forcing him to retire into Egypt, M. de Lesseps thought that France had acquired some mysterious rights from the first Napoleon's abortive enterprise in 1798.

"M. de Lesseps keenly felt the defeat of French intrigue by England in 1840, and if, as is probable, it was at that time he conceived the idea of his canal, 'the spear to pierce the armor of England,' it must have been some consolation for the reverse.

"The diplomatic career of M. de Lesseps had trained him in that antagony to England which he was formerly at no pains to conceal.

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"A canal from Suez to the Nile (all that was wanted in those days to do the work of the Suez Canal) probably existed three thousand years ago. The French expedition of 1798 revived the idea with the object of injuring England. And it is probable that M. de Lesseps, benefited by the researches then made and renewed in 1803 by his father, a Napoleonic soldier, by using up some thousand wretched Fellahas, who perished miserably at the work, backed by the whole influence of France and all the Khedive's resources—was able to have the work done by others and take the credit himself. As a promoter M. de Lesseps has been very successful, and though that profession is not highly esteemed in England, he has obtained celebrity as what he does not happen to be—an engineer!"

That a British canal can be made to suit our needs in the present, and our greater needs in the future, and to make a large return on the capital expended, is proved by the existing canal, upon which much money was wasted. The only serious objection will arise from the fact that the British Government holds £4,000,000 of the stock of the present canal, the value of which would be depreciated by the competition. This is a consideration of some importance, but it cannot outweigh the immense advantages of having our Indian communications in our own hands instead of a jealous rival's, who may some day be an enemy. There would, moreover, probably be traffic enough for both canals.

The Fortnightly Review. September, 1893. England's right to the Suez Shares. Casper W. Whitney. Pages 105-424.

In his speech on public revenue and expenditure, April 21, 1887, Mr. Goshen said that there was one national asset which had never yet been brought into account at its real value. He referred to the 176,000 shares in the Suez Canal. Mr. Goshen said:

"The shares, which are £20 shares, and which when they were bought were worth about £27, yielded a dividend of 5 per cent on their par value, are now (1887) worth £84 each, and yield about 15 per cent on their par value. We shall come into a large revenue per annum on these shares from 1894, unless there shall be any fall in the revenue of the Canal, a contingency which we do not anticipate. The actuarial value of the shares at the present moment is £10,500,000."

It was Mr. Goshen's proposal to use the interest of the Suez shares for the purpose of national defence in fortifying naval stations, etc. "The irony of fate was never more strikingly exhibited. French enterprise, and capital obtained from Egypt and France, were thus to be utilized to facilitate British control over India and the lands over against Tonquin, to obtain a dominant influence in Egypt, and

finally to pay the cost of defensive military works which can never be seriously threatened except by a French fleet.

"There are few persons even now who understand the exact nature of the transaction by which England obtained possession of these shares with their potentiality of wealth and power. This is what Mr. Milner says:

" 'Sixteen years ago we bought for four million pounds Egypt's interest in the Suez Canal, which, had she only clung to it, would soon have become so fertile a source of income to her. What we bought for four million pounds will in another year be worth something near twenty million pounds.'

"In addition to the shares, England required Egypt to contract a wholly new obligation. A terminable annuity of two hundred thousand pounds a year to be paid by Egypt to England was created in 1876 to expiré in 1894. The shares belonged to Egypt, not to Ismain. They were an asset of the Government, and would never have passed to Tewfik as his private property or that of his brothers had Ismael been succeeded by Prince Halim. The ruler of the day contributed from first to last more than all the sums borrowed or subscribed by share-holders in Europe. These advances were made by the Egyptian treasury, and there can be no doubt that the shares belonged to the Egyptian Government and not to any ruler of Egypt. The shares will be worth in 1894, at present prices, £18,543,210. The transaction of 1876 belongs to a class against which a court of equity has never failed to afford relief.

"On the one side is the British treasury, claiming to have made £18,500,000 without the expenditure of a farthing. On the other side are all those who are interested in Egypt, including British tax-payers who have purchased Egyptian securities. If it is even possible that the opinion might be expressed by the judicial and financial advisers to His Highness the Khedive, or by the international tribunals, that Great Britain never acquired the ownership of the Suez Canal shares in fee simple absolute, because they were the property of the inhabitants of Egypt, created by their labor, subject to the lien of the creditors of Egypt and those of the Ottoman Empire; that they were pledged and not sold by a Khedive dismissed for malversation in office at the instance of England itself; that they had been redeemed by the annual payment of £200,000,000 a year, raised sometimes out of taxes cruelly burdensome, sometimes by new imposts and fresh loans, would it not be more discreet to begin as speedily as possible to show a disposition to treat this fund as a source out of which mutual benefits might be obtained?"

Appleton's Journal. London. April number, 1880. Page 303-310. The Suez Canal: A History. By Judge P. H. Morgan.

NATIVE HOUSE, SHOWING KITCHEN, IN MASAYA, NICARAGUA.

BARBER SHOP IN ADOBE HOUSE, MASAYA, NICARAGUA.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

COFFEE-CURING ESTABLISHMENT AT SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

When Ismail Pasha ascended the Viceregal throne of Egypt he inherited from his predecessor, Said Pasha, a legacy which proved to be the cause of his trouble, his misfortunes and his end. Said Pasha had granted to a French company the right to cut a ship canal from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea. It was a grand idea, no doubt, but, if we are to believe the records of the past, it was not a new one. Twice before the waters of the Mediterranean had been connected with the waters of the Red Sea, and it is generally credited that even the Canal which now exists was projected long before the present company undertook to dig it. It was a gigantic undertaking, although not a very difficult one to accomplish. It does not require any great engineering skill to excavate in sand; and, as soon as it was ascertained that the sand would not return to the place from which it was taken, the problem was solved. As for the danger arising from the sides falling in, everyone knows that wet sand is always hard, and that it has no tendency to "cave." Anyone who walks upon a beach may observe it for himself. Still, it was a great undertaking. It has proved to all the world—Egypt alone excepted—a great advantage. For Egypt, however, it has turned out to be a great commercial as well as a great political mistake. It has been the principal cause of her financial ruin, and led to the dethronement of her late Viceroy.

It has proved a great commercial mistake in this: that it has permitted all the travel and all the merchandise going to and coming from India to Europe to pass her by; whereas, before the Canal was dug, everything and every person going to and coming from that direction stopped at her ports, used her roads, and paid toll continually, thus profiting every one, from hotel-keeper to donkey-boy.

It was a political mistake, because it has placed Egypt on the highway to India, thus making her an object of zealous solicitude, and of great importance from a strategical point of view to those nations whose power is supposed to be mainly derived from that country or whose ambition lies in that direction; while the ruinous influence it has exercised over the finances of Egypt may be seen by a passing glance at the facts.

The first proposition which was made to the Khedive (Said Pasha) by the projectors of the enterprise was a very plain and simple one. If the Pasha would permit them to excavate a canal through his dominions, which would join the Mediterranean with the Red Sea, they would do all the work at their own cost. When the canal should be completed they would pay him 15 per cent of the profits which the canal might earn. As there was no water in the country through which it was to be cut except such as would come into it from the sea, and as a great number of workmen would be employed upon it, and as the principal part of the grain of the

country is grown in Upper Egypt, beyond Cairo, which then came to Alexandria for shipment, and which, it was hoped, would find its way to the sea through the canal, it was agreed that, should a sweet-water canal be deemed necessary, the company were to be permitted to dig one, always at their own cost, from the Nile, starting from a point near to and above Cairo, to the ship canal. They were to be the owners for ninety-nine years of all the Government lands, then unoccupied, which lay along the banks of the canal, and which might be irrigated from it free of taxes for ten years. At the expiration of ninety-nine years the entire works were to revert to the Government upon the company being paid the value of their improvements. In case the charter should be renewed at the expiration of its term, the Government was to receive an increased share of the profits. Nothing could be more business-like than this. The results which the enterprise promised were so great that its projectors could afford to do the entire work, at their own cost, and give to the granter of the privilege 15 per cent of their profits. This percentage of the profits would compensate for the loss of traffic which the country then enjoyed from travelers and from merchandise in transit. But the grant was coupled with the express stipulation that the Khedive was not to be bound to anything regarding it, unless the Sultan should approve of the scheme, and give to it his assent. In point of fact, therefore, it was the Sultan who was to grant the necessary concessions. For this consent, however, the company did not wait, and they went to work.

Matters do not appear to have progressed very rapidly. The company had undertaken a great work, and, to perfect it, required a great deal of money. The money was not forthcoming. Subscriptions to the stock were slow. Capitalists were not eager to invest in such an undertaking. As usual, there were many croakers abroad. Every scheme of the sort finds many enemies. In England, particularly, it was looked upon with great disfavor, just as canals in that country were pronounced impracticable when they were first projected; in the United States, just as railroads were, before they were built. Many people believed that the level of the Red Sea was so far below the level of the Mediterranean that, the canal being dug, all the water of the latter would pour through it, leaving its bed dry. On the other hand, there were others who thought the level of the Mediterranean so far below the level of the Red Sea that all the waters of the Indian Ocean would pour into it and flood a great portion of the continent of Europe. Capitalists were not eager to invest in an undertaking which threatened so great a disaster. Besides, the money, when it came, was to come from Europe, and those who had it did not

fancy sending it so far away from home, under so many conditions of doubt and peril.

To place themselves upon a better footing, the company obtained further concessions from the Viceroy (always subject, however, to the approval of the Sultan). Among other things, they were to be permitted to dig a fresh-water canal, starting from the point where the first one was to touch the marine canal, extending to the south as far as Suez and to the north as far as Port Said. All the unoccupied land lying along the route of this projected canal, and belonging to the Government, which might be irrigated from it (amounting to many thousands of acres, and which only needs the Nile water to make it productive) was to belong to the company for ninety-nine years, and was to be free of taxes for ten years. They were to be allowed to demand pay for the water which the canal might furnish the proprietors of land in its neighborhood. They were to be allowed to charge ten francs per ton on vessels which might use the ship-canal, and ten francs toll on each passenger who might pass through it.

One stipulation only was made in the interest of the people of the country. As it was evident that the construction of these vast works would require the employment of a great number of laborers, it was agreed by the company that four-fifths, at least, of the workmen employed upon them should be Egyptians. These the Khedive agreed to furnish. They were to be paid as follows: Those who were under twelve years of age were to receive two and a half piasters (about twelve and a half cents) per diem; those over twelve years of age were to receive three piasters (about fifteen cents) per diem; they were also to receive rations to the value of one piaster (about five cents) per diem, without regard to age. Lodging was to be provided for them, also hospitals, and transportation was to be furnished them to the point to which they were to work. The Khedive little dreamed when he made this stipulation, which was clearly intended should benefit his people, that he was consigning upward of twenty thousand human beings to their graves, and that he would, in the end, be called upon and forced to pay an immense sum of money for it.

Even with these vast grants in their favor the company stood in the presence of many difficulties. Although the first concession was made in November, 1854, and the second in January, 1856, the subscription-books were not opened until November, 1858. To secure 200,000,000 francs (the estimated cost of the work) to be invested in an enterprise in a distant quarter of the globe was found to be an impossibility. And in 1860 they were at the end of their resources. But the project was not to be abandoned. The company had already borrowed from the

Khedive 2,394,914 francs. This money was all gone. Then they set to work upon him in earnest, and they persuaded him to subscribe for 177,662 shares of stock in the company. Now, the entire number of shares was only 400,000, so that, one may say, the canal which was to have been dug through Egyptian territory, not only at no cost to Egypt, but from which she was to receive 15 per cent of the profits derived therefrom, and four-fifths of the cost of which were to be paid out to Egyptians, was now to be largely built with Egypt's money.

The Pasha did not have the money in hand with which to pay up his subscription. But this did not matter; the affair could easily be arranged, for at that time Egypt had no debt to speak of, and her credit was good. So it was agreed that he was to be charged on the company's books, to date from January 1, 1859, with the proportionate amount due to his stock, viz., 17,764,200 francs, from which was to be deducted the amount already advanced by him, 2,391,914 francs, with interest thereon (1,211,242 francs), so that his actual indebtedness on his called-in subscription was 15,248,042.88 francs; and as he had no money, he was to, and did, give Treasury obligations, payable—2,305,175 francs on December 8, 1863, and the balance in three equal annual installments of 4,314,255.96 francs, all bearing interest at the rate of 10 per cent per annum from January 1, 1860.

Therefore on the first amount he paid in all 24,705,734.60 francs, for which he was to receive bonds amounting to 15,248,042 francs. In other words, he was to pay 24,705,734.60, and was to receive, in bonds, 15,248,042 francs—a difference between what he paid and the sum he was to receive of nearly 10,000,000 francs. The rest of his subscription was to be paid at other intervals.

The success of this negotiation gave to the company a new life, and they pressed forward the work, not only on the main canal, but also upon the sweet-water canal, which was to start from the Nile.

Said Pasha died in January, 1863; Ismail Pasha succeeded him. The company now needed more money, and they pounced upon him at once. They represented to him that the supply of water in the canal from Cairo to Zagazig (on the way to the maritime canal) would not be sufficient to supply the canal which was to be dug from the point where that canal was to touch the maritime canal at Suez with water. They persuaded him that the construction of this canal, particularly in respect of the appropriation of lands belonging to individuals, would give rise to questions of interior administration, which might prove difficult and serious, and which it was important to the Government to have under its exclusive control. To prevent such an unhappy possibility the company agreed to renounce their right to construct their canal from the Nile to the maritime canal; to make the canal

from the point where it touched the maritime canal to Suez of sufficient dimensions not only to serve the purpose of irrigation, but also answer the purpose of navigation. At the same time they retroceded to the Government the lands which had been given them. The plain English of which was that they could not comply with their engagements, and that, notwithstanding all the assistance they had received, they were unable to complete the work which they had agreed and had commenced to do. The ground upon which they placed their request to be freed from that part of their contract, which is now under consideration, was a mere pretext.

The Canal was to be completed by the first of March, 1864; when completed it was to be kept in repair by the company, but at the cost of the Government; it was to be properly supplied with water at all seasons; was to be subject to all the services which had been established upon it in their favor by the original contract, and its water was to belong to them: that is, the Government was to build the canal, give it to the company, keep it in thorough repair, and always well supplied with water! Instead of nothing, the Government had contributed £8,000,000 to the enterprise (exclusively to the interest heretofore alluded to); had agreed to construct important works and keep them in repair, the company to derive the sole benefit therefrom. From being the beneficiary, the Government became the benefactor. It was to do the work; the work, when completed, was to belong to the company!

In the meanwhile England had seen with great and natural concern that a short route was being opened to the Indies, over which she was not to have the controlling influence. She could not but feel apprehensive lest large French possessions in Egypt, situate as were the lands which had been ceded to the company, might result to her disadvantage. The work as it progressed was talked about the world over. The moral sense of the British people took offense at the character of the labor which was employed upon it and the manner by which it was controlled. Accounts, not exaggerated, reached them of the "corvees" which were driven to the banks of the canal (for the Khedive, when he stipulated that Egyptians should be employed, also agreed to see that they should be forthcoming). The work was distasteful to them, not remunerative, and unhealthy. They were driven to it by force; they were perishing by thousands.

Does the reader know how their tasks were performed? Those who carried the earth away from where it was dug were not furnished anything in which to carry it. They were required to stoop, to place their arms behind their backs, the left wrist clasped in the right hand, and then as much earth was placed in the hod thus made as it would hold. They were forced to walk away with it up a steep

acclivity, and, when they reached the dumping-spot, they let go their hold, straightened up, and, shaking themselves like a spaniel who has just come out of the water, relieved themselves of their burden. A large portion of them were under twelve years of age. Englishmen almost fancied they could hear the thud of the "courbash" as it fell upon the more than half-naked bodies of these wretched and defenseless people, as it forced them to and kept them at these dreary tasks. The Sultan was urged to withhold his consent, and it was a long time before it was finally obtained. "Backsheesh" at length prevailed, and his consent was given, but it was coupled with the express provision that work by the "corvees" should cease. It was time; for, as has already been said, thousands of these creatures had died miserably, and had been buried in the sand.

But, unhappily for the Khedive, when the decision of the Sultan was made known, the company's chronic state of greed had increased, and out of this simple modification made in their concession they invented a scheme which produced marvelous results. They had suffered a grievance! The Khedive had agreed to see that they were furnished with laborers. As the Sultan had prohibited him from carrying out his agreement in this regard, when without his consent nothing was binding, the Khedive must pay! And immediately they cried "Havoc" and let loose the war-dogs upon him.

The Khedive protested against these demands. His protests availed him nothing. Finally an arbitration was proposed, and to this proposition he, in an unlucky moment, consented.

The arbitration called upon Louis Napoleon. In his hands the Khedive considered himself safe—from oppression at least. Louis Napoleon was his beau-ideal of a man; he was his exemplar as a sovereign; he imitated him, as far as he could, in all things. His Imperial Majesty decided that the stipulation contained in the second concession, to the effect that four-fifths, at least, of the labor upon the canal were to be done by Egyptians, was a contract between the company and the Khedive, by which the latter bound himself to furnish the labor; the violation of which on the part of the Khedive made him liable in damages, notwithstanding that everything relating to the concession was subject to the approval of the Porte; and notwithstanding that the form of labor had been changed by the Porte—all of which the Emperor admitted.

Upon this item, however, he mulcted him in damages 33,000,000 francs for labor on the canal, and 5,000,000 francs for labor that should have been furnished for the completion of buildings which would be necessary to enable the company to carry on their works.

In point of fact the dredging machines had already been constructed, and were at work when the decision was made known. The hand-labor would necessarily have been abandoned. How could it have been otherwise? Egyptians are not beavers; they can't work with twenty-six feet of water over their heads. The water was pouring into the places from which the earth was being dug as fast as the earth was removed, and in such quantities that it was impossible to keep the places free. If the digging of the Canal had depended upon manual labor, it would never have been accomplished. The Egyptians employed upon it would have been drowned again, and in about the same spot that they were when they went in pursuit of Moses.

In diminution of any demand against him upon this point, the Khedive claimed 4,500,000 francs that had been curtailed, to use a mild phrase, by the company from the laborers he had furnished. This, with great show of fairness, the arbiter allowed. That is, he found that from the already miserable pay which these wretched people were promised, a large proportion of whom were children under twelve years of age, 4,500,000 francs had been filched!

The Turkish affront consisted in the Khedive having given to a French company everything it asked; the French justice consisted in making him pay 84,000,000 for having done so! He sued for peace, and begged for mercy, and finally agreed to pay 30,000,000, if the company would go away and never come to him for more. To this the company finally agreed, but they rounded him off by making him pay them 10,000,000 francs for a piece of property they had purchased not a very great while before for 1,180,000 francs! To pay this last amount, being without money, the Khedive gave the coupons which were attached to his canal bonds, running down to the year 1895, the face value of which runs up to 125,000,000 francs! These bonds his necessities subsequently compelled him to sell to England. He was obliged to assume the payment of the coupons which he had taken from them, which amounts to nearly £200,000 per annum. Add these different sums together and it will be seen that (inclusive of the subscription to stock) the Suez Canal will have cost Egypt some 500,000,000 francs, or largely over what it was estimated the entire work would cost, and which it did cost!

Strange the places Fate chooses from which to fly her arrows! It was the country whose people had conceived and carried out this gigantic fraud (the foundation of Egypt's financial ruin) which pushed the late Viceroy from his stool and drove him, an exile, out of his country.

But the Canal was completed at last. The pageant which inaugurated the opening of the great route to the use of the world is known to us all. How

strangers flocked to see the triumph, as it was considered, of engineering skill; how the Empress came from France to grace the ceremony with her presence; how she was attended by princes and their trains; how, on the occasion of her going to Cairo, a road was made to the Pyramids to enable her to ride out to them without fatigue; how a kiosk was erected near their base in which she was to repose after her journey, from the windows of which she might view those splendid monuments without being subjected to the sun's powerful rays; how fetes were given; how presents were distributed, open handed and on all sides, and all at the Viceroy's expense—how like, indeed, it was to a fairy pantomime in Eastern lands, is known as well to those who kept themselves informed upon the current events of the day as to those who participated in the splendid pageants.

In one sense, at least, the Khedive had cause for self-congratulation. Both as regards ancient and modern times, his country possessed the grandest monuments which have ever been erected by the hand of man or spared by the hand of Time; and in respect to the first he had largely contributed, and his name would be associated with it forever.

M. de Lesseps started out with the proposition that he could join the two seas at an expense of 200,000,000 francs. The Canal cost the subscribers to its stock that amount. In addition it received from the Khedive 457,457,306 francs.

CHAPTER III.

THE NICARAGUA CANAL.

Senator Morgan's Strong Plea for an American Canal—The Claim that the Nicaragua Route, Though Longer than the Panama, Is More Practicable—Estimates of Enormous Special Advantages to America, Both Military and Commercial—Some Interesting Statements of the Costs and Profits of the Suez Canal and Their Bearing Upon the Nicaragua Canal—The Shares That the British Bought in the Suez Canal for £4,000,000 Are Worth £20,000,000—The Opposition to the Nicaragua Line in Congress Is Rather Against the Maritime Company than Opposed to the Enterprise Itself—The Views of Senators Pettigrew, Caffery and Teller.

Senator Morgan in his report from the Committee on Foreign Relations in 1896, referred to the transit between the eastern coast of America and the eastern coast of Asia as the shortest and most open route of navigation, and said more tonnage would pass through the Nicaragua than the Suez Canal. He added:

"The trade between these countries will be more direct than it is now, with London as the common point of distribution, and will therefore be cheaper than the present system. The Nicaraguan Canal will thus be given the preference over the Suez Canal by merchants and navigators. When we add to this the traffic that will pass in ships between the eastern and western coasts of the American hemisphere, the amount of tonnage that will pass through the Nicaraguan Canal must be largely in excess of that which will find its way through the Suez Canal."

"The ship's journey around the Horn" is a distress to commerce that the civilization of the age requires to be removed, and the route through Nicaragua is the only possible remedy for this universal evil.

"It is not too much to say that this condition, so easy to be remedied, will be a reproach to the men of this age if some active and decided movement is not made to relieve against it. To point out the dangers, hardships, loss of time, and the destruction of life and property incident to this only waterway connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, which must be navigated in the roughest seas and the most inhospitable climate in all the world, is only to repeat the experience of seafaring men for ages past, and to evoke a prayer for them that the United States will do its obvious duty toward them."

The Senator referred to the posts of the British on the North Pacific and in the Bermudas and at Halifax, and said:

"From these the most powerful ships of war can assail our harbors, and retire

to cover in case of necessity, while the United States must double Cape Horn in sending assistance from our eastern to our western coast.

"With the canal at our command we need not have two fleets to protect our coasts, as we are now compelled to do, at a cost already excessive and greatly to be increased. Without the canal we are, relatively, in a situation of deplorable weakness."

The most interesting part of the able and venerable Senator's report is his comparison of the Nicaragua and Suez canals. We quote him on this subject:

"When private enterprise in Southern Europe first addressed itself to the task of opening a sea level canal through the Isthmus of Suez, there was no lesson of experience to guide the movement or to assure its success. After a time the Khedive of Egypt, without the firman of his suzerian, the Sultan of Turkey, supported the undertaking, and put heavy burdens on his people.

"This wise and heroic decree of the ruler of a government nearly relapsed into barbarism secured the Suez Canal and should have secured the inviolable independence of his country. But the value of the canal to commercial and political aspirations for dominion attracted the cupidity of Great Britain and has drawn that great and costly work and the independence of Egypt into the grasp of that Empire.

"If it shall result, from our indifference or dread of expansion in the direction of national duty and of self-preservation, that Great Britain or any other European power shall get the control of the concession that we have, so far, refused, the result is even now plainly manifest, that the Central American States will repeat the experience of Egypt.

"Then we shall have our country broken in its coast line of trade and defences, by a European power, not in violation of the Monroe Doctrine, but this will be done in the name of these republics on and near the line of the canal."

"The Suez Canal is eighty-seven miles long, sixty-six of which are actual canal, the other twenty-one miles being lake navigation. The canal and its appurtenances were completed on or about the first of January, 1870, and cost about $91,000,000. Since that time there have been expended for betterments and improvements, including the deepening of the canal, about $24,000,000 more; bringing the total cost of the canal up to about $115,000,000. The canal was originally twenty-six feet deep. Its present depth is twenty-eight feet. The canal to-day is capitalized at about $90,500,000 in stock and obligations. The difference between the cost and its present capitalization in stock and bonds was made up by receipts from various sources applied to construction and improvement. It is commonly reported that the actual cost of construction did not exceed $50,000,000."

In 1891 the gross receipts of the Suez Canal were $83,421,504, and the actual net revenues of the company for a series of years past has been upwards of $12,000,000 annually. The net profits in 1892 were 41,728,543 francs, or about $8,345,000, and the dividends declared for said year were 19.8 per cent, including the taxes retained for the sinking fund.

The shares of the company, originally issued at 500 francs each, are quoted on the Paris Bourse at 2,692.50 francs. The shares of the Suez Canal held by the English Government and purchased for £4,000,000 are worth to-day over £19,000,000 in the open market.

The business of 1892 and 1893 suffered from the general commercial depression throughout the world, and was lighter than that done in 1891. In the said last mentioned year the net profits were 49,910,892 francs, or about $9,800,000, and the dividends declared on the stock that year amounted to 22.4 per cent.

The effect of the Suez Canal upon the commerce of the world is apparent from the fact that whereas in 1870, the first full year of its operation, there passed through the canal 486 vessels, registering 436,600 tons, the number of vessels passing in 1891 was 4,207, registering 8,700,000 tons. The most significant fact in this enormous increase is that the average size of the vessels using the canal in 1870 was but little over 1,300 register, while in 1891 it had increased to over 2,090 tons, and in 1892 to 2,200 tons.

"The outside limit of the cost of the Nicaraguan Canal is $100,000,000, but the committee assume, in correspondence with the estimates that have been so carefully made and revised, that the cost will not exceed $70,000,000, and that, if it should, there will be a fund in the treasury of the company from the sales of stock remaining undisposed of equal to $16,000,000, in all $86,000,000. This stock will go to par as soon as the construction of the canal is resumed, if not as soon as Congress has provided for the guarantee of the bonds of the company."

The objections to the project that have been so strenuously urged upon Congress are strongly stated by Senator Pettigrew, and we quote him:

"One hundred and fifteen million dollars will not build this canal. In my opinion $215,000,000 will not build it.

"But when it is built, if constructed by the United States alone, we must either make it a neutral canal, unfortified, to be used by all the nations of the world, or else we must fortify it at an expense of hundreds of millions more, and we must guard this 176 miles of canal in order to prevent its destruction, for its great embankments can be destroyed by a single person in a few hours of time with modern explosives. If it is not guarded, or if it is not fortified, our fleet, having

reached Lake Nicaragua, could be imprisoned by the efforts of one man at each end of the canal along these enormous embankments seventy feet in height. Therefore I believe it is wise that we should delay the disposition of this matter until this whole question can be investigated.

"Further than that, I believe it would be wiser for the United States to join with the other nations of the world and complete the canal at Panama. The canal at Panama is two-fifths completed already. The distance across the Isthmus at that point is forty-six miles, as against one hundred and seventy-six miles at Nicaragua. It takes fourteen hours to go from ocean to ocean at Panama, and it takes forty-four hours at Nicaragua.

"Therefore, in view of the fact that the Panama Canal is sure to be built—for no great enterprise was ever abandoned where so much money has been expended as has been expended at Panama—the Nicaragua Canal, our private canal, will never be used by the ships of the world. There is no occasion for using it. No vessel will cross at this point. A vessel will have to spend forty-four hours in crossing, when it can cross in fourteen hours at another place; and the commercial value of the canal will be absolutely destroyed if the other canal is completed.

"Four thousand men are at work to-day on the Panama Canal, and only twenty-three miles more of that canal remain to be built. The excavation for the rest of it is nearly done. Immense excavations have already been made along the twenty-three miles yet to be excavated. The money they are expending there is being expended with the most modern means of excavation and with great economy and great skill. Every single engineering problem has been settled. It has been determined beyond question that it is entirely practicable to build an excellent canal at Panama.

"The problems with regard to the Nicaragua Canal have not been settled. There is no report before this body or before the American people to show that this is a practical route, or that a canal can be built upon it. Our own engineers, who were sent there at an expense of $350,000, have not yet made their report to this body.

"Now, what is the proposition? To expend a vast sum of money to purchase an old concession which is valueless; to undertake to build a canal which we say shall be our canal.

"The Suez Canal is owned by the nations of Europe. Its neutrality is guaranteed by all the nations of Europe, and if the vessels of two nations at war with each other choose to pass through it, they can do so under the terms of that guaranty, only the vessel which first enters must first leave, and has twenty-four hours for departure before the vessel of the other nation at war with her can leave the canal, thus guaranteeing it against danger of conflict or destruction; and the canal across

the Isthmus of Panama must and will be guided, governed, controlled and guaranteed in the same way.

"It is all nonsense to talk about our building, fortifying and owning a canal of our own so long as it is a commercial canal, but if we wish one simply through which to pass our war ships, through which none of the commerce of the world will go, if the canal is to be our canal, and you are to spend $400,000,000 or $500,000,000 upon it, you are undertaking to start a project without that intelligent consideration which it should receive."

Senator Caffery said of the scheme before the Senate in the session of 1898-99, that it came down to this:

"A man buys a tract of ground in the face of a cloud upon the title, in the face of claims upon the part of the original grantor, claims of record that the title is void. Does the Senator from Arkansas hold that the way to get the land, and to get possession of it, is to buy a void title? You are buying nothing but a lawsuit. Your concession is about to lapse. The concessionary party says so, and it says so with authority and with reason. It is about to lapse, not only from the lapse of time, but from the various violations of the concession that have been set out.

"How is the construction of the canal facilitated by holding under such a title? It is either void or it is voidable. You are met with difficulties at every step. You are met with contentions all along the line. If that is the way to expedite the building of the canal I should like to know it.

"My contention is that these concessions held by the United States as a foreign power justify the statement made by the minister of Nicaragua that they are forfeited; not voidable, but void. When the United States constructs the canal, if it ever should, under these concessions—and I do not think it ever will—what happens then? All the police jurisdiction over the canal, all authority to try any contention or litigation growing out of contracts made with reference to the canal, every species of jurisdiction, is reserved by Nicaragua. The United States then can be summoned before the courts of Nicaragua upon matters of ordinary contract, for when I speak of the United States in this matter I do so because the concessions are virtually transferred to them.

"The position that the United States would place itself in by this proceeding is utterly inconsistent with the dignity of a fourth-class power. You buy nothing but lawsuits, and when you have the canal it is subject to the annoyance of all such jurisdiction as Nicaragua claims and which she will exercise.

"It will not do to try to obscure these matters. When we crawl beneath the wings of the Maritime Canal Company we take all the burdens of that company so

far as the title goes. The United States is inhibited from exercising such plenary jurisdiction and power and having such rights in the premises as the United States ought to have.

"This canal ought to be built. It is the one great national necessity of the present time, joining the waters of the two oceans together by a great national highway. It will double the commercial power of the United States. It will cut by half the distances from our trade centers to the distant lands that we hope to supply with our manufactures and our products. It will reduce the land transportation rates of the entire United States by a considerable per cent. It will double the power of the American navy. It will greatly assist in the coast defense on both oceans. For every consideration I think this canal ought to be built. I think we should get about it just as speedily as possible, and that no vote should be cast in the Senate which would postpone to another session of Congress all possibility of commencing action.

"Therefore, I shall vote for the bill, and, as I say, in the hope that out of the joint wisdom of the two Houses will come a measure that will be better, more practicable, than the one which is now pending here. I hope the measure when it becomes a law will provide for the construction of the canal by the Government of the United States as a Government measure."

Senator Teller said of the Nicaragua Canal that it was the merits of the company and not of the canal that were always discussed. There were between three thousand and four thousand men now employed on the Panama Canal, the length of which was forty-six miles, and that of the shortest Nicaragua route, one hundred and seventy-five miles. He thought the whole question should be left with the President of "the United States, putting it in the hands of competent men, could determine whether or not it was better to build the Panama Canal, which we can now build without any difficulty, because that concern is anxious that we should take it off their hands and built that canal.

"I know nothing about the Panama Canal except what I have seen in the public press, but it does seem to me before we determine that we will build the Nicaragua Canal we ought to determine whether it may not be to our interest, and whether it may not be money in our pockets to build the Panama Canal. Everybody can see that a canal which is only forty-six miles long must be in many respects very much more valuable than a canal which is one hundred and seventy-five miles long.

"When this canal is built, if we put in $125,000,000—for I repeat that, in my judgment, it will cost $200,000,000 or more—we ought to have the power to pro-

tect it. There is no provision in the bill that the Government of the United States can protect the Nicaragua Canal. What right will we as a Government have to fortify the coast? What right will we have to put our forts or our army or our supervisors to watch the canal off of the little narrow strip which this concession gives to the Maritime Canal Company?

"In the San Francisco dam there are practically six miles of bank, which in some places reaches seventy feet high. It is in a country where it will be most difficult to maintain a dam of any character. I venture to say that a shrewd, dishonest man by an expenditure of $100 could break that embankment in such a way that the canal could not be repaired in the six months in which it is provided that it may be repaired, or that it shall be forfeited to the Government of Nicaragua. Wherever you build a canal on any of these proposed routes, whether it be on the old Maritime Canal Company's line, or whether it be on the line that I understand is likely to be proposed by this new commission, these dams will necessarily be a feature of it. Therefore, I repeat, the Government of the United States ought to be authorized, before going to this great expenditure of money, to put some kind of guards over this canal, some supervision of it which you are not authorized to do and you cannot do under the concessions made to the Maritime Canal Company."

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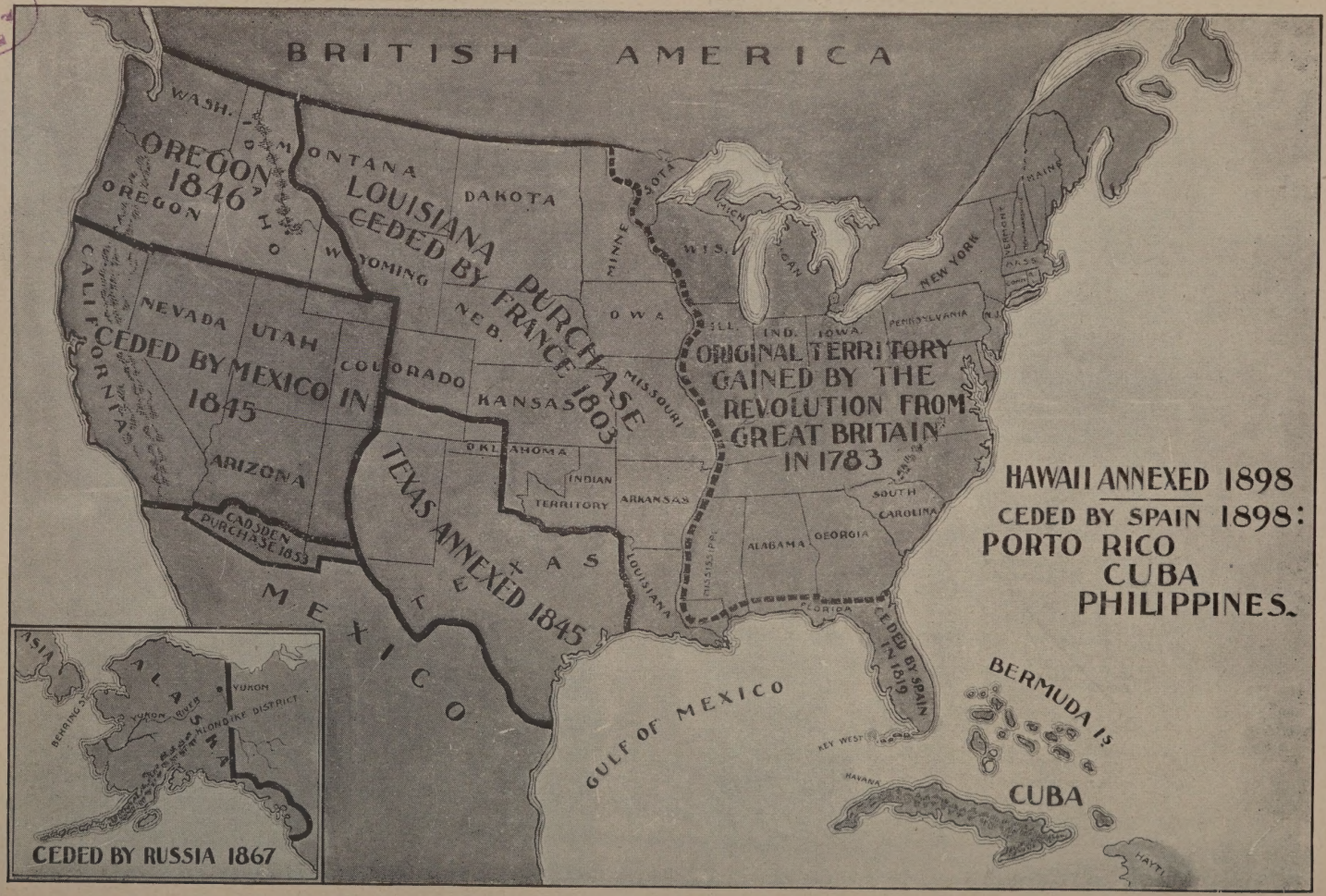
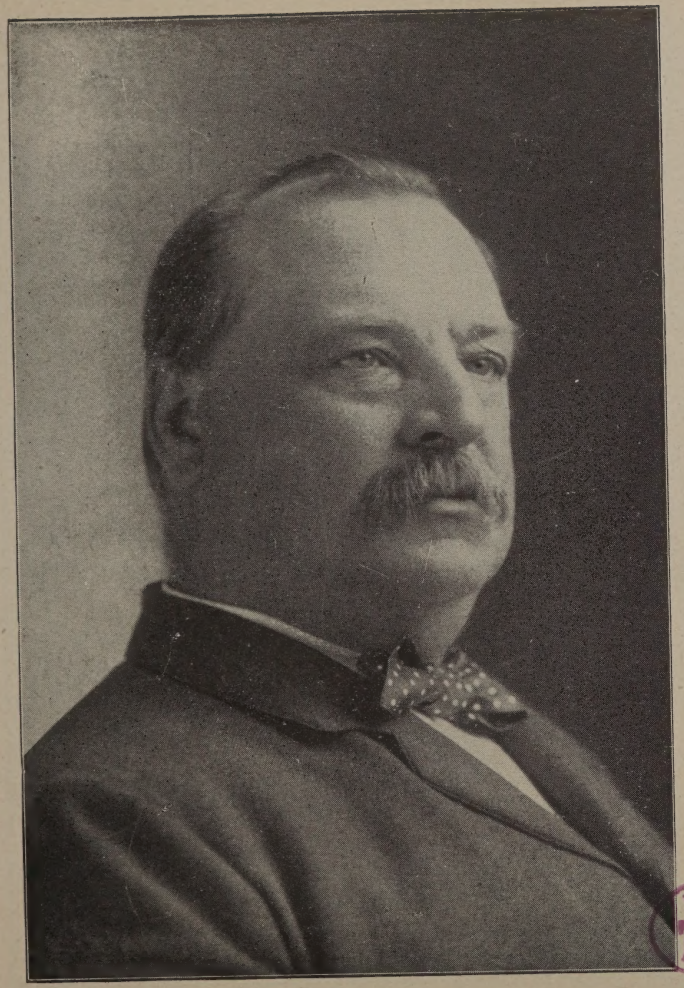


MAP SHOWING TERRITORY CEDED AND ANNEXED AT DIFFERENT TIMES TO THE UNITED STATES.



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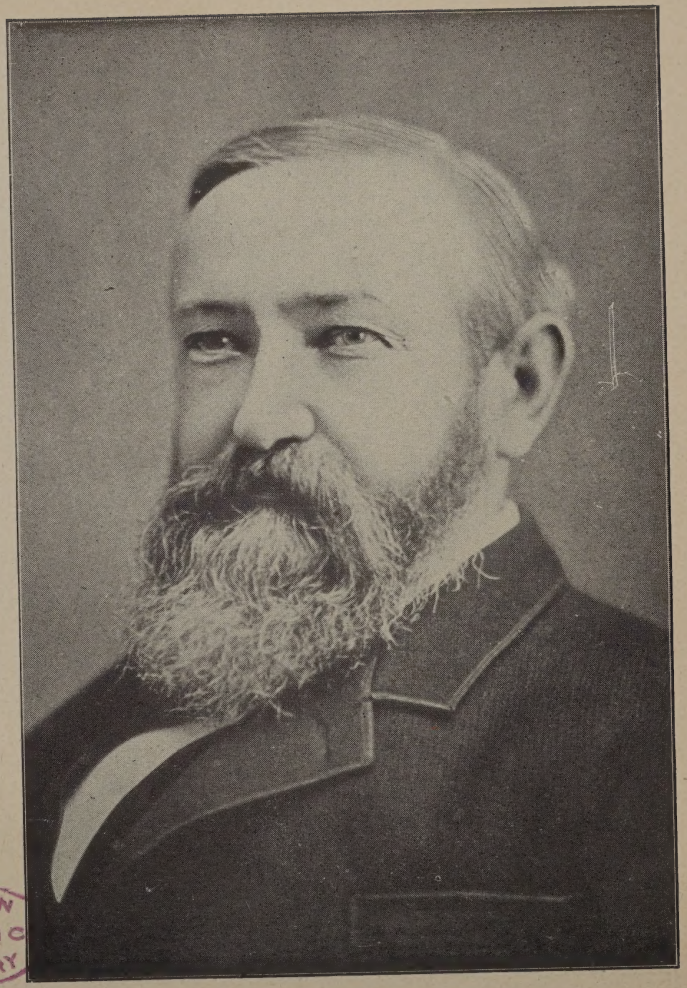

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BOOK VI.

THE PROBLEM OF EXPANSION. BY THE GREATEST ADVOCATES AND OPPONENTS. TO WHICH IS ADDED THE HISTORY OF EXPANSION.

INTRODUCTION.

The greatest novelty in our national experience grew out of the Spanish war, in the conquest of the capital city of the Philippines, and the hopelessness of the Spanish position in that archipelago. We were constrained to occupy and possess for military and international reasons the ancient Spanish seat of power, with its venerable walls and broad and once shady boulevards, its old forts with artillery of another age, and the latest style batteries equipped with modern guns from the foundries of Germany and Spain—the famous botanical garden and astronomical observatory, its stately churches, the palaces provided for officials, the flimsy habitations of the natives and the immigrants from Asia, and the solid business establishments, chiefly English and Chinese. The destruction of the Spanish fleet by Americans on May-day was thorough work so far as Manila Bay was concerned, but there were at least ten gunboats unaccounted for—doubtless lurking among the islands—and if these had not been awed by the presence of Dewey's ships they would have been free to have assailed our commerce with Asia, inflicting heavy loss and encouraging Spanish animosity. So particular have been the people of the United States not to pick up any of the choice islands of the seas, that, though we have three great States and one huge Territory fronting on the Pacific Ocean and must, in our geographical situation continue to have large and growing commercial interests on the opposite or Asiatic shore, the Spanish war found us without any naval station—without a dock or a coal-yard nearer Asia than Honolulu—a good illustration of the incompetency of the non-expansion policy. The American Admiral had to make choice between leaving the scene of his triumph and the evident sphere of his duty, and holding his own in the bay that he possessed by force of arms. He did not hesitate, but asked the Government for aid to confirm his conquest. Until recent expressions in Congress and by some citizens of unusual eminence elsewhere, we should have said that the entertainment for a moment in an American mind of anything so pusillanimous as running away from the waters of Manila after strewing them with the wrecks of the Spanish Armada, was absolutely inconceivable. The President of the United States, of course, never dreamed of ordering the victorious fleet that shed a sea of glory upon the country, to flee from the conquest out of a sentimental regard for the susceptibilities of the Spaniards or the Filipinos or of any other crea-

tures. There was soon experience of the insolence of Aguinaldo, who has no warrant to speak for the people of his alleged country, and whose actual insignificance made plain would startle any one who has accepted the theory of his greatness. Admiral George Dewey early reported the threatening attitude of this puny personage. The American Consuls who had given him aid and comfort and believed his little stories of gratitude to Americans were speedily embarrassed by him, and reported to the State Department his "half devil and half child" fantasies. He wanted to treat the American Army as a part of his forces, and was supercilious and studiously malicious toward those to whom he was indebted for his return to the land from which he had departed, leaving his beloved people to their fate—a certified check for Mexican dollars from a bank in Manila to a bank in Hongkong the inducement for his patriotic emigration. It has been held to be an evidence of his integrity and to make him out a marvelously proper man—a patriotic statesman of heroic mold—that he did not divide this cash contribution for which he left the country he adores, with the crowd of thirty-two Philippine patriots, and keep the lion's share for himself. He actually held on to the money except a small bribe for one friend to discontinue a lawsuit, and finally turned it over to Agoncillo, the great foreign ambassador who is traveling in Europe to procure assistance for the expulsion of the tyrannical Americans from his native land. Aguinaldo once had been a prominent insurgent and the pigmies in the wilderness had confidence in him because it was their faith that he had "a charm" so potent that neither lead nor poison could deprive him of life. But he had made peace for $400,000 in hand—Mexican dollars—and $400,000 more promised by the Spaniards; and about the time he got the first installment—and that is all he ever got—there was a change of Spanish Captain-Generals and the treaty that Aguinaldo had made with the one who returned to Madrid was a subject of hilarity there. Nobody paid other attention to it. That is one of the ways, and the favored one, the Spaniards had of putting down a rebellion. They bribe the patriot leaders to go away on conditions that everything shall be done for the dear people. It is easy to promise, as there is nothing to do. Nothing is done, of course. Nobody expects it. The transaction is closed when the first installment of money is paid as a benevolent "concession" to the retiring patriot. Aguinaldo is not a man of great gifts, but he did know something of the Spanish character, and he must have known why and for what he went away. He hadn't got back when Dewey smashed the Spanish fleet, but there were insurgents carrying on the usual war of the Spanish colonists against the mother country, and Aguinaldo had ceased to be a factor. He was a "has been." But our Consuls had heard

of him, and they thought he might do something and showered Dewey with information about him, and finally the Consul at Singapore got a dispatch from the then Commodore that was an invitation to Aguinaldo to assist in the war with Spain. His reappearance was under American auspices, and he smoothed the way with many promises and protestations that he was substantially a good American. At first the Filipinos did not seem to catch on to his mission, but the splendor of the American victory cast a light upon them and they associated him with the illumination. Then he began to be a great man, and immediately wanted to dictate to the Filipinos and the Americanos. Then came native swarms out of the woods upon development of his transferred prestige, and it does not seem unlikely they attributed the annihilation of the Spanish fleet to Aguinaldo, who is as great a naval as military man, and therefore they resented the unnecessary appearance, according to the light the Tagalos had, of American troops, who touched the tenderness of the insurgents by trampling on their sacred soil. The little yellow dictatorial creature, inflamed with personal grandeur, thought himself entitled to give or refuse permission to Americans to place their feet upon his holy land, and he held it was necessary before permitting this desecration to have official information as to what the armed Americans proposed to do when they got ashore. This is the sum and substance of Aguinaldo's voluminous correspondence with General Thomas Anderson—a mass of Filipino literature (the Dictator's part of it) that will forever pass as the premium performance of impertinence. In that regard it is almost superhuman. But the Dictator, whose professions of fondness for liberty have so fascinated an order of statesmanship in this country—the Dictator who parted from his loved country and fond people comforted with a certified check—this distinguished patriot who took thirty-two "compatriots" and personally conducted them to Hongkong for the sake of peace with Spain—the Spaniards robbed a bank to get the money—he had the fortune, after making a safe landing under the American flag, and setting up a sovereignty of his own at the cost of Americans, of accumulating a considerable force of bushwhackers. They got a good many cartridges from Cavite, surrounded the city and did shooting enough to annoy the Spaniards a good deal, as they were so cowed by Dewey that they stuck close to their breastworks. The Filipino siege was a case of very bad shooting at long range—the Spaniards behind bags of mud, the Filipinos in the jungles. General Merritt arrived and landed without asking Aguinaldo whether he might, and was not long in disturbing the exercises of the extensive shooting match, which did not amount to much on either side. The Filipinos are rather fond of being in the mud, and firing at distant objects. The Spaniards sheltered them-

selves from the rain, and, as long as the rice and tobacco held out, were satisfied that they were doing very well. There were about 13,000 Spaniards and 14,000 Filipinos. When the American force numbered about one-half the Filipino swarm General Merritt concluded to do business. The sovereign natives were right in the way and had scratched the ground here and there in their character of besiegers. They had to be removed for military purposes, and didn't mind seeing Americans go to the front. So the town was taken. The Spaniards surrendered on conditions. In the articles of capitulation the faith and honor of the Army of the United States were made responsible for the suppression within the limits of the city of barbarism. In three days came the news of the Peace Protocol. The arms and ammunition of the Spaniards—22,000 rifles and 10,000,000 cartridges—were in the hands of the Americans, and, according to the convention, if the Americans retired the Spanish troops were to receive their arms—that is to say, be equipped to defend themselves. That would have been the first thing in order if our troops had retired. The Aguinaldo army had grand passion to loot Manila, incidentally murdering the Europeans, and also the Chinese who had possessions. Refused this festival of liberty, the native patriots became the enemies of Americans. The discipline of the Aguinaldo forces is a case of "the cohesive power" of the prospect of plunder, with a chance for a massacre associated, and under this inspiration the champions of freedom and independence were sweltering in their venom until they assaulted our lines. Their occupation has been, up to the latest advices, a series of treacherous and devilish plots. These "people" are likened by some of our statesmen to our Revolutionary ancestors, and show their similitude to the fathers desperately attempting repeatedly to wipe out the city in a conflagration and accompany the spread of the flames by the assassination of all in their way of manifesting the inherent capacity of self-government. Americans have never had a chance to get away and the accumulating evidence is already ample, that the more casualties there are among the bands of liberty-lovers in the jungles, the better it will be for the Philippine people at large. The discussion of the merits of the war that has arisen from the bloody ashes of the Spanish power in the Asian islands, has been of extraordinary range and interest throughout the world, and is to the people of the United States of overshadowing import. Expressions of Public Opinion in this association have been invited by those who have in our country the executive responsibility. We have assembled the utterances of the disputants most prominently known, and whose words appear of the most notable force and pertinence. We have been impartial in the selection and adjustment of the views of gentlemen on both sides of the question of Amer-

ican Expansion. Intelligent attention will demonstrate the fairness of the reports herewith presented of a discussion that there is every reason to believe will be as influential as it is unmistakably testified the result will be of moment. The President of the United States has invited by his policy of candor and of deference to the ultimate judgment of his countrymen, the most thorough consideration of the practical questions before the people, and unequivocally submitted for the public determination. There is in this book a full and fair collection of the opposing contentions in the high debate of citizens, unofficial as well as official. It is the most comprehensive that has been made and is commended as worthy the time and the theme.

CHAPTER I.

PRESIDENT M'KINLEY FOR EXPANSION.

The Weighty Unexpected Problems Before the Country—Not Our Fault that They Impose High Obligation—He Opposed War—No Nation Insisting Upon War Can Foretell the Story of It—The President Cannot Fix the Boundaries of Events—We Could Not Give Up Our Conquests to Spain—The Philippines Had to Go to Spain or Be Held by Us—We Did Not Need the Consent of the Filipinos to a Work of Humanity—The Future of the Philippines Is in the Hands of the American People—No Imperial Designs Lurk in the American Mind—The Free Can Conquer But to Save—The Bloody Trenches Bring Anguish to His Heart—The Filipinos Will Be Grateful for American Civilization.

President McKinley says we have been successful in a war with a foreign power adding great glory to our arms—a new chapter in American history. He did not know why in this war this republic has unexpectedly had placed before it mighty problems which it must face and meet. They have come and are here and they could not be kept away. Many who were impatient for the conflict a year ago, apparently heedless of its larger results, were the first to cry out against the far-reaching consequences of their own act. Those of us who dreaded war most and when every effort was directed to prevent it, had fears of new and grave problems which might follow its inauguration.

"The evolution of events which no man could control has brought these problems upon us. Certain it is that they have not come through any fault on our own part, but as a high obligation, and we meet them with clear conscience and unselfish purpose and with good heart resolve to undertake their solution.

"War was declared in April, 1898, with practical unanimity by the Congress and, once upon us, was sustained by like unanimity among the people. There had been many who tried to avert it, as, on the other hand, there were many who would have precipitated it at an earlier date. In its prosecution and conclusion the great majority of our countrymen of every section believed they were fighting in a just cause, and at home or on sea or in the field they had part in the glorious triumphs. It was the war of the undivided nation.

"Every great act in its progress from Manila to Santiago, from Guam to Porto Rico, met universal and hearty commendation. The protocol commanded the practically unanimous approval of the American people. It was welcomed by every lover of peace beneath the flag.

"The Philippines, like Cuba and Porto Rico, were entrusted to our hands by the war, and to that great trust, under the providence of God and in the name of human progress and civilization, we are committed. It is a trust we have not sought; it is a trust from which we will not flinch. The American people will hold up the hands of their servants at home, to whom they commit its execution, while Dewey and Otis and the brave men whom they command will have the support of the country in upholding our flag where it now floats, the symbol and assurance of liberty and justice.

"What nation was ever able to write an accurate programme of the war upon which it was entering, much less decree in advance the scope of its results? Congress can declare war, but a higher power decrees its bounds and fixes its relations and responsibilities.

"The President can direct the movements of soldiers on the field and fleets upon the sea, but he cannot foresee the close of such movements or prescribe their limits. He cannot anticipate or avoid the consequences, but he must meet them. No accurate map of nations engaged in war can be traced until the war is over, nor can the measure of responsibility be fixed till the last gun is fired and the verdict embodied in the stipulations of peace.

"We hear no complaint of the relations created by the war between this Government and the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico. There are some, however, who regard the Philippines as in a different relation, but, whatever variety of views there may be on this phase of the question, there is universal agreement that the Philippines shall not be turned back to Spain. No true American can consent to that. Even if unwilling to accept them ourselves, it would have been a weak evasion of manly duty to require Spain to transfer them to some other power or powers and thus shirk our own responsibility. Even if we had had, as we did not have, the power to compel such a transfer, it could not have been made without the most serious international complications.

"Such a course could not be thought of. And yet, had we refused to accept the cession of them, we should have had no power over them, even for their own good. We could not discharge the responsibilities upon us until these islands became ours either by conquest or treaty.

"There was but one alternative, and that was either Spain or the United States in the Philippines. The other suggestions—first, that they should be tossed into the arena for the strife of nations, or, second, be lost in the anarchy and chaos of no protectorate at all—were too shameful to be considered. The treaty gave them to the United States. Could we have required less and done our duty? Could we,

after freeing the Filipinos from the domination of Spain, have left them without government and without power to protect life and property or to perform the international obligations essential to an independent state? Could we have left them in a state of anarchy and justified ourselves in our own consciences or before the tribunal of mankind? Could we have done that in the sight of God and man?

"Our concern was not for territory or trade or empire, but for the people whose interests and destiny, without our willing it, had been put in our hands. It was with this feeling that from the first day to the last not one word or line went from the Executive in Washington to our military and naval commanders at Manila or to our peace commissioners at Paris that did not put as the sole purpose to be kept in mind first after the success of our arms and the maintenance of our own honor the welfare and happiness and the rights of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. Did we need their consent to perform a great act for humanity? We had it in every aspiration of their minds, in every hope of their hearts.

"Was it necessary to ask their consent to capture Manila, the capital of their islands? Did we ask their consent to liberate them from Spanish sovereignty or to enter Manila bay and destroy the Spanish sea power there? We did not ask these; we were obeying a higher moral obligation which rested on us and did not require anybody's consent. We were doing our duty by them with the consent of our own consciences and with the approval of civilization. Every present obligation has been met and fulfilled in the expulsion of Spanish sovereignty from their islands, and while the war that destroyed it was in progress we could not ask their views. Nor can we now ask their consent.

"Indeed, can anyone tell me in what form it could be marshaled and ascertained until peace and order, so necessary to reign of reason, shall be secured and established? A reign of terror is not the kind of rule under which right action and deliberate judgment are possible. It is not a good time for the liberator to submit important questions concerning liberty and government to the liberated while they are engaged in shooting down their rescuers.

"We have now ended the war with Spain. The treaty has been ratified by more than two-thirds of the Senate of the United States and by the judgment of nine-tenths of its people. No nation was ever more fortunate in war or more honorable in negotiations in peace.

"Spain is now eliminated from the problem. It remains to ask what we shall do now. I do not intrude upon the duties of Congress or seek to anticipate or forestall its action. I only say that the treaty of peace, honorably secured, having been ratified by the United States and, as we confidently expect, shortly ratified in

Spain, Congress will have the power and I am sure the purpose to do what in good morals is right and just and humane for these people in distant seas.

"It is sometimes hard to determine what is best to do and the best thing to do is oftentimes the hardest. The prophet of evil would do nothing, because he flinches at sacrifice and effort, and to do nothing is easiest and involves the least cost. On those who have things to do there rests a responsibility which is not on those who have no obligations as doers.

"If the doubters were in a majority there would, it is true, be no labor, no sacrifice, no anxiety and no burden raised or carried; no contribution from our ease and purse and comfort to the welfare of others, or even to the extension of our resources to the welfare of ourselves. There would be ease, but, alas! there would be nothing done.

"But grave problems come in the life of a nation, however much men may seek to avoid them. They come without our seeking, why, we do not know, and it is not always given us to know, but the generation on which they are forced cannot avoid the responsibility of honestly striving for their solution. We may not know precisely how to solve them, but we can make an honest effort to that end and, if made in conscience, justice and honor, it will not be in vain.

'The future of the Philippine Islands is now in the hands of the American people. Until the treaty was ratified or rejected the executive department of this Government could only preserve the peace and protect life and property. That treaty now commits the free and enfranchised Filipinos to the guiding hand and the liberalizing influences, the generous sympathies, the uplifting education, not of their American masters, but of their American emancipators. No one can tell to-day what is best for them or for us. I know no one at this hour who is wise enough or sufficiently informed to determine what form of government will best subserve their interests and our interests, their and our well being.

"If we knew everything by intuition—and I sometimes think there are those who believe that if we do not they do—we should not need information, but, unfortunately, most of us are not in that happy state. The whole subject is now with Congress, and Congress is the voice, the conscience and the judgment of the American people. Upon their judgment and conscience can we not rely? I believe in them, I trust them. I know of no better or safer human tribunal than the people.

"Until Congress shall direct otherwise, it will be the duty of the Executive to possess and hold the Philippines, giving to the people thereof peace and beneficent government, affording them every opportunity to prosecute their lawful pursuits, encouraging them in thrift and industry, making them feel and know we are their

friends, not their enemies; that their good is our aim; that their welfare is our welfare, but that neither their aspirations nor ours can be realized until our authority is acknowledged and unquestioned.

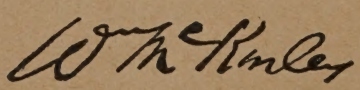
"That the inhabitants of the Philippines will be benefited by this Republic is my unshaken belief; that they will have a kindlier government under our guidance and that they will be aided in every possible way to be self-respecting and self-governing people is as true as that the American people love liberty and have an abiding faith in their own government and their own institutions.

"No imperial designs lurk in the American mind. They are alien to American sentiment, thought and purpose. Our priceless principles undergo no change under a tropical sun. They go with the fiat:

> " 'Why read ye not the changeless truth.
> The free can conquer but to save?'

"If we can benefit these remote peoples, who will object? If in the years of the future they are established in government under law and liberty, who will regret our perils and sacrifices, who will not rejoice in our heroism and humanity? Always perils and always after them safety; always darkness and clouds, but always shining through them the light and the sunshine; always cost and sacrifice, but always after them the fruition of liberty, education and civilization.

"I have no light or knowledge not common to my countrymen. I do not prophesy. The present is all-absorbing to me, but I cannot bound my vision by the blood-stained trenches around Manila, where every red drop, whether from the veins of an American soldier or a misguided Filipino, is anguish to my heart, but by the broad range of future years, when that group of islands, under the impulse of the year just past, shall have become the gems and glories of those tropical seas, a land of plenty and of increasing possibilities, a people redeemed from savage indolence and habits, devoted to the arts of peace, in touch with the commerce and trade of all nations, enjoying the blessings of freedom, of civil and religious liberty, of education and of homes, and whose children and children's children shall for ages hence bless the American republic because it emancipated and redeemed their fatherland and set them in the pathway of the world's best civilization."



CHAPTER II.

ANDREW CARNEGIE OPPOSED TO EXPANSION.

Mr. Carnegie Assails the President and the Secretary of the Treasury for Changing Their Opinions as to Expansion—Doubts the President's Convictions and Says Gage Is Not a Manufacturer—Carnegie Desires Commercial Expansion —He Wants the President to Listen to the London Times—The Open Door Will Antagonize American Labor—Predicts Death-Blow to "Imperialism" —Says No Citizen Can Be Deprived of the Right to Send His Products to Any Territory Under Our Flag Free of All Tariffs Within the Republic's Domain—Trade of Philippines Cannot Be American—Spain Gets $20,000,000 for a Great Relief—Tribute to the Personal Virtues of the President —A Reply to Mr. Murat Halstead's Address at Homestead.

Andrew Carnegie opened a crusade against the antagonism of the Philippines by the statement "Half the danger would be over" if the people knew the President had convictions on the subject "to which he would stand." He added Secretary Gage was a "convert to imperialism," and had "fortunately given us the reason." And Mr. Carnegie added:

"Secretary Gage has not only told us that he has changed his views and is a convert to imperialism, but he has fortunately given us the reason. All that is necessary is that our public men should give reasons for the Republic abandoning the policy which has made her great. He accepts the dangers and cost of imperialism against his own wishes for the sake of commercial expansion.

"Now, Secretary Gage has never manufactured anything nor exported anything —he is neither in manufacturing nor in commerce. I am in both. Our concern is to-day the largest manufacturer in the world in its line, and I believe it is also to-day the largest exporter of manufactures in the United States.

"We have within two years begun to send our steel to all parts of the world. Our sales reach into the millions of dollars. We have our London house now as we have in New York. The foreign business is growing by leaps and bounds. Now, one of the reasons why I oppose imperialism—the acquisition of the Philippines, for instance—is commercial expansion.

"The reason that Secretary Gage gives for acquiring the Philippines is the reason why I would not. He believes it would be favorable to commercial expansion; I know that it would be detrimental.

"The Secretary gave no reason for thinking that the acquisition of distant pos-

sessions would increase our foreign trade. Permit me to state reasons why it would not increase but decrease it.

"Foreign trade rests upon peace and security; the waters must be calm, disturbing influences absent, to foster trade in foreign parts.

"Two weeks ago British consols fell 2⅝; there was a rumor of war with France; money needed by manufacturers and exporters rose to double what it had been. Our financial operations in London covering our foreign trade were immediately transferred to New York, which for the time became the financial center of the world. Money exchange was furnished us cheaper here than London could give. The quiver that went through the commercial world in Britain arrested commerce at many points. New York was secure beyond the zone of disturbance; there was no war rumor which affected the Republic. Great Britain was within the zone and her business was disturbed.

"Should we undertake to hold the Philippines we immediately place the whole Republic within the zone of wars and rumors of wars, and the rumor of war, it must be remembered, is in itself destructive to commerce. It was only rumors of war that threw us from London back to New York.

"If Secretary Gage is not satisfied with the commercial expansion which this country is enjoying what will satisfy this man? I have seen nothing like it in my lifetime, nor have I read of anything comparable to it.

"Without distant possessions, the Republic, solid, compact, safe from the zone of war disturbance, has captured the world's markets for many products, and only needs a continuance of peaceful conditions to have the industrial world at its feet. Our exports now exceed the exports of Great Britain. What does Secretary Gage mean by talking of commercial expansion to come, when the question to-day is, how shall we meet the commercial expansion crowding upon us?

"If the Secretary of the Treasury has time to spare let me suggest that he can use it to better advantage studying how to give to our exporters suitable steamship lines to carry away the traffic that is offered. This is the one great want of the United States in the way of commercial expansion, not the management of barbarous regions involving race troubles far exceeding those we have at home.

"There is another point that Secretary Gage fortunately has to consider. I should like to ask the Administration one question which the President and Cabinet must soon think of.

"Are the Philippines to be considered part of the American Republic, as Porto Rico is, and are we to keep them for ourselves as we have Porto Rico, excluding the world from equal trade rights with them?

"Suppose President McKinley says 'Yes, I have always stood for American labor; I am its great champion; I am a protectionist to the core.'

"I begin to grow doubtful about the President having convictions upon any subject; but if he has a conviction it is this, that it is the duty of an American President to take care of American labor. Well, he will have done so when he announces that he is going to obey the Constitution of the United States, although in these days the Constitution seems to be, as Tim Campbell once said to President Cleveland, 'a small thing to stand between friends.'

"But suppose the President is true to the Constitution and his oath to support it, then there is free trade between all parts of the United States and the Philippines as there is to Porto Rico—he has stood true there—but there is a high tariff between the trade of all other nations and the Philippines.

"I believe the President will be driven to hold this position. What ensues? War! Britain is our best friend to-day, but only upon condition that we keep 'open door' for her in the Philippines and in all other of our distant possessions.

"The London Times has already given a strong hint upon this subject in referring to the President's bottling up Porto Rico.

"Let the President listen to this from the London Times editorial: 'Englishmen have seen with ungrudging satisfaction the entrance of America on the path of imperial expansion which they have themselves trodden with such conspicuous success. But it must be confessed that a considerable strain is put upon our sympathy by such blunders as the order regulating the trade of Porto Rico, which our correspondent cites and which reads as if it were borrowed from our own navigation acts which the Americans themselves found so oppressive.'

"The most sensitive chord of Britain is its foreign trade; upon that it depends. Let the President of the United States once show that the American system is to be extended to the Philippines, and that Secretary Gage had some foundation for his idea of 'commercial expansion' for the advantage of American labor, and it will not be necessary for Britain openly to intervene.

"France, Germany and Russia, as is well known, are opposed to America entering upon possessions in the far East. Those nations combined drove Japan out of Corea; they will drive the United States out of the Philippines, always provided Britain agrees to do what she did with Japan—occupy a neutral position.

"But I go further than this. She will require the United States to agree to keep the 'open door,' as she required Germany to do. Of course, Germany has agreed to keep the open door in her Eastern possessions. She wouldn't have any

if she had not. Neither will the United States, for let it be noted that 70 per cent of the total trade of the Philippines is to-day British.

"I have spoken of European nations, but there is a nation quite near the Philippines with which the United States would find it most difficult to deal at so great a distance, for, remember it is a question of naval strength. Here is what the minister of Japan said the other day:

" 'Every year its trade with the Philippines has increased until now it has become of very respectable proportions. Naturally my Government is interested in seeing that this trade shall continue, and as it firmly believes the ports of the islands will be freely opened to Japan if the United States governs the islands, it would rather see America gain control than any other nation.'

"I was consulted last week in regard to taking an offer of 60,000 tons of steel plates for delivery in Western Australia. My feeling was that we should wait results. Let us see whether we do not get into trouble in regard to the 'open door' or the 'closed door' in the Philippines. If we do, of course there is no delivery in Western Australia possible to the extent of 60,000 tons of steel to be made by American labor. Mr. Gage's commercial expansion is hindered. This steel may not be made in the United States. So much for imperialism and its foreign complications.

"Suppose, however, President McKinley, in order to hold the Philippines at all, has to grant the 'open door,' where will Secretary Gage and his commercial expansion stand then? What will labor in the United States say to the recreant President? What compensation is it to have?

"What justification can be pleaded for paying twenty or forty millions for the Philippines, and for sacrificing the blood of our soldiers and the lives of our civil servants involved in this acquisition, if no advantage accrues? What answer will he make to the people upon whom he imposes additional taxation?

"I think I know what the laboring masses of the United States will say to him and to any government that throws upon the country such sacrifices of life and such burdens, only to open its costly acquisitions to the nations of the world.

"If it be fair competition with other nations that we require for commercial expansion, we are certain of that already, because Britain will never permit the open door in the far East to be closed.

"President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, is on the right track. He denounces the policy of bringing the Republic into the zone of European strife in the far East. He will win, and it only needs a few large employers

STONE QUARRY AT TIMSAH LAKE
DAM AT ISMAILIA
S.A. TEWFIK PACHA
VIEW OF SUEZ
E DE LESSEPS
STEAMERS WAITING AT KANTARA
VIEW OF LANDING AT PORT SAID
ENTRANCE TO SUEZ CANAL
VIEW OF PORT SAID HARBOR

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VIEWS ALONG THE SUEZ CANAL.

BANANA DEPOT NEAR BLUE FIELDS, NICARAGUA.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

of labor to speak to their people to carry the entire laboring people of the Union against the President's supposed treachery to the cause of American labor.

"Let the President take either horn of the dilemma and his policy of what he himself has called 'criminal aggression' fails. Let him open the door to the world and he antagonizes American labor. Let him consider the Philippines part of the United States, and therefore entitled under the Constitution to free trade with, as part of, the United States, and its door closed except through the high tariff to all other nations, and he antagonizes the whole of Europe and has war upon his hands to a certainty—this time no weak Spain to deal with, but the overwhelming naval power of Europe.

"Be of good cheer! The American people have always decided rightly in great crises. The imperialistic policy has not been properly discussed, because the position of the President and the Government is not yet known, but the President has to come forward and decide the question I have indicated.

"This will be the death blow of imperialism either way he decides.

"The Republic will escape the threatened danger and hold fast to the policy of 'the Fathers,' which has made it the most prosperous nation the world ever saw and brought the industrial supremacy of the world within its grasp under the aegis of peace and security—the one industrial nation free from the unceasing danger of wars and rumors of wars which keep every shipyard, every armor plant, every gun factory in the world busy night and day, Saturdays and Sundays, preparing engines for the coming struggle between the nations of Europe."

Mr. Carnegie had predicted that the President would be forced to meet the question of "the open door" or "the closed door," and he commented:

"From the President's record as the champion of American products of the soil and the mine and of American labor, I supposed that he would not yield to the dictation of our foreign rivals without hesitation. One was justified in thinking that an American President would not sacrifice American interests without hesitating, but it seems the President never hesitated a moment.

"From one point of view he cannot be blamed. There was no use in his attempting to oppose the giving of the 'open door' to the foreigner, because refusal meant that he had to meet the combined fleets of Japan, Russia, Germany, France, and last, but not least, Great Britain, and this the wildest expansionist, unless wholly bereft of reason, would not for a moment consider. He had to concede to other nations the markets of his new ill-starred possession. To such national humiliations imperialism inevitably leads.

"In this morning's papers we are correctly told by the Secretary of the State

that the 'open door' does not mean free trade, that the Philippines will have their tariff, and that all products entering the ports will be required to pay the same duties, whether these be products of American soil or labor, or of the low-priced labor of Europe, India, Australia, or the Argentine; but the Secretary of State is also reported to have said that this places all nations upon an equality. Here he has made a pardonable mistake, since he has no experience of commerce.

"The manufacturer of Germany, France or Britain, the farmer of Australia and of the Baltic provinces of Russia and of the Argentine, reach the Philippines at about one-half the freight cost that the American farmer has to pay upon his products or the American manufacturer upon manufactured articles. The distance to Manila from the Atlantic seaboard is, say, 14,000 miles (via Cape); from Europe only, say, 9,000; 12,000 from New York (via Europe, which is the shortest way); from Australasia only about one-half the distance of that from San Francisco, say 3,500 miles, against 7,000; from India only 4,000, from Argentina not much further than from San Francisco.

"Therefore, when President McKinley agreed that the products of Europe and the agricultural products of Australia and Argentina and India should reach the Philippines and pay only the same tariff as products of the soil and the mine of his own country, he closed the door effectually upon American commercial expansion in the Philippines.

"American products stood upon an equality with those of foreign nations under Spanish authority, except that Spain was favored against all, and here are the import figures for the last year of Philippine trade (1896) for which figures are available:

"From Great Britain and British Colonies, 15 per cent....	£1,420,800
From Spain, 13 per cent.	284,310
From all other nations, 22 per cent.....	480,890
Total imports	£2,186,000

or, say, $10,500,000. The United States sent only $146,000 worth, a sum too small for the Statesman's Year Book to specify separately.

"Under the President's concession of the 'open door' such will be about the United States' proportion in future. Conditions are not changed, except as to Spain's paltry 13 per cent.

"The trade of the Philippines cannot be American, but let no one blame the President, because if his imperialism was not to suffer shipwreck he had to throw away the markets of his new possessions.

"It is interesting to consider whether the President or Secretary of State or any member of his Cabinet knew that landing American products either of the farm or of the mine in Manila upon equal terms with the agricultural products of Australia, India, Argentina, or of the manufactures of Europe, simply meant that American grain, flour, provisions, American cotton and woolen goods, American iron and steel, were at so serious a disadvantage, owing to the greater distance, that they were practically excluded from the new possessions for which the American people are to pay.

"My answer is that I do not believe that one of them ever thought of this fatal fact of distance. The men in Washington to-day are so immersed in problems which have nothing whatever to do with the prosperity of their own country that they have no time to consider subjects bearing upon it. They have eaten of the insane root of territorial expansion in distant continents; they are dreaming dreams, chasing phantoms, and in one stroke of the pen the President of the United States has innocently given over the trade of the Philippines to foreign nations. I do not believe that he ever thought of distance.

"America stands in regard to the trade of the Philippines exactly as she stood when they were under the dominion of Spain, except that the 13 per cent of Spain was favored. She was then on an equality with other foreign nations, but what has the Republic now to shoulder by this hasty act of the President which she had not before?

"First—She pays $20,000,000 for the privilege of getting what she had better have paid a thousand millions to be without.

"Second—The President is to ask Congress for an addition to the army one and one-half times bigger than the entire army that was necessary before he left the path of the fathers and plunged the ship of state into this sea of troubles.

"Third—The President is to ask Congress for a tremendous addition to our navy, which will cost more than $20,000,000 every year. The increased army will cost probably as much.

"The President will get his ships of war, but he will not get his regular soldiers. The work which he wishes them to do is not that which the regular soldier of the United States has hitherto agreed to do. The regular soldier will now have to leave his country to suppress the aspirations of people for independence.

"Perhaps the President of the United States will order the American soldier to shoot down men whose only crime is that they fight for the independence of their country, which the American has been brought up to believe a prize worthy of all sacrifice. Recruits cannot be had for the regular army to-day. The pay of

the army must be raised. It is safe to say that the additional burdens which the President must finally place upon the American people will not amount to less than $100,000,000 per annum, all of this required because the country will have to maintain a great army and a navy equal to those of European powers, in order to defend worthless foreign possessions from which no benefit can now be reaped, American products having been effectually excluded.

"Now as to how this hundred millions is to be raised. Fortunately we are not left in doubt. The President's spokesman and manager, Senator Hanna, has declared that the tea and coffee of the workingman, now free, are to be taxed. There is not a dinner pail that is not to be laid under contribution; labor is to bear the burden. There is scarcely a farmer, nor a farm-hand employed by the farmer, nor a wage-earner of any kind, who does not use tea or coffee, these necessaries of life, and there is not one upon whose hard-won earnings the President of the United States, through Senator Hanna, does not propose to levy a tax to support his wild un-American schemes.

"The question now is, what is to be the response of the farmers and the farm laborers and the workingmen, the men of the dinner pails, to this extraordinary programme? If the President or any of his supporters can show that he is going to promote their interests in any way by his bargain for the Philippines, let him speak.

"I have shown that as far as the Philippines are concerned he has placed the United States at a fatal disadvantage compared with our foreign rivals. Can any one gainsay this? Is it not so? Here is the broad point for the President or any of his supporters to grapple with:

"Can American products of the farm or of the mine reach the Philippines at anything approaching the cost of transportation of the agricultural products of Australia, Argentina or Russia, or the manufactures of Great Britain, Germany or France, having thousands of miles further to go?

"If yes, then the American is not disadvantaged, but he has even then no advantage for all his taxes. He had the open door before, except in competition with Spain.

"If not, then the President has handicapped the agricultural and manufacturing interests of his country, and given to the foreigner the trade of the Philippines.

"Thus the claims of the imperialists that foreign acquisitions extend our commerce with the Philippines is groundless. Let us hear no more of it. They must confine themselves to 'Humanity,' with a big H, for business reasons there are none.

"The President is confronted with another grave problem in his new and thorny path. One of the ablest men of the United States is Secretary Wilson, of the Department of Agriculture, a member of his Cabinet. No one who has followed his writings and kept advised of his successes as I have can fail to be deeply interested in his work and in his man. He has told the nation that it can grow all the sugar it requires; he encourages us to believe that we shall be able to grow all the flax for our linen. He is deeply interested in the growth of tobacco within our own domain.

"Now, to admit the sugar of Hawaii, as the President has decided we must continue to do (Hawaii having become United States territory), and to go forward with the same policy and admit sugar and tobacco from Porto Rico, which is United States territory, like Hawaii, and to annex Cuba and admit its sugar and tobacco, and to admit the hemp of Manila, would destroy the patriotic labors of Secretary Wilson.

"I have no warrant for saying so, but I believe he would resign his office in the Cabinet the moment the President of the United States attempted to admit one pound of sugar or tobacco free from Porto Rico or hemp from the Philippines. The opposition of Secretary Wilson to this fatal course would be sufficient; he would never have to resign from the Cabinet on that issue, simply because the farming States, which make the President, would revolt. They will not be trifled with on this point, neither would the people of the United States, as a whole, approve of the beet-sugar industry being stricken down at this moment.

"We are soon to see the President of the United States proclaim, as he can—as long as he is military dictator—that not a pound of hemp from Manila, not a pound of sugar or tobacco from Porto Rico, will ever enter the United States without paying the same duties as sugar or tobacco or hemp from foreign countries. He is going to attempt to keep the American tariffs against the products of Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines, notwithstanding his desire for their 'civilization,' for their 'benefit,' notwithstanding 'Humanity.'

"What a spectacle for Americans! But the interests of the poor Filipinos, of the poor Porto Ricans, are of little moment when the votes of the farmers of the United States are in jeopardy. Such are the fruits of the new policy.

"We are getting into a maze of knotty problems. Products of Hawaii and of all other portions of the United States are exchanged free of duties under the constitutional provision which establishes free trade with our dominions, but the products of Porto Rico, which the President has recognized as American territory and held their trade for American ships as coast trade, are to be denied what

Hawaii has—as far as its exports to the United States are concerned. But American products to Porto Rico are to be under the Constitution and free. The Philippines, on the other hand, are to have neither their exports nor imports to or from the United States under the Constitution.

"This is a staggering state of affairs, but then let us remember the President as War Lord is quite within his constitutional rights to 'make ducks and drakes' with the Constitution in war time. No one can question his authority; there is no usurpation of power, but one cannot but marvel at the 'admired disorder' of his regulations. Ah, Mr. President, little did you know what leaving the teaching of the fathers meant when you rashly abandoned it and entered upon your new and thorny path.

"What would you not give to get back again to the true American ideas? It is not yet too late if you only knew your power over the masses of the people, but you have to speak out in language to be 'understood of the common people' in your next message to Congress, or the imperialistic craze may sweep you to your political ruin.

"I must pause as I write to pay tribute to the many virtues of the President. Some mutual friends have suggested that I went too far when I said that I began to doubt whether he had convictions upon any subject. Let me say to these that I was not speaking of the private character of Mr. McKinley. I had his official acts as President in view, and who will pretend that as President he has stood to his official convictions.

"These very friends urge that he was opposed to the war with Spain, for instance, until a noisy gang dragged him into it. This is what all his supporters are saying, and it is no doubt true and creditable to him as a good, gentle man, but when it becomes our duty to call a public officer to account for his acts and view him as history will place him—instead of this being a public virtue it was a national crime.

"Assuming, as his friends claim, that he was not satisfied that war was required, his duty as President was to exhaust the powers which were vested in him by the Constitution and which he could not rightfully evade. He should have stood out like a man and exercised his power of veto as other Presidents have done, as General Grant did in a memorable case. Then, if Congress had passed the act over his veto he would have been clear in his great office—his soul uncharged with the blood spent and the thousands of lives sacrificed in unhealthy camps.

"It was this official act and another which could be named which I had in

view when I spoke of 'convictions,' not the private acts of the individual Mr. McKinley, which do not concern us.

"Representatives and Senators, on the other hand, who thought in their consciences that war was necessary, are not responsible for results. These acted as officials should act always—in obedience to what is right as they see it.

"But if any words of mine bear the interpretation that I was speaking of anything except the acts of the President in his official capacity, I express unfeigned regret and publicly apologize for them.

"I never approached a President of the United States without being awed, nor did I do so this week, when I was honored by being accorded an interview with President McKinley.

'I speak against his policy as President in the strongest terms, and denounce it, but well do I know the man as one of the best intentioned and purest living men—a model of every virtue—

> " 'The kindest man;
> The best conditioned and unwearied spirit
> In doing courtesies.'

"I have known Mr. McKinley most of my political life. I have always been his friend, but never so much his friend as I am to-day, when I tell him the truth as I see it. Would that he had more such friends, for many of those about him only whisper their dissent from his policy behind his back. Every man of position who feels his country endangered should write to the President.

"This much the President knows: he has one friend who speaks boldly to him face to face, one who has no favor to ask and fears nothing save his own self-reproach.

"When called upon to consider the public safety let it never be forgotten, however, that some of the direst evils that ever fell upon nations have come from the best of men in all the domestic virtues, but men irresolute of purpose. Had President Buchanan been a President Jackson we should have been saved the Civil War. The President is too modest, and fails, as I think, to rate either his high office or himself at true value.

"So much for the President as a man and as a public official, the one sacred from criticism, the other not, for public officials' acts or policies are the property of the people. We fail in our duty if we do not arraign him when we believe his acts or his policy are against our country's good. I do not intend to fail in the performance of this duty.

"I did not fail in this duty to President Grant, with whose friendship I was

honored, or to the country, when he proposed the annexation of San Domingo, which was not 'criminal aggression' upon his part, for its people desired annexation.

"I have done with President McKinley just as I did with President Grant—opposed and denounced his policy. General Grant remained my friend notwithstanding to the end, and I his friend.

"President McKinley may also, or may not, but I shall remain his well-wisher and friend as a man, and a stanch one, although I see in his policy as President nothing but disaster for our country, and have told him so, and intend to keep on telling him so until the issue is settled beyond the reach of discussion.

"To resume the discussion, it is not for the President of the United States to decide, when he becomes once again a constitutional ruler, whether he can or cannot deprive any citizen of the United States of the right which the Constitution gives him to send his products to any territory over which the flag holds sway, free of all tariffs within the broad domain of the Republic. This is a constitutional right which even Congress cannot impair.

"This question is to be decided by the highest and most august tribunal of the world, the Supreme Court of the United States, composed of nine able, pure men, who hold office for life, independent of President, of Congress or of a popular vote, a court which has just struck down the greatest combination of capital that the world ever saw, a combination of the railway interests of this country—a court which will not hesitate to apply the fundamental principles which underlie our Government, and uphold the constitutional rights of the citizen from the attack of either President or Congress. Therein lies the safety of the Republic.

"Whether the dictum of the President of the United States is to debar me from sending steel made by the highest-priced labor in the world to all American territory and prevent me from bringing back from the Philippines in the same ship the hemp of Manila, free of all tariffs, as I can do to Hawaii, is to be decided by the Supreme Court, and only by it.

"If it is so decreed I shall bow without a murmur, as every loyal citizen of the United States should bow to that tribunal, but we bow not to the President except when he is war lord, commander-in-chief, whose request to me to sail for the Philippines to-morrow, or to any place in the world, to perform services to the Republic, I consider myself bound to obey, as a soldier would obey his superior, but whose commands in the days of peace I will question and take to a higher court if I think he attempts to rob me of a constitutional right. This is the birthright of every American citizen.

"I have laid a matter for serious consideration before the farmers and their

workingmen, and before the wage-earners of the country. Their products cannot reach the Philippines under the President's action. Two thousand to five thousand additional miles of transportation rule them out in competition with the agricultural products of the Argentine Republic, of India, of Russia, and with the manufacturers of Britain, France and Germany.

"The open door to the foreigner means the 'closed door' to the United States.

"Strange day's work this for an American President, who against the commerce destroyers of his country should

"'Have barred the door, not borne the knife himself.'

"Mr. Murat Halstead, speaking at Homestead, Pa., said the Philippines will be to the United States what India is to England.' This is what I believe they will be, but does Mr. Halstead know what India is to England?

"Perhaps he has never been to India—I have. I have met the Indians who speak English—who have spoken to me freely, because I was an American. What does education make of Indians? Incipient rebels! They have taken to heart Washington and our struggle for independence; they speak most of Cromwell, and of Bolivar, Wallace and Tell.

"England in India stands to-day upon a volcano. She has to keep 60,000 British troops there to hold the people in subjection. She does not trust one gun in the hands of native troops. They can have muskets, but the artillery is all held by the British regiments. England has been in India for nearly 200 years—this is the condition she is still in to-day. Of all the perils of England, that of India is the greatest.

"There is scarcely a statesman of Britain who does not wish privately, 'Would that we were safely out of India!' More than one of them has said so to me. What does India do for England? Ask the desolate homes that I have known in Britain. The late war against the Afridis plunged many thousands of homes of England in mourning. The greatest weakness that England possesses to-day is India. Were it not for India she would not fear Russia.

"India is the curse of Britain and the Philippines will be the curse of the United States. If you teach suppressed people at all you make them rebels. Education is fatal to the government of a superior race. The slaveholders understood this—in order to maintain slavery the slave could not be taught to read. The Declaration of Independence will make every ambitious Filipino a dissatisfied subject.

"I thank Mr. Halstead for teaching me that phrase. I could not ask for

anything better. The Philippines are to be to the United States what India is to Britain. Agreed.

"I hope the President of the United States has heard what Mr. Halstead has said, and that it will induce him to look into the question of India and England. Upon this text I stake the whole issue—only let the Americans learn what India is to Britain and the President's policy is doomed. Thanks again, Friend Halstead.

Andrew Carnegie

CHAPTER III.

SENATOR CUSHMAN K. DAVIS FOR EXPANSION.

The Distinguished Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and Member of the Peace Commission Declares His Position—The American People Have Made an Immeasurable Advance Within a Year—The President's Good Work—The Story of the Making of the Treaty of Peace—No Warning that Americans Claimed Too Much—Filipinos Not Ready for Sovereignty Over Civilized People—Historical Antecedents of Expansion—The Question What We Shall Do with the Philippine Archipelago Not Yet Upon Us—It Will Be Fair and Honorable.

Senator Cushman K. Davis upon the question of American policy towards the Philippines, speaking with the weight of authority of the chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and that of Peace Commissioner in preparation at Paris of the treaty with Spain, said:

"The American people and humanity within the last twelve months have advanced an immeasurable distance, never to recede. Nations, like individuals, do not shape their own destinies. The personal experience of every individual man teaches him that events in the earlier part of his life which seemed inconsiderable to him have deflected the entire intended course of his destiny, as marked by him, and sometimes moved him to higher altitudes of performance than he had ever dreamed possible. And it is so of nations. Although we may plan wisely by constitutional requirements, by statutory enactments, by party policy, there come—whether by Providence or the evolutionary processes—interventions in the affairs of nations, by that divinity that shapes the ends thereof, hew them how we will.

"As I said, we have passed an eventful twelve months, and you will pardon me if I say here—not in the spirit of partisanship, but in just tribute to a conspicuous public character who has largely guided these momentous events—that I regard President McKinley, from the complete equilibrium of his character, from his attentive observation of the dictates of that majestic public opinion by which the results of all American issues are finally determined, by his firmness when a course of action has been resolved upon, by his observance of the restrictions of the Constitution and the laws, as a character altogether unique among American Presidents. I do not believe that in all the long and illustrious rule of the men who have filled that exalted chair there has been any man who has gone through

processes and situations of more difficulty, testing alike the judgment and the conscience, with more success and greater acceptability to the people of the United States than President McKinley.

"The results of the war were sudden and spectacular. No war was ever so shortly ended; no war was ever marked with such total annihilation of one of the opposing forces. And, finally, the time came when Spain was obliged to sue for peace, and the result was that the President of the United States empowered and appointed five citizens to proceed to Paris to endeavor to negotiate a final treaty with that monarchy. All of the members of that commission, excepting one, were men of no diplomatic experience whatever. They had nothing to guide them but what they esteemed to be a plain and clear conception of the interests of this country, and of the duties of this victorious Nation toward the general cause of humanity. The one exception—and I deem it entirely proper to mention it here—the one exception of the man who possessed diplomatic experience was Mr. Whitelaw Reid, who had had great and considerable experience in that way, and whose counsels in that respect and whose ability in all other respects were of the greatest assistance to us.

"The members of the Spanish Commission were men of great experience, men who had occupied high diplomatic and judicial and military positions in their own country, and, in short, the best ability of Spain had been sent to confront the American Commissioners.

"Of course, the terms of the treaty up to a certain point were plainly laid down by the protocol, which had been entered into between Spain and the United States in August last. They were the relinquishment of the sovereignty of Cuba; the cession of Porto Rico from the other West India islands, and the occupation of the city, bay, and harbor of Manila until the control and disposition and government of the Philippine Islands should have been disposed of by a treaty of peace.

"The first point of conflict that we encountered was the insistence of the Spanish commissioners that with the relinquishment of the sovereignty of Cuba to be made to the United States, which amounted to a cession, should go an assumption by the United States, and from her to Cuba, whenever she should be established as a government, of the entire so-called colonial debt of Cuba.

"That debt amounted to $700,000,000. Of course we rejected the proposition and we would have rejected it if that debt had been 700 cents. I had the honor myself of making an answer to a very able argument of Señor Montero Rios that, as a matter of international law of course there should be an apportionment of the debt, a prorating of the matter by some scale, which was easy to adopt. He

cited many instances where such an adjustment of the colonial debt had been made, and from that he endeavored to exhaust the matters of special convention into a matter of general international law. To that we made one answer, that it was not a principle in international law, that the true principle was that whenever the integrity of the original empire remained as in the case of Spain, where any nation or people had risen in the assertion of their liberties and had achieved them either independently or by the aid of another power, that the mother country took entire burden of the debt, especially when a large part of it was created in an effort to subjugate and subdue that colony which had attempted to gain its independence.

"We adopted articles for the relinquishment of the sovereignty of Spain and of the cession of Porto Rico, and then proceeded to the consideration of other minor matters. Finally we submitted our proposition for the cession pure and simple of the Philippine archipelago, and then after a solid five weeks the Spanish commissioners wheeled around and reoccupied the position as to the assumption of the colonial debt, which we had supposed they had abandoned, and said to us in a not entirely diplomatic manner, that it might as well be understood, and they did not want to repeat it again, that any proposition for peace which did not involve the assumption of the proper proportion of the colonial debt would thwart the negotiations.

"Thereupon, after some consultation, the American commissioners, tired of this wheeling and whirling from one point to another, laid down to the Spanish commissioners an ultimatum for the relinquishment of Cuba without the debt, for the cession of Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands and gave them a period of eight days to answer with a prospect of the suspension of negotiations, if a favorable answer was not forthcoming at the end of that time. At the end of eight days the Spanish commissioners acquiesced.

"The proceedings after that were matter of incident and mere form, and the result was that on December 10, 1898, a treaty was concluded and signed at Paris, about 7 o'clock in the evening, which, although perhaps it does not become me to say, yet I will say it, was the most complete diplomatic triumph ever received in the annals of international negotiation.

"For all the time that we had been in Paris no word whatever of admonition came from sea or shore that the American negotiators were claiming too much for their country, that one single thing that they had asked was in excess of the just requirements of the situation, and I will say, for one, that I was greatly surprised to find after we returned here that there was a class of people in this country—phe-

nomena in the museum of humanity—who were emaciated with surplus, who grew lean upon enough and grew fat upon a deficit.

"It was at first thought that it would be sufficient to take the island of Luzon, but the best military and naval authorities, Admiral Dewey, General Merritt, Commander Bradbury, laid the situation before us from a military, naval and strategic point of view, which made it perfectly obvious that we must either take the entire archipelago or abandon it entirely; that the relations of those islands to each other were such that the acquisition of one, with a hostile power or a foreign power of whatever character holding the others, would only reproduce the conditions of Cuba as against the United States and create a perpetual sore in the waters of the East. We were bound, in view of the astounding development which the Chinese sovereignty has been subject to, to have a sufficient naval station in those waters. Who in this audience would have expected that we would have left the Philippines or any portion of those islands to the ineffable and indescribable atrocities of Spain? When Dewey set the stars of that flag amongst the antipodal glories of the East, he imposed upon the American people a responsibility which we cannot avoid, and so, considering conditions to which I will advert more fully in a few moments, it was decided that we should demand, and we did demand and receive, the cession of the entire archipelago of the Philippines.

"It is not a question of what we shall do in the future. We are already committed to the situation. We cannot put it aside or avoid it if we would. We cannot escape the responsibility which events, evolution, or Providence has imposed upon us. Will any American citizen, under present conditions, advocate that Dewey shall sail away from the harbor of Manila? That our troops shall vacate that island? That we, with an armed force of insurrection arrayed against the boys in blue and the American flag, who went there as their friends, shall in the face of the civilized world, like cowards in the night, evacuate those waters, and remit the Philippines to internal anarchy or foreign dismemberment? What would be the result? The Filipinos are not in a present condition to govern themselves and establish that independent republic of which fond theorists dream. I think no man in this audience who has read the current journals will for a moment question that they are not. We cannot endure, in view of our past and coming interests in the Orient, that the Philippines shall be dismembered by foreign powers, as they will be the minute the United States removes itself from that situation, and, above all things, my fellow citizens, although they appear perhaps dimly before us now, yet I believe there is a profound conviction in the minds of the American people that part of all this force which has pushed us there and established us there is an im-

petus which tells for civilization, for a better Christianity, and that the United States as the great evangelist of the world is bound to play a leading part in those waters and in those islands.

"I would treat the Filipinos in this way, considering their present condition and their inconsiderate actions, stimulated, I believe, by inconsiderate advice from the United States, I would treat them with the hand of paternal affection, whenever possible, and by the hand of paternal chastisement whenever necessary. And when the time should come by the handling and development of the people, little by little, they could be admitted to local autonomy, which I would grant to the fullest extent wherever possible. I would adopt toward them the same course that Great Britain has adopted toward her civilized colonies, and I would rejoice that in the process of time an island republic could be established there in the Philippines against the island empire of Japan. But, until that time shall come, the interest, the honor, the security of the American people demand that we shall hold the Philippine Islands, not only under our protection but under our rule.

"To me the acquisition of the Philippine archipelago is not a mere gratification of lust or pride of conquest. Let us all endeavor to look a little beyond day after to-morrow as to these things. Let us mark certain great tendencies proceeding with all the force and regularity, and sometimes with the slowness of a great geological process, and see what is meant by that which is transpiring on the surface of human affairs within the last fifty years, and, fellow citizens, the tendency—shall I call it of humanity, or shall I call it by the forces which move the human race toward the Chinese Orient—the Pacific East. Everything has been subdivisioned. France has acquired Madagascar. The great centers of activity are upon the east coast of Asia. Russia is constructing across Siberia that great trans-continental railroad which was foretold 200 years ago. By the treaty of 1896 Russia has obtained practical control of Chinese Manchuria, an area as large as Texas, and containing twenty million people. She has obtained Port Arthur, always open, for a terminus of a railroad instead of Vladivostock, frozen four months in the year. France has seized Siam, Annam, Cambodia, and Cochin China. Germany has made a compensatory seizure. I am not in favor of the dismemberment of that great empire, an empire which was old when Alexander watered his steed in the River Incus, an empire which has within itself the greatest experiences of the human race. I am in favor of retaining the integrity of that empire, and let it be accessible to the civilized world of commerce. Accordingly, I say and think that it would safeguard the business of the world in those waters for fifty years, if Great Britain

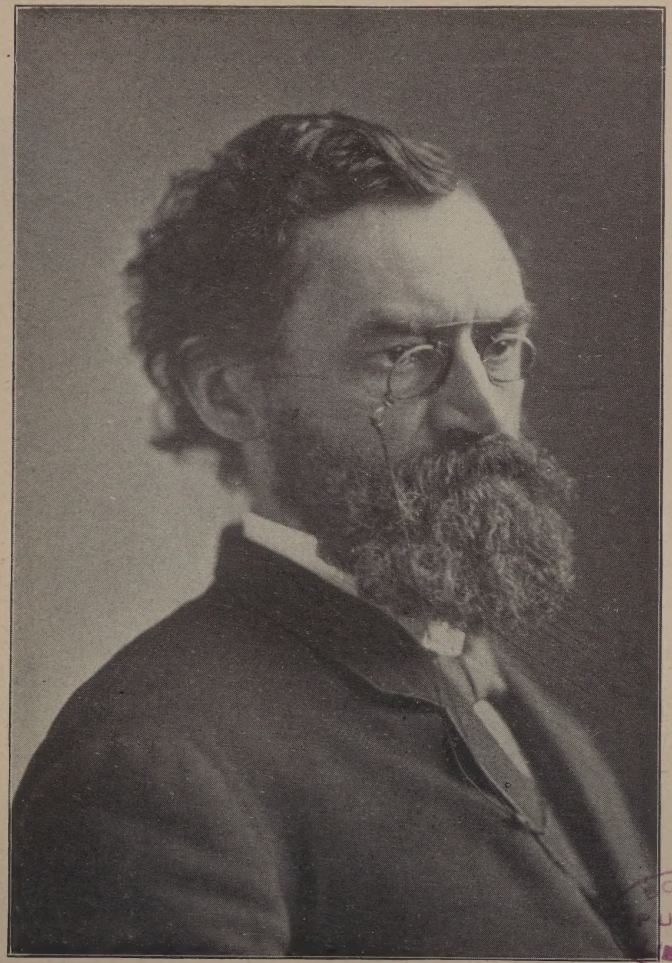
and Japan and the United States should declare with their united power that there should be no dismemberment of that immemorial empire.

"There are other reasons. The American peace commissioners were taught all too painfully while we were in Paris that we had not a friend on the continent of Europe—not a friend. That treaty was made under the most adverse conditions of public sentiment so far as continental Europe was concerned. Our diplomatic relations with Germany and France, and all of the other nations, while now entirely satisfactory—and exaggerated in the public press, especially in regard to our relations with Germany—yet considering their aggressions upon the coast of China, their intentions regarding the dismemberment of the vast empire, the enormous military force, and those millions of fatalists—of men who fight without regard to death, under the dominion of a foreign power, within thirty years could be made immensely dangerous to the United States.

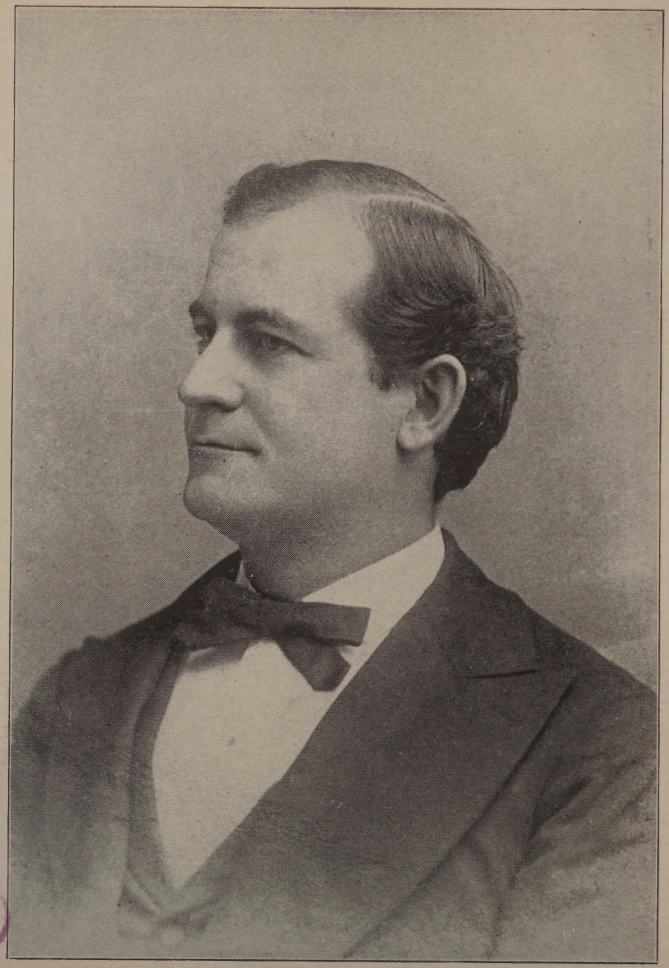
"I don't want to see my country become the China of the West. In these days, when space has been annihilated by steam, I don't view with complacency and without apprehension the destiny of the great empire or empires of dismembered China, ready to descend upon the Western coast of the United States. It was to obviate that that I advocated so earnestly the acquisition of Hawaii. It is to forestall that that I am willing and anxious to see some of our lands well fortified and made a base of defense and naval operations. Perhaps these things may be speculative, but they are well enough to think on.

"But above all things, for present considerations I am immensely interested that this country shall have its share of the trade of that great empire. We exported over $1,200,000,000 last year. Our competitors for the markets of the world are eager, anxious, unscrupulous sometimes. The empire of China, with its 400,000,000 of people, one-third of the human race, if opened to the instrumentalities of modern civilization, is an event, in my opinion, quite, if not more, pretentious and important than the discovery of America by Columbus, and it is my desire and hope and expectation, and it is that to which my humble labors have been and will be directed to secure for this Government and its people, for its manufacturers of Chicago, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, St. Paul and Minneapolis their share in that trade.

"California, Washington and Oregon have not 2,000,000 of people to-day. I want to see the commercial progress of that country go on until there are 20,000,000 people there, the anchor of our security as a result of commerce in those waters, and I do honestly and sincerely believe from all I have studied and read and thought on that subject that the retention of the Philippine Islands, their adjustment to



CARL SCHURZ.



WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

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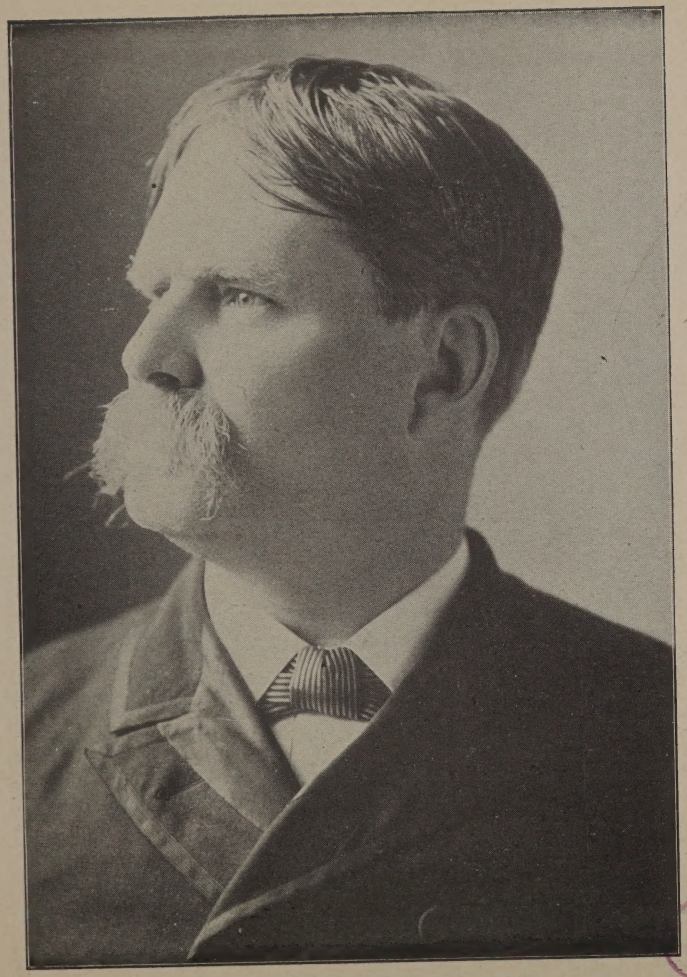

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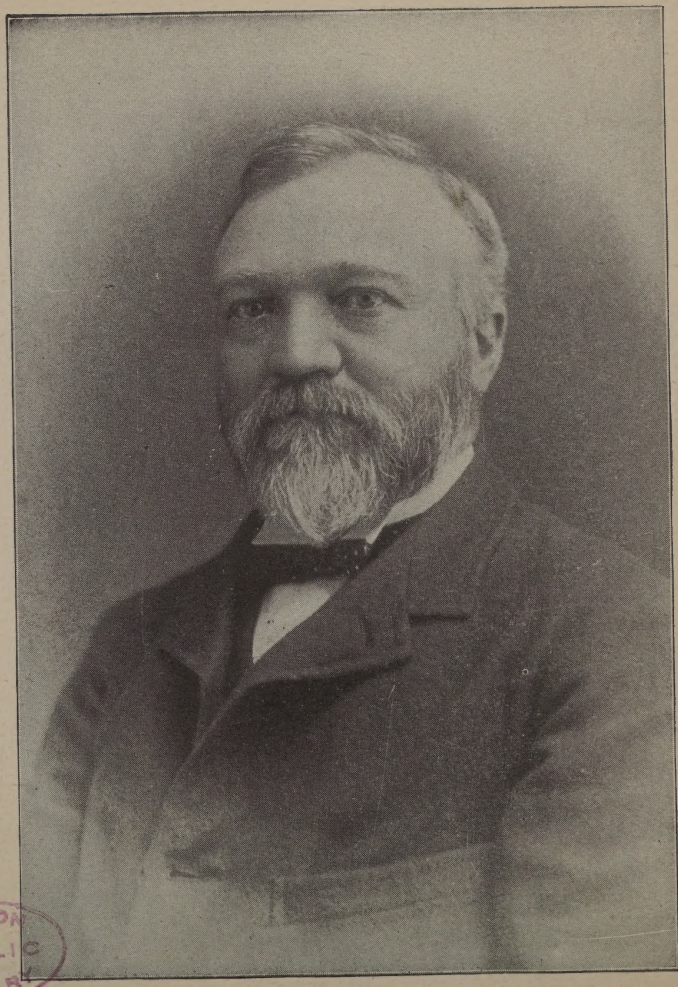

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

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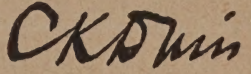
our relations, is a necessary and indispensable step in the advancement of the great ideas to which I have so imperfectly alluded.

"And now, in the matter of our foreign relations, and as to what affects our exterior interests, we are all one—one in interest. We may not be one in opinion, but we certainly ought to be one in a sincere and honest conclusion. Surely in the heart of no man there can enter in the various diversities of opinion which involve such a subject any desire, hope, or thought that does not conduce to the interest of his country. We all differ; we have different shades of opinion upon all questions, contingent and future. The question of what we shall do with the Philippine archipelago is not yet upon us. We are actually now in the possession of all those islands. We own them, or shall own them when Spain ratifies the treaty of cession, and the question is, shall we decide at once? Must we say now and at once that the territory for which we have paid $20,000,000, for which American blood has been shed, and may be being shed to-night or to-day, for it is regardless of party strife, stand with united front, confronting every opposition? And it is well that it is so, and so, my friends—partisan as I am—if anything that I shall say to-night shall bear the least tinge of partisan complexion, I beg you to believe that it is not on that account, but that because in the broad scope of American citizenship and American faith I believe that what I shall say is coincident with all considerations of national dignity and honor."



CHAPTER IV.

COL. W. J. BRYAN.

Astonished that Any American Citizen Would Uphold the Doctrine of Gaining Land by Conquest—He Could Have Told McKinley to Take Care Not to Confide in Public Opinion Formed at the Rear of a Car—Imperialism Wanted to Exercise Sovereignty Over an Alien Race—Self-Government Was Gained in the School of Government—No Excuse for a Colonial Policy—Mr. Gage the Key-Hole of the Administration—The Colonial Policy Rested on Vicarious Enjoyment—A Call for the Ancient Law-Giver on Sinai—Against a Larger Army—Imperialists Confuse Their Beatitudes—Not Profitable to Buy a Lawsuit—Muffle the Liberty Bell—Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death.

Col. W. J. Bryan, whose candidacy for the Presidency in 1896 was an episode in our political history of vast, various and memorable conspicuity, says:

"It is astonishing that any man living in this age of the world, living in the United States, should uphold the doctrine of securing land by conquest.

"Jefferson was against it long years ago. Blaine was against it in 1890. And a year ago last December the President of the United States sent a message to Congress, and in that message he said:

" 'I speak not of forcible annexation, because that is not to be thought of; under our code of morality that would be criminal aggression.' That was only a year ago; I stand to-day where McKinley stood a year ago, and where he must go back if the American people support him. My friends, there is a great moral question involved, declared so by your President; a code of morality is in question, and according to that code, forcible annexation is criminal aggression.

"President McKinley said he learned the sentiment of the people on this question during his trip through the West last fall. You cannot find out the sentiment of the people on a great question by just going through the country and gathering it up. If he had asked me I could have told him how careful he ought to be about estimating the sentiment of the people from the rear of a car. If he will put his ear to the ground he will find that the people are declaring that the long established principles of our Government are still good, and that we do not have to borrow our foreign policies or our financial policies from alien countries."

The Colonel remains true to his Chicago platform, saying it "was good when it was adopted; it grows better with age. It was strong in 1896; it is stronger

now. The Democratic party could not ignore the issues raised by the war. It must speak out against militarism now or forever hold its peace. A large standing army is not only an expense to the people, but it is a menace to the nation, and the Democratic party will be a unit in opposing it.

"A word in regard to imperialism. Those who advocate the annexation of the Philippines call themselves expansionists, but they are really imperialists. The word expansion would describe the acquisition of territory to be populated by homogeneous people and to be carved into states like those now in existence. An empire suggests variety in race and diversity in government. The imperialists do not desire to clothe the Filipinos with all the rights and privileges of American citizenship; they want to exercise sovereignty over an alien race, and they expect to rule the new subjects upon a theory entirely at variance with constitutional government. Victoria is Queen of Great Britain and Empress of India; shall we change the title of our Executive and call him the President of the United States and Emperor of the Philippines?

"The Democratic party stood for the money of the Constitution in 1896; it stands for the government of the Constitution now. It opposed an English financial policy in 1896; it opposes an English colonial policy now. Those who in 1896 were in favor of turning the American people over to the greed of foreign financiers and domestic trusts may now be willing to turn the Filipinos over to the tender mercies of military governors and carpetbag officials.

"Those who in 1896 thought the people of the United States too weak to attend to their own business may now think them strong enough to attend to the business of remote and alien races, but those who in 1896 fought for independence for the American people will not now withhold independence from those who desire it elsewhere.

"We are told that the Filipinos are not capable of self-government; that has a familiar ring. Only two years ago I heard the same argument made against a very respectable minority of the people of this country. The money-lenders, who coerced their employes, did it upon that theory; the employers who coerced their employes did it for the same reason. Self-government increases with participation in government. The Filipinos are not far enough advanced to share in the government of the people of the United States, but they are competent to govern themselves. It is not fair to compare them with our own citizens, because the American people have been educating themselves in the science of government for nearly three centuries, and, while we have much to learn, we have already made great improvement. The Filipinos will not establish a perfect government, but they will

establish a government as nearly perfect as they are competent to enjoy, and the United States can protect them from molestation from without.

"Give the Filipinos time and opportunity and, while they never will catch up with us, unless we cease to improve, yet they may some day stand where we stand now.

"What excuse can be given for the adoption of a colonial policy? Secretary Gage disclosed the secret in his Savannah speech. I think we might be justified in calling Mr. Gage the keyhole of the administration, because we look through him to learn what is going on within the executive council chamber. He suggested that 'philanthropy and 5 per cent' would go hand in hand in the new venture. These are the two arguments which are always used in favor of conquest. Philanthropy and 5 per cent. The one chloroforms the conscience of the conquerer and the other picks the pocket of the conquered.

"Some say that philanthropy demands that we govern the Filipinos for their own good, while others assert that we must hold the islands because of the pecuniary profit to be derived from them. I deny the soundness of both arguments. Forcible annexation will not only be criminal aggression (to borrow Mr. McKinley's language of a year ago), but it will cost more than it is worth and the whole people will pay the cost while a few will reap all the benefits.

"Still weaker is the argument based upon religious duty. The Christian religion rests upon the doctrine of vicarious suffering and atonement; the colonial policy rests upon the doctrine of vicarious enjoyment.

"When the desire to steal becomes uncontrollable in an individual he is declared to be a kleptomaniac and is sent to an asylum; when the desire to grab land becomes uncontrollable in a nation we are told that the 'currents of destiny are flowing through the hearts of men' and that the American people are entering upon their manifest mission.

"Shame upon a logic which locks up the petty offender and enthrones grand larceny! Have the people returned to the worship of the golden calf? Have they made unto themselves a new commandment consistent with the spirit of conquest and the lust for empire? Is 'Thou shalt not steal upon a small scale' to be substituted for the law of Moses?

"Awake, oh, ancient lawgiver, awake! Break forth from thine unmarked sepulcher and speed thee back to the cloud-crowned summit of Mount Sinai, commune once more with the God of our fathers and proclaim again the words engraven upon the tables of stone—the law that was, the law that is to-day—the law that neither individual nor nation can violate with impunity."

He called attention to the President's recommendation of a larger army and insisted that the army should be divided into two branches—the army for domestic use in the United States, which he said did not need to be increased, and the army of occupation, which is temporarily necessary for use outside of the United States. He said that the army of occupation should be recruited at once, in order to relieve the volunteers, but that the term of service should be short, because the nation's policy is not yet settled. He suggested that the demand for an increase in the army might be considered as the first fruit of that victory to which the Republicans pointed with so much pride last November.

Turning to the question of annexation, he insisted that the nation has not yet decided what to do with the Philippine Islands. He spoke in part as follows:

"The sentiment of the people upon any great question must be measured during the days of deliberation and not during the hours of excitement. A good man will sometimes be engaged in a fight, but it is not reasonable to expect a judicial opinion from him until he has had time to wash the blood off his face. I have seen a herd of mild-eyed, gentle kine transformed into infuriated beasts by the sight and scent of blood, and I have seen the same animals quiet and peaceful again in a few hours. We have much of the animal in us still, in spite of our civilizing processes. It is not unnatural that our people should be more sanguinary immediately after a battle than they were before, but it is only a question of time when reflection will restore the conditions which existed before this nation became engaged in the war with Spain. When men are excited they talk about what they can do; when they are calm they talk about what they ought to do.

"If the President rightly interpreted the feelings of the people when they were intoxicated by a military triumph, we shall appeal from 'Philip drunk to Philip sober.' The forcible annexation of the Philippine Islands would violate a principle of the great public law so deeply imbedded in the American mind that until a year ago no public man would have suggested it. It is difficult to overestimate the influence which such a change in our national policy would produce on the character of our people. Our opponents ask, is our nation not great enough to do what England, Germany and Holland are doing? They inquire, Can we not govern colonies as well as they?

"Whether we can govern colonies as well as other countries can is not material; the real question is whether we can, in one hemisphere, develop the theory that governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed, and at the same time inaugurate, support and defend in the other hemisphere a government which derives its authority entirely from superior force. And, if these two ideas of govern-

ment cannot live together, which one shall we choose? To defend forcible annexation on the ground that we are carrying out a religious duty is worse than absurd.

"The Bible teaches us that it is more blessed to give than receive, while the colonial policy is based upon the doctrine that it is more blessed to take than to leave. I am afraid that the imperialists have confused their beatitudes. I once heard of a man who mixed up the parable of the good Samaritan with the parable of the sower, and in attempting to repeat the former said: 'A man went from Jerusalem to Jericho, and as he went he fell among thorns and the thorns sprang up and choked him.'

"We entered the Spanish war as peacemakers. Imperialists have an indistinct recollection that a blessing has been promised to the peacemakers, and also to the meek, but their desire for more territory has perverted their memories so that as they recall the former it reads: 'Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall inherit the earth.' Annexation cannot be defended upon the ground that we shall find a pecuniary profit in the policy. The advantage which may come to a few individuals who hold the offices or who secure valuable franchises cannot properly be weighed against the money expended in governing the Philippines, because the money expended will be paid by those who pay the taxes. We are not yet in position to determine whether the people of the United States as a whole will bring back from the Philippines as much as they send there.

"There is an old saying that it is not profitable to buy a lawsuit. Our nation may learn by experience that it is not wise to purchase the right to conquer a people. Spain, under compulsion, gives us a quit claim to the Philippines in return for $20,000,000, but she does not agree to warrant and defend our title as against the Filipinos. To buy land is one thing; to buy people is another. Land is inanimate and makes no resistance to a transfer of title; the people are animate, and sometimes desire a voice in their own affairs. But whether, measured by dollars and cents, the conquest of the Philippines would prove profitable or expensive, it will certainly prove embarrassing to those who still hold to the doctrine which underlies a republic.

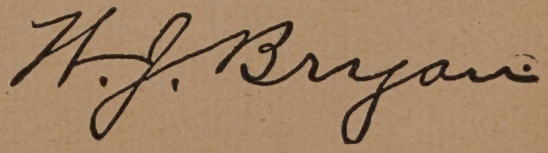
"Military rule is antagonistic to our theory of government. The arguments which are used to defend it in the Philippines may be used to excuse it in the United States. Under military rule much must be left to the discretion of the military governor, and this can only be justified upon the theory that the governor knows more than the people whom he governs, is better acquainted with their needs than they are themselves, is entirely in sympathy with them and is thoroughly honest and unselfish in his desire to do them good. Such a combination of wisdom,

integrity and love is difficult to find, and the Republican party will enter upon a hard task when it starts out to select suitable military governors for our remote possessions. Even if the party has absolute confidence in its great political manager, Senator Hanna, it must remember that the people of Ohio have compelled him to serve in the United States Senate and that inferior men must be entrusted with the distribution of justice and benevolence among the nation's dark-skinned subjects in the Pacific.

"If we enter upon a colonial policy we must expect to hear the command 'Silence!' issuing with increasing emphasis from the imperialists. When the discussion of fundamental principles is attempted in the United States, if a member of Congress attempts to criticise any injustice perpetrated by a government official against a helpless people he will be warned to keep silent unless his criticism encourages resistance to American authority in the Orient. If an orator of the Fourth of July dare to speak of inalienable rights or refers with commendation to the manner in which our forefathers resisted taxation without representation, he will be warned to keep silent lest his utterances excite rebellion among distant subjects. If we adopt a colonial policy and pursue the course which excited the revolution of 1776 we must muffle the tones of the old Liberty Bell and commune in whispers when we praise the patriotism of our forefathers.

"We cannot afford to destroy the Declaration of Independence; we cannot afford to erase from our constitutions, state and national, the bill of rights; we have not time to examine the libraries of the nation and purge them of the essays, the speeches and the books that defend the doctrine that law is the crystallization of public opinion, rather than an emanation from physical power.

"But even if we could destroy every vestige of the laws which are the outgrowth of the immortal law penned by Jefferson; if we could obliterate every written word that has been inspired by the idea that this is 'a government of the people, by the people and for the people,' we could not tear from the heart of the human race the hope which the American Republic has planted there. The impassioned appeal, 'Give me liberty or give me death,' still echoes around the world. In the future, as in the past, the desire to be free will be stronger than the desire to enjoy a mere physical existence. The conflict between right and might will continue here and everywhere until a day is reached when the love of money will no longer sear the national conscience and hypocrisy no longer hide the hideous features of avarice behind the mask of philanthropy."



CHAPTER V.

HENRY WATTERSON FOR EXPANSION.

The Drift of the Country—The United American People—Always the Same, Though Divided—The Labels on the Bottles—An Anti-Expansion Party Would Be a Foredoomed Failure—Wm. McKinley and Joseph Wheeler—Tropical Vegetation in the White House—Eighty Million of People Cannot Be Passive—How Stands the Debate Between the Friends and Foes of Expansion?

Mr. Watterson sends out, when he discusses a broad question, discursive flashes, and pours poetry around his arguments. He early and eloquently plead with his partisan friends to become Expansionists and drop traditions that had not led to triumph. He takes occasion to say "that of all men of the century that is so swiftly passing from us, Prince Bismarck seemed most to have had his way; yet it was Prince Bismarck—who, whatever else he was, or was not, showed himself always the frankest of mortals—big enough to disdain subterfuge—to scorn secrets—it was Bismarck who many times has told us how small, how helpless the strongest man becomes upon the stormy ocean of great affairs; what a slave to chance; what a creature of circumstance.

"Among the leaders of the nineteenth century—after Napoleon, who belonged to the eighteenth—there were but three who can be fairly described as nation-makers. Cavour, Lincoln and Bismarck. They were each possessed of the essential stuff of which nation-makers are made; infinite resources, backed by imagination, courage and tact. Each, as it were, wore his nationality next his bones. Each suited his action to the moment, his word to the action. Each, in his public enterprises was the child of good fortune. When we reflect upon the obstacles that each encountered and overcame it seems that from the first God meant Italia Ridenta, and shaped the German empire, and ordained that the Southern Confederacy should die and that the American Union should live.

"It has required nearly thirty-four years, and a foreign war, to bring the whole people of the United States to a full realization of the simple truth that we are, and always have been, the same people. The South fought a good fight. But it could not by any possibility succeed. The resistless trend of modern thought was set against slavery, and the South—whatever else it stood for—stood for slavery. The Southern Confederacy was wiped out in blood and flame. But that was all

that was wiped out. Even the Republican President of the United States—a Union soldier—presumably in times past a sectionalist—certainly a most adroit politician—has had the sagacity—to say nothing of the generosity, of which he has given no one reason to account him lacking—to concede the South its graves; and thanks be to God for that, as thanks to him, for there was a time when it seemed that even these would be denied us.

"Now that we have come to be one people in the fancy that we have always been in the fact—that Mother Hoar and Uncle Vest have clasped hands over the Treaty of Peace, and Cousin Ben Tillman and Cousin Bill Chandler have quit looking cross-eyed across the Senate chamber—we have reached another parting of the ways; for some of us are for expansion, and some of us are against expansion, and which is right and which is wrong?

"Clark Howell tells us that this is a very serious question, and Clark Howell is right. 'It kinder splits things up,' as Whitcomb Riley would say. It divides parties. The poor empty bottles, some with and some without stoppers, stand round in sore perplexity. They do not know just what to do. They are disembodied spirits lost in the dark. They can not read their own labels. What is that big bottle, labeled 'Democracy,' and filled by Grover Cleveland—what is that big bottle to do when it stumbles against a long, slim bottle, labeled 'Democracy,' but filled with the same fluid, by William Jennings Bryan? And what are these two bottles to do when they stumble against a third bottle labeled 'Democracy,' and filled by John P. Altgeld, but filled with quite another kind of fluid?

"Since the National Democratic Convention of 1856, which nominated James Buchanan and John C. Breckinridge, for President and Vice President, and placed them upon a platform of progressive free trade and national expansion—and won the election—the Democratic party has been largely an aggregation in opposition. It was so in 1864, when it put a war candidate on a peace platform; in 1868, when it put a hard-money candidate on a soft-money platform; and thence onward in '72 and '80; and it is so at this moment, with an equal number of opposing factions and rival leaders, agreed upon nothing except the label 'Democracy,' and a weak, time-serving, irresolute and insincere opposition to what somebody tells it is the policy of the Republican administration. Sometimes a smart pretension may serve a party through a campaign or two; but the Democratic party, as it is at present organized, is not even a smart pretension; because it pretends one thing in the East and another thing in the West, and is neither thing in the South. In states, like Kentucky, where it is supposed to have a safe majority, the machine does as it pleases, and tells the voters, all too willing and subservient, to help themselves;

but in Illinois and Indiana—only just across the river and next door—it feels the need of prudence and—wanting all the votes it can get—it is not so ill-mannered and cock-sure. In Iowa it has resolved to drop silver altogether. How long can a party last locally that is so out of line generally?

"The leaders who made the revolution of 1896 were able to poll six and a half million of votes for their Presidential ticket. That was certainly an encouraging manifest. But it was the showing of the entire opposition elements in the United States, organized under the style and title of an old, historic party; at a time of great popular discontent; led by a clean, attractive young Democrat, improvised by a set of worn-out and played-out political hacks. Ten years hence we may be coining silver dollars by the cart-load to circulate in Cuba, Porto Rico and Manila. Expansion, indeed, is the one hope, the only hope, of free silver. Yet here is Mr. Bryan—an upright, patriotic man—setting his face against the single contingency that can make any realization of his financial theories feasible.

"What are thoughtful men—wherefrom the preponderating influence upon the nation is in the long run derived—to think of all this? What can be more grotesque than Grover Cleveland and Andrew Carnegie joining hands with William Jennings Bryan across the wide gulf of the impossible—when it is too late—merely making the re-election of William McKinley doubly sure? How on earth can any reasonable man expect to elect Bryan and to beat McKinley on an anti-expansion, 16 to 1, hard times platform, with expansion already accomplished and with booming times—the incident of expansion—already at hand? It can not be done.

"Look at the personnel of the Democratic organization. There is the chairman of the National Democratic Committee, Senator Jones, of Arkansas. He is as good and as true a man as lives; honorable, virtuous, brave and poor. There is Senator Daniel, of Virginia; a gentleman and a scholar—a man of genius—with the fatal gift of eloquence—who, in these dreadful and venal affairs, is as helpless as a child. There is Senator Vest; a might-have-been, albeit a veteran Senator, abounding in talents of many kinds; as was recently said in these columns, 'a poet, like Lamar, without the sagacity of Lamar.' Vest, Daniel and Jones are Democratic leaders in the Senate; types of the old order, each representing a constituency apart from the moving centers of life and light. We are being constantly told that, as Democrats, we can follow them anywhere. But shall Democrats follow them to destruction? That is where they will be leading their followers if they expect in 1900 to duplicate the campaign of 1896.

"What are the rank and file of Democrats to do about a set of conditions which are equally disagreeable and obvious? Are they going to make the campaign of

1900 a last-ditch affair, like the effort of the Whigs to elect Fillmore in 1856, or of the Federals to beat Jefferson in 1800? Or, are they going to drop these follies, and—as there is no real issue to divide parties except the offices—are they going to try to elect a President? Expansion is a fact; shall Democrats accept it and, formulating a policy based upon it, drop all else?

"Even now the Republican leaders, who rarely fail to take time by the forelock and who never let go their grip upon the shore-line, are planning to make their campaign of 1900 on the broad principle of National Unification and Expansion. They are not going to handicap themselves with any ancient platform rubbish. High tariff is no longer wanted by the manufacturers for whom it was invented. The bloody shirt, having served its turn, has gone to the old clothes basket. The President knows his business. At the opportune moment we shall see William McKinley and Joseph Wheeler march down to the footlights, hand in hand, the flag above them—beneath them emblazoned on a strip of red, white and blue, 'The land we love from eend to eend,' or words to that effect, and then what? What are the Democrats going to do about it? How are they going to meet it?

"Their only hope is for a new shuffle, cut and deal of the political pasteboards. Every card in the greasy pack they have been playing with has been thumbed, crimped and dog-eared to death. Every card is a marked card. They might as well play with hands spread upon the table, face up, as to hope to win with such cards. But, if they can send the fools to the rear, and get their level-headed men together, it is not too late for them to lay the foundations for a campaign having at least some tangible chance of success before it.

"There are yet nearly two years of uncertain ground for the McKinley administration to get over, including a short and a long session of Congress, and, if the Democrats be wise, they may greatly profit thereby. But not in the way of factious criticism. Nor in the way of blind, undiscriminating opposition. To deal in such child's play is simply to throw themselves out of court. They must in good faith accept the inevitable; they must stand by the army and the navy; the honor of the nation and the sanctity of the flag, holding the powers that be rigidly responsible for a wise and just disposition of the vast trust which has newly come to us. There must be no quibbling about constitutional technicalities where the right of the Government to acquire territory is involved; but construing it as a Heaven-sent responsibility, they must take the ground that this territory shall be governed only upon Democratic principles, looking to one of two ultimate conclusions; either annexation as States of the Union, or independent Republics, under American protection.

"If there be saving grace enough left in Democratic councils, these general lines will embrace the future policy of the party. If not, the party will die the death of the unrighteous. If not, we shall see it frazzle out in 1900 as the Federals frazzled out in 1800, leaving William McKinley and those of the Ohio dynasty who come after him, like their Virginia predecessors, to have it all to themselves, with not enough of opposition to make a division of parties, or to disturb the otium cum dignitate of the Executive office, or wither the tropic vegetation of the White House.

"The world moves, and it is moving toward the Orient. Europe finds a vent in Africa; America cannot afford to be indifferent to Asia. The sea-front of human activity may within the coming century be transferred from the Atlantic to the Pacific. We must prepare to take our place in the procession of the nations. The lion has not yet lain down with the lamb; and, until he does so, mutton is good to eat. The millennium has not yet made its advent; and until it does that arbitration only stands which is effected by the sword.

"The danger of militarism and the martial spirit need not be gainsaid. It is a danger we must risk. But let us hope that mankind has made progress in arts as well as in arms; that America in the dawn of the twentieth of the centuries is not as Rome in the zenith of the first; and that, forewarned against imperialism, we shall be able to attend to Cæsar when we get to him.

"In a word, eighty millions of people cannot be passive; they cannot escape the world's movement; and, sufficiently admonished by the isolation of China and its consequences, the people of the United States prefer to follow the lead and example of England. The die was cast when Dewey raised the Stars and Stripes on the other side of a world never too large and all too narrowing, and, for weal or woe,—rallying under the banners alike of Christianity and Republicanism,—America is embarked upon the shoreless ocean of modern civilization, carrying in her own ships her own ideas and wares, marked, quoted and signed to the furthermost ends of the earth.

"Thus stands the debate between the friends and the foes of national expansion. Which will vindicate the wisdom of its forecast it is for time to discover. The right and the wrong of the argument belong to the hereafter, but that the victory of circumstance lies with the advocates of the new departure in national policy, and that as composite parts of the great Republic, Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines are already assured, must be quite obvious to the careful student of historic parallels and prevailing tendencies.

"I know that the simple American, who loves his country and is loyal to its

best traditions, can only look upon these changes with dismay. To him they seem but chaos come again. But such is the life of man. It is the destiny of nations.

"To those of little faith I would say, be of good hope still! Sursum corda! Thus far the public has survived every danger which has in times past assailed the governments of the world; the struggle for existence; the foreign invasion; the disputed succession; geographic friction; civil strife; and it is now stronger than ever it was, its faith renewed, its credit intact, and its primacy known of all men. Let us believe that the untoward events of the war with Spain were brought about for some allwise purpose by the Supreme Ruler of Men, and that that hand which has led American manhood through every emergency to the one goal of the American Union has in store for that Union even greater uses and glory than irradiated the dreams and blessed the prayers of the God-fearing men who gave it life."

H. Watterson

CHAPTER VI.

CARL SCHURZ OPPOSED TO EXPANSION.

Is It Our Policy that the Filipinos Shall Be Subjects or Citizens?—The Specifications of the New Departure We Are Taking—We Are Cultivating a Passion for Conquest—The Friendship of England Is Good to Have, Not to Need—The New Policy Demands a Great Standing Army—If We Have Rescued the Unhappy Daughters of Spain from Tyranny We Need Not Marry the Girls.

Mr. Schurz wanted to know before the treaty with Spain was ratified by the American Senate whether the Filipinos were to be subjects or citizens. The Spanish war was declared and after a few vigorous blows the feeble enemy was helpless at our feet.

"The whole scene seemed to have suddenly changed. According to the solemn proclamation of our Government, the war had been undertaken solely for the liberation of Cuba, as a war of humanity and not of conquest. But our easy victories had put conquest within our reach, and when our arms occupied foreign territory, a loud demand arose that, pledge or no pledge to the contrary, the conquests should be kept, even the Philippines on the other side of the globe, and that as to Cuba herself, independence would be only a provisional formality. Why not? was the cry. Has not the career of the republic almost from its very beginning been one of territorial expansion? Has it not acquired Louisiana, Florida, Texas, the vast countries that came to us through the Mexican war, and Alaska, and has it not digested them well? Were not those acquisitions much larger than those now in contemplation? If the Republic could digest the old, why not the new? What is the difference?

"Only look with an unclouded eye, and you will soon discover differences enough warning you to beware. There are five of decisive importance:

"1. All the former acquisitions were on this continent, and, excepting Alaska, contiguous to our borders.

"2. They were situated, not in the tropical, but in the temperate zone, where Democratic institutions thrive, and where our people could migrate in mass.

"3. They were but very thinly peopled—in fact, without any population that would have been in the way of new settlements.

"4. They could be organized as territories in the usual manner, with the expectation that they would presently come into the Union as self-governing states with populations substantially homogeneous to our own.

"5. They did not require a material increase of our army and navy, either

for their subjection to our rule or for their defense against any probable foreign attack by their being in our possession.

"Even of our far-away Alaska it can be said that, although at present a possession of doubtful value, it is at least mainly on this continent, and may at some future time, when the inhabitants of the British possessions happily wish to unite with us, be within our uninterrupted boundaries.

"Compare now with our old acquisitions as to all these important points those at present in view.

"They are not continental, not contiguous to our present domain, but beyond seas, the Philippines many thousand miles distant from our coast. They are all situated in the tropics, where people of the northern races, such as Anglo-Saxons, or, generally speaking, people of Germanic blood, have never migrated in mass to stay, and they are more or less densely populated, parts of them as densely as Massachusetts—their populations consisting almost exclusively of races to whom the tropical climate is congenial—Spanish Creoles mixed with negroes in the West Indies and Malays, Tagals, Filipinos, Chinese, Japanese, Nigritos and various more or less barbarous tribes in the Philippines.

"When the question is asked whether we may hope to adapt those countries and populations to our system of government, the advocates of annexation answer cheerily that when they belong to us we shall soon 'Americanize' them. This may mean that Americans in sufficiently large numbers will migrate there to determine the character of those populations so as to assimilate them to our own.

"If we take these new regions, we shall be well entangled in that contest for territorial aggrandizement which distracts other nations and drives them far beyond their original design. So it will be inevitably with us. We shall want new conquests to protect that which we already possess. The greed of speculators working upon our government will push us from one point to another, and we shall have new conflicts upon our hands, almost without knowing how we got into them. It has always been so under such circumstances and always will be. This means more and more soldiers, ships and guns.

"A singular delusion has taken hold of the minds of otherwise clear-headed men. It is that our new friendship with England will serve firmly to secure the world's peace. Nobody can hail that friendly feeling between the two nations more warmly than I do, and I fervently hope it will last. But I am profoundly convinced that if this friendship results in the two countries setting out to grasp 'for the Anglo-Saxon,' as the phrase is, whatever of the earth may be attainable—if they hunt in couple, they will surely fall out about the game, and the first serious quar-

rel, or at least one of the first, we shall have, will be with Great Britain. And as family feuds are the bitterest, that feud will be apt to become one of the most deplorable in its consequences.

"No nation is, or ought to be, unselfish. England, in her friendly feeling toward us, is not inspired by mere sentimental benevolence. The anxious wish of many Englishmen that we should take the Philippines is not free from the consideration that if we do so we shall for a long time depend on British friendship to maintain our position on that field of rivalry and that Britain will derive ample profit from our dependence on her.

"This is plain. If Englishmen think so we have no fault to find with them. But it would be extremely foolish on our part to close our eyes to the fact. British friendship is a good thing to have, but perhaps not so good a thing to need. If we are wise we shall not put ourselves in a situation in which we shall need it. British statesmanship has sometimes shown great skill in making other nations fight its battles. This is very admirable from its point of view, but it is not so pleasant for the nations so used.

"We are already told that we shall need a regular army of at least 100,000 men, three-fourths of whom are to serve in our new 'possessions.' The question is whether this necessity is to be only temporary or permanent. Look at the cost. Last year the support of the army proper required about $23,000,000. It is computed that taking the increased costliness of the service in the tropics into account, the army under the new dispensation will require about $150,000,000, that is, $127,000,000 a year more. It is also officially admitted that the possession of the Philippines would render indispensable a much larger increase of the navy than would otherwise be necessary, costing untold millions for the building and equipment of ships, and untold millions every year for their maintenance and for the increased number of officers and men. What we shall have to spend for fortifications and the like cannot now be computed. But there is a burden upon us which in like weight no other nation has to bear. To-day, thirty-three years after the Civil War, we have a pension roll of very nearly 1,000,000 names. And still they come. We paid to pensioners over $145,000,000 last year, a sum larger than the annual cost of the whole military peace establishment of the German empire, including its pension roll. Our recent Spanish war will, according to a moderate estimate, add at least $20,000,000 to our annual pension payments. But if we send troops to the tropics and keep them there we must look for a steady stream of pensioners from that quarter, for in the tropics soldiers are 'used up' very fast, even if they have no campaigning to do.

OFFICIAL RESIDENCE OF DE LESSEPS AT COLON, COLOMBIA.

COFFEE-CURING ESTABLISHMENT AT SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

MONUMENT AT SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA, COMMEMORATING VALOR OF CENTRAL AMERICAN AMAZONS IN DEFEATING SOLDIERS OF WALKER'S FILIBUSTERING EXPEDITION.

"I ask in all candor, taking President McKinley at his word, will the forcible annexation of the Philippines by our code of morals not be criminal aggression—a self-confessed crime? I ask further, if the Cubans, as Congress declared, are and of right ought to be free and independent, can anybody tell me why the Porto Ricans and the Filipinos ought not of right to be free and independent? Can you sincerely recognize the right to freedom and independence of one and refuse the same right to another in the same situation, and then take his land? Would not that be double dealing of the most shameful sort?

"Here are our official reports before us, telling us that of late years our export trade has grown enormously, not only of farm products, but of the products of our manufacturing industries; in fact, that 'our sales of manufactured goods have continued to extend with a facility and promptitude of results which have excited the serious concern of countries that for generations had not only controlled their home markets, but had practically monopolized certain lines of trade in other lands.'

"That our victories have devolved upon us certain duties as to the people of the conquered islands I readily admit. But are they the only duties we have to perform, or have they suddenly become paramount to all other duties? I deny it. I deny that the duties we owe to the Cubans and the Porto Ricans and the Filipinos and the Tagals of the Asiatic islands absolve us from our duties to the 75,000,000 of our own people and to their posterity. I deny that they oblige us to destroy the moral credit of our own republic by turning this loudly heralded war of liberation and humanity into a land-grabbing game and an act of criminal aggression. I deny that they compel us to aggravate our race troubles, to bring upon us the constant danger of war and to subject our people to the galling burden of increasing armaments. If we have rescued those unfortunate daughters of Spain, the colonies, from the tyranny of their cruel father, I deny that we are therefore in honor bound to marry any of the girls or to take them all into our household, where they may disturb and demoralize our whole family. I deny that the liberation of those Spanish dependencies morally constrains us to do anything that would put our highest mission to solve the great problem of democratic government in jeopardy or that would otherwise endanger the vital interests of the Republic. Whatever our duties to them may be, our duties to our own country and people stand first, and from this standpoint we have, as sane men and patriotic citizens, to regard our obligation to take care of the future of those islands and their people."

C. Schurz

CHAPTER VII.

MURAT HALSTEAD FOR EXPANSION.

Expansion Is the Doctrine of the Fathers—There Was Not a Tenth of the Territory We Now Possess in the Thirteen Colonies When Jefferson Wrote the Declaration of Independence—Andrew Jackson Was an Expansionist—So Was Wm. H. Seward—Admiral Dewey Is the Author of Our Philippine Policy—Andrew Carnegie and British India—Should England Give Up Gibraltar, Egypt and India?—If So, Why Not Ireland, Scotland and Wales?—Aguinaldo's Exile with a Certified Check—Senator Hoar's Forgetfulness of the Essential Facts in the Philippine Situation—The American Army Have Fought in Self-Defense, and in the Vindication of the Faith and Honor Pledged in the Final Article of the Capitulation of the Spaniards in Manila.

The footsteps of the fathers of the Republic from the time the French floated the Mississippi and St. Lawrence rivers pointed West and South—expanding the area of the English settlements—and this early manifestation of destiny continued to the Southern and Western lands of the continent, when the British in their turn sailed with the gulf stream to Halifax and beyond.

When a boy George Washington visited the Bermudas with his elder brother, who served with Admiral Vernon in the West Indies, and, returning to Virginia, began to explore the Ohio country before he was 21 years of age upon a mission to oust the French, and was expanding his landed possessions in that direction as long as he lived. Thus is linked in the life of the Father of his Country the West Indies and the lands beyond the Alleghenies, to which in his crowded and busy life he found time to pay six visits.

John Adams sturdily refused a proposition to give up the Ohio, Wabash and Illinois country to the English, as Canada was given, rather than go on with the sorrowful hardships of warfare—though even Benjamin Franklin favored yielding to the pretensions of England in the Northwest for the sake of peace—but Franklin was old and weary, and this episode has been forgiven in forgetfulness. Fortunately, George Rogers Clark, born in the same country with Jefferson, had a friend in Governor Patrick Henry and was authorized by him to raise men, and given a lot of paper money to undertake a secret expedition which was to dispossess the English at Vincennes and Kaskaskia, and he did it with surprisingly stinted means, and Clark, "the Hannibal of the West," in spite of failures, mistakes and sorrows, is a name written on the roll of the immortals.

Thomas Jefferson, the father, as the records show, of both the Republican and

Democratic parties, surpassed in glorious achievement the authorship of the Declaration of Independence, in purchasing twice the amount of land we got from England by the concessions of the treaty with her when she surrendered her thirteen colonies to self-government. We began in 1783 with 827,844 square miles. Without counting our recent acquisitions of islands our area is 3,603,884 square miles. Jefferson's purchase was 1,171,931 square miles. Thus the greater glory of Jefferson came from a conscious violation of his own interpretation of the Constitution in buying land from Napoleon Bonaparte, who had no title to it, save that he had taken it red-handed and high-handed from Spain, whose abuse of her colonies made it a public virtue to capture them, and England was getting ready to spoil the spoiler. Notwithstanding the violation of the Constitution and the deficiency of the land title, the bargain stuck and was one of the greatest events in the making of our nation.

Andrew Jackson confirmed the purchase with a quit-claim deed—the battle of New Orleans, fought after the treaty had been signed—a precedent to be cited in the case of the Philippines, along with Kaskaskia and Vincennes, if any of the monarchs want to see our papers for real estate holdings. We shall adhere, certainly, to our precedents and principles.

It is strange that in the second third of the first century of the Republic the greater political leaders of that era should have lost the lesson of the Jeffersonian expansion. Webster and Clay faltered on the high road when America moved on, and we gained Texas by annexation; and New Mexico, Colorado (in part), Arizona and California by the sword. It was Andrew Jackson's influence in his last days that overwhelmingly carried the acceptance of imperial Texas, and James K. Polk and Andrew Johnson (I have just named the three Tennessee Presidents) gave us our Pacific front, with the aid of an Oregon missionary—including Golden-gated and golden-walled California and Alaska, crowded with riches in reserve, and the Aleutian Islands.

In the latter third of our first century there was an evidence of a broadening of statesmanship in recognizing the destiny of the country, that—instead of crumbling through Civil War and consenting to weakness because the brethren of the several states shed each other's blood—grew strong in warfare and became a majestic nation. William H. Seward and Charles Sumner joined hands with Andrew Johnson in securing the magnificent bargain with Russia that gave us footing on the shores of the Bering Sea and to our flag in the summer days—from sunrise in Maine to sunset on our archipelago in the shadow of Siberia—six additional hours of sunshine.

The paths by which the fathers marked out this country for greatness prevented the continent from dismemberment in European and Spanish-American fashion. The footsteps of the nation builders are there. Benignant Providence, sound statesmanship, history, tradition, the instructed judgment of Americanism, are not failing to guide our footsteps aright. The name of William H. Seward belongs in the roll of honor of the promoters of American expansion, because in his maturity he outgrew the leaders he followed in his youth and closed with Russia, when her good-will offering of Alaska came, and, going further, sought to purchase the Danish Islands in the West Indies and to include Iceland and Greenland. With this object, he had compiled in 1868 a report of the resources of Iceland and Greenland, but public opinion then regarded his ideas as romantic.

Shall we permit to go unchallenged the feebleness of the folly that especially opposes the acquisition of islands because they are surrounded by water, and say that we never did such a thing as cross salt water to get to land until in the annexation of Hawaii? Why, we must put to sea to find a free road to Alaska; and it is worth remembering that the art of navigation is so far perfected that the seas are the cheapest roads on the globe and are open to endless competition. Salt water does not damage land, and with all our experience in the policy of expansion we have never added an acre to our national domain that was not good for us. It is not likely that we shall do so.

We keep the Philippines because we must. We have destroyed the Spanish Government there and are responsible to civilization for the result. How can an American think seriously of yielding to any power the fruits of Dewey's victory? When he destroyed the Spanish fleet, according to orders issued on the first day of the war with Spain, he did not abandon the scene of his conquest, but, animated by the spirit of the fathers, he followed their footsteps and held on to the great prize he had won.

It should be understood that the policy of Admiral Dewey in remaining at Manila has been determined by the necessities of his situation. He has been constrained to hold the fruits of his victory, to ask for re-enforcements to serve on land and sea. Of course, they have been sent to him. The American Admiral who won the glorious popularity that commands the unanimous vote of Congress in his honor, in spite of all the grumbling about the McKinley administration, wants, and must have, if we are true to ourselves and decent in treatment to those who serve us beyond the seas, the superior physical force in the waters of the Philippines! We have there an army of 20,000 men. Shall we allow the basis of operations upon which they rest—from which they must receive their supplies of ammunition, and,

largely, their rations—to fall into unfriendly hands? The Admiral had no home in the Oriental ocean but the one he had conquered and there was no place to go if he left it. He was like the man in Colonel Robert Ingersoll's story who couldn't go anywhere else because "every other place was shut up." If the Admiral left Manila bay he must have proceeded to a coal station, and thence to another coal station, and so on, getting only enough coal at a time to take him where he could do the same thing before moving on. Those who are against the policy of the administration condemn and would betray our famous Admiral and degrade, so far as their influence could do it, the American army at Manila, which is fighting, not against liberty, for imputation to that effect, no matter where or from whom it comes, is false and a shame. The army is fighting for the higher—that is, American—civilization, religious liberty and our national rights under international law. Those who are fighting the American army are doing it under the false pretenses of a demagogue, who is neither soldier, leader, nor statesman, and never appealed to any fraction of the inhabitants of the Philippines larger than one-half of 1 per cent of the people. These desperadoes and their mob would not wait for the ratification of the treaty with Spain. They are now legally Spaniards, as they are firebugs, ingrates, assassins, and, politically, aiding a preposterous intrigue. So far as this is not a fanaticism of superstition, it is craziness. In this country the Tegalo party, whether composed of capitalists gone mad or political adventurers on a false scent, seeking a new departure, or taking ground against our national advancement and glory (and are examples of a disease of opposition), will get their reward in the public contempt. If we could imagine their success to be possible, it could only be accomplished by the defeat of the American army of Philippine occupation.

It does not follow that if we conquer islands, drive out Spaniards or other oppressors, and spread the flag that is our popular and national symbol over people who are strangers, that we shall of necessity go on multiplying States. We must safeguard Americanism, and the effective way to do it is to stand firm on the bedrock principle that we want more territory for the great hereafter of our country, but not more States, now or soon. Certainly we can hold territory as territory forever. Contact with us and our institutions will Americanize our possessions.

We have a graver question at home than we can find abroad. It is most difficult, because imbedded in the structure of the States. We made the radical mistake of adding the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution when the effect is to obscure the fourteenth, which was the firm ground to stand upon, and both are practically destroyed.

There will not be, and should not be, manhood suffrage in the sense of indis-

criminate male suffrage in Porto Rico, Cuba, Hawaii or the Philippines, until some time has passed and there are many changes. Immediate manhood suffrage in our new possessions is as impracticable, as impossible, as the re-establishment of American slavery in the States. The alleged insurgent governments in Cuba and Luzon must be brushed aside, for they are not of the people. We do not want a government of Cuban bondholders or any exclusive prerogatives in the hands of the Tagalo tribe of Malays.

Americans will work wonders in the tropical islands, as on the North American continent. We shall overcome insurgents in the Indias, West and East, by the irresistible attraction of gravitation of the overshadowing power of the mighty Republic that is too great to be longer overlooked by others and would shirk duties by overlooking herself.

I have read with care what Mr. Carnegie says. He would belittle the British Empire as he would restrict the American Republic. Perhaps he can afford it, but he is not in touch with the people of either country.

He would eliminate India, and the logic of that would be the abandonment of the colonial system that makes England matchless.

If England gives up India, Egypt goes, of course, and Malta and Gibraltar, all the British possessions in Africa and in the West Indies. With them would go Hongkong and all the vast interests in the commerce of China. With these Canada would go and Bermuda. Then the Jersey Islands, Ireland, Wales and Scotland would go, also New Zealand, and the Australian continent depart in peace. Now, England is a great European, African, American, Asiatic, Australian power.

Mr. Carnegie's policy would strip her of her dominions and give her the rank of Holland and Denmark.

If the policy he would impose upon the United States had been the policy of the fathers of the Republic, it would have made a small, snug, neat republic on the Atlantic slope, leaving the cotton States, the Ohio country, the whole continent from the Alleghenies to the Pacific, to the British, French and Spaniards.

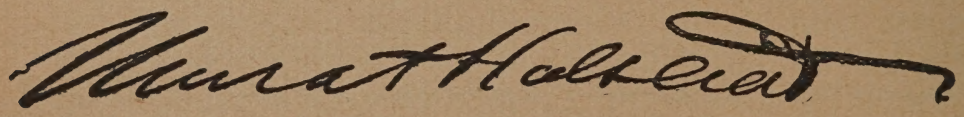
George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, James K. Polk, Andrew Johnson, Charles Sumner and William H. Seward were American expansionists. They were good enough Americans for me. William McKinley and his cabinet are the same sort of Americans. They are walking in the paths blazed and trodden by the forefathers. They are providing the generations to come with land. There is nothing better for the people than good land. Mr. Carnegie does not seem to have heard of the States of California, Washington and Oregon. He does not contemplate our front on the Pacific Ocean. He is taking a narrow

view—one that is neither American nor English; one that is unworthy of regard by the English-speaking people. He seems to think the dragon of free trade will enter upon us through that open door and devour us. The last time I studied an utterance by Mr. Carnegie on an economic question he had ceased to be a protectionist, and was willing to chance it with free trade so far as his product of steel was concerned. I do not ask him to be consistent, but he will upset his cart if he makes a turn in the road on an acute angle.

When Dewey got his orders to destroy the Spanish fleet, Aguinaldo was in exile. having retired with a certified check for 440,000 Mexican dollars, taken by requisition from a Manila bank that never has seen and never will see a dollar of the money. That certified check for the proceeds of the bank robbery wafted away to Hongkong Aguinaldo and thirty-two of his "compatriots." The Filipino war against Spain was started in his absence, and he was dug up by the American consuls at Singapore, Manila, and Hongkong and was in Hongkong when the Spanish fleet was destroyed, making his appearance soon afterward at Cavite. He has lived in comfortable quarters, far from scenes of strife, ever since, and no one except those belonging to his military gang has ever voted for him for anything.

Our men in public life who have taken upon themselves to recognize the Filipino assassins in the thickets firing upon our soldiers—and Senator Hoar, with his great ability and always admirable command of phrases, is especially conspicuous—have omitted to provide themselves with the essential information in the case. Let us run over the facts that utterly overthrow all the gilded structures of Senator Hoar's vivid eloquence. Admiral Dewey was ordered to destroy the Spanish Philippine fleet, and did it, and then he had to stay at Manila or abandon the Asiatic coast and our commerce to the gunboats of the Spaniards that were not within the range of our destroyers. Aguinaldo returned from exile and got the prestige of American victory. He was not at any time besieging Manila, but skirmishing in the high grass, and never could have taken the city. He wanted to make conditions about allowing American troops to land—demanded to know their object. He never consulted the people of the Philippines. He raised a swarm of semi-savages, whose passion was for plunder and revenge. They had to be put out of their alleged trenches before General Greene could get at the Spaniards. The American army, when the American fleet had broken the Spanish defense by the sea, that was the key to Manila, took the town, and the Spanish army capitulated, "the faith and honor of the American army" being pledged to preserve the lives and property of citizens, to protect them from the heedless

barbaric occupancy of the Aguinaldo horde. In case the Americans abandoned the conquest the terms of the Spanish surrender were that their arms should be returned—their rifles and cartridges. Ten thousand Spaniards were not to be turned over for Malay butchery. We would have been dishonored if that had been done. The Spaniards, if they had held Manila, and they could have done it as against the natives, would have re-enforced the troops in Manila. Admiral Dewey was disposed to make the best of Aguinaldo and his "compatriots," but they soon displayed themselves as threatening pretenders, malignant so far as we were concerned. The reason Aguinaldo assigned for returning with the permission of Admiral Dewey to the Isle of Luzon was to prevent the Filipinos from making common cause with Spain to repel the invaders—that is, the deliverers of the Filipinos—and he tried to prevent our men from being supplied with wholesome food and water. The conduct of those who usurp the authority of the Philippine people and have dared to menace Americans trying in vain to preserve the peace, was most irritating, aggressive and vicious long before they frantically rushed upon our lines, believing they could destroy the army of occupation and the city too. This was the full exhibition of the character of these "people." It was a disclosure, not of intelligent purposes, but of the murderous instincts of ambitious barbarians. The venerable Senator from Massachusetts has bestowed upon them, to assail the policy of his country thus far of necessity in the severest and most searching sense of the word, virtues they do not possess or comprehend.



CHAPTER VIII.

MR. DOLLIVER OF IOWA FOR EXPANSION.

Room for All Sorts of Speeches, but Only One Course of Action—The President Did Not Take Initial Responsibility of Disturbing the Peace—Dr. Parkhurst's Boomerang Criticism—Cheap Newspapers Full of Malice—Americans on Blanco's Platform—Our Experience with Acquired Territory—Andrew Jackson's Territorial Policy—Two Mourners in a Palace Over the Collapse of the Republic—Bryan's Pitched Battle with American History—Not Canned Freedom, but Liberty on the Half Shell—A Tribute to General Wheeler—In "The Fear of God and Nothing Else," as Bismarck Said, Take Up Duty.

Mr. Dolliver of Iowa referred to the "proposed retreat of the nation of America" and to the "desultory firing on the Government from behind the barricades of banquet tables," and said:

"While there is room for everybody's speeches, there is room only for a single course of action. They alone who must put their judgment to the final test of performance have need to be definite and coherent in their opinions, and it begins to look as if the speechmakers had taken advantage of the fact that, while everything can be said, only one thing can at last be done.

"In this respect the position of the President differs from that of the statesmen at large. They are at liberty to exhort, to rave and scold and jest. He must act.

"As for those who deliberately inflamed the passions of the hour, teaching the American people to despise the resources of diplomacy and to visit our State Department with contempt; for those especially who boast that 'they took the Republican party,' if I may recall the glowing language of my amiable friend from Missouri, 'by the scruff of the neck' and dragged it into the declaration of war; for these men now to multiply the national difficulties by the devices of a reckless partisan agitation indicates at least that we still have a level of politics in the United States which has a good deal to learn about the ethics, if not about the etiquette, of statesmanship and patriotism.

"No one who has followed with even a casual attention the history of the past year can doubt that the troubles which now lie in our path come in a straight line from the original act by which the nation accepted the alternative of war. The blood that has been shed, the treasure that has been expended, the victories

that have been won, the scattered territories that have fallen from the feeble possession of the Spanish Crown—all these are only a part of the context of the original resolution of April 29, 1898.

"It is historically certain that the initial responsibility for disturbing the peace of the country does not lie with the President, but with the Congress, and beyond the Congress, with the people of the United States. Our intervention against Spain was a national act in the most perfect sense. The President is accused of slavishly following public opinion without regard to duty, not to speak of the lighter offense of finding out what the people of the United States think before he acts. Dr. Parkhurst, a famous clergyman of New York, derided the President because 'he had put his ear to the ground in order to catch the reverberations that roll in from the wild West.' If the gentleman from Indiana, by what he said here to-day, meant to insult the Chief Magistrate, as Dr. Parkhurst aimed to wound the sensibilities of a portion of our common country, he unintentionally paid to William McKinley while he lives a tribute which historians have lovingly laid upon the grave of Abraham Lincoln—that in times of peril, of doubt, and of uncertainty he was great enough to stand by the side of the humble millions of his countrymen and to go forward in their strength in the discharge of his official duties. The President cannot be accused, without a profligate distortion of the truth, of any delinquency or hesitation in executing the express will and purpose of the nation. No voice of any respectability has yet been raised in such an accusation against him. It is true that as victory came in sight an organized conspiracy of scandal and detraction was set on foot, with partisan motives, to cover an administrative department of the Government with disgrace.

"Cheap newspapers have filled the world with the inventions of malice, and cheap politicians have pushed their way in among the mourners at every soldier's grave to poison broken hearts with suspicion and hatred against the Government in order to reproach an administration which under unusual trials has led the American people, with losses comparatively insignificant, into a victory rich and splendid in the fruits of liberty.

"General Blanco, leaving Havana, in his farewell proclamation, the last of a series of grotesque state papers more harmless than Spanish artillery, uttered a complaint, not the platform of the Anti-Imperialistic League, that the United States was a fraud because under cover of liberating Cuba we bombarded Porto Rico and invaded the Isle of Luzon. Who is willing to blot from our history the immortal story of that morning at Cavite when, under frowning batteries

and in the midst of the unknown perils of the strange waters, American sailors, with the easy confidence of skill and bearing won for our arms a victory without precedent in the legends and traditions of the sea? Are we going to expunge the record of the thanks of Congress to the officers and seamen of the Asiatic fleet? We have presented its Admiral with a sword. Are we going to hand it to him with an expression of regret, couched in the language of the gentleman from Indiana, that we did not have sense enough to order him to depart headlong from the Philippine coasts?

"Some men talk seriously of hauling the flag down and others in jest about hauling down the President. But what are you going to do with Admiral George Dewey? He has not attended any banquets; he has sent in no complaints about his bill of fare; he has not disposed of his celebrity to the magazine editors for cash. For nearly a year, under a tropical sun, he has held the forts, asking only that we send a first-class statesman to help him gather up the fruits of his achievement. It may be that all our first-class statesmen are too busy with their constitutional quibbles, their legal technicalities, and their morbid affectation of superior virtues, and that our statesmen of the second class are too much engrossed with the question of embalmed beef to be of much help to the Admiral as he stands alone on the bridge of his flagship waiting for the civil authority to come to his support. But may we not at least say to him that the Government of the United States, which issued the command under which he acted on the 1st of May, accepts the whole responsibility for his execution of orders? Can we applaud him for doing his duty while we sit shivering and whimpering before ours? What is there in the national spirit of America that invites or even tolerates this nerveless and debilitated attitude in the presence of responsibilities like these?

"Do we not rather dwarf and belittle the things which he has done unless we make them part of the future of the Republic? For he has earned, if ever man can earn from his fellow-man, the exultant salutation of the human race, Well done, thou good and faithful servant of mankind.

"I have heard it said that the treaty involves the violation of our Constitution in acquiring these possessions, and of our Declaration of Independence in governing them. But we have the words of Chief Justice Marshall for it that the power to make war and to frame treaties necessarily involves the power to acquire territory, and that the power to acquire territory implies the power to govern and control it. Nor are we as a nation entirely without experience in the government of acquired territory.

"When our Constitution was adopted we had on hand a vast territory belonging to the public domain, and we managed to govern it for a long period of time with scant reference to the views of its population, under a despotism in which the constitutional theory of government had no place whatever.

"In 1803 we acquired the Territory of Louisiana by a treaty. It was inhabited by many nationalities and native tribes, both numerous and warlike. We governed it by a military despotism in which the inhabitants took no part. It was divided along the thirty-third parallel of latitude into two parts. That south of the line was called Orleans, and all the rest described by the general name of Louisiana. In neither division were the people in any respect consulted as to the method of their government. The French and the Spaniards were left without voice in the matter because they knew too much, and the Indians were left out because they did not know enough.

"The history of these territorial governments is most instructive, especially to one who is anxious to avoid visionary interpretations of the political creed of our ancestors. Not less instructive is the record of our territorial government of Florida, the Mexican cessions, California, and Alaska. The Territory of Florida has a history specially interesting, because after it was acquired by the treaty of 1819 from Spain, President Monroe sent General Jackson there to govern it, with powers limited by only two conditions, one that he should impose no new taxes and the other that he should not make or confirm any land grants. In all other respects his powers were unlimited, and whatever he did, singularly enough, was authenticated in these words:

" 'By Major-General Andrew Jackson, Governor of the Provinces of the Floridas, exercising the powers of the Captain-General and Intendent of the Island of Cuba over the said provinces and of the Governors of said provinces respectively.'

"It is little wonder that Thomas H. Benton, in his early years, should have been impressed 'with such illustrations of Congressional power over territories,' and that in his old age, reviewing his long political association with General Jackson, should have written down the following comment on our form of Government as our fathers understood it:

" 'In the United States, where people are accustomed to the regular administration of justice, the summary proceedings of General Jackson appeared to be harsh and even lawless; but they were all justified by the Administration and sanctioned by the negative action of Congress. And in Florida, where they took

place, and where it was seen that no wealth or power could screen the oppressor, and that governors, judges, and rich merchants were laid by the heels like common offenders, and the protecting shield of law and justice thrown over the humble and helpless—in this province, so long a prey to oppression and corruption, the conduct of General Jackson appeared like an emanation of divine justice, greatly exalting the American character. * * * He constantly repulsed the idea of the presence of the Constitution in the territory committed to his charge, and in that repulsion he was sustained by the Federal Executive Government at Washington and by each House of Congress, each of these authorities refusing to entertain—as breaches of the Constitution—the complaints forwarded against him by those who had been militarily dealt with under his government.'

"Not long ago, in a palace in the city of New York, two men sat down to weep over the downfall of the Republic—one a colonel of volunteers, who had just escaped from the army, with a yell of oratorial triumph, leaving behind him a trail of interviews from Tampa to Washington like the borealis race that flit ere you can point their place. His tears flowed, if anything, a little more freely than his companion's, for this was not the first time he had been called upon to note the collapse of free institutions, and his case was all the worse on account of his natural repugnance to taking the oath of office amid the falling columns and broken altars of the temple of liberty. The other was an iron-monger who a few years ago, seeing the advantages of the steel pool, had advocated the consolidation of England and America into a trust to regulate the world's political business, each to receive for its common stock equivalent shares of the syndicate, but just now enlisted under the banner of the Anti-Imperialist League, anxious to bring the United States out of the war with Spain, with nothing to show for the national sacrifices except a few well-defined cases of anarchy in the West Indies and the borders of Asia.

"The two talked together earnestly and long, with no differences of opinion and only such occasional hitches in the conversation as inevitably arise when two persons, each knowing it all, try to tell one another something. At last they separate, one of them to spread the alarm by word of mouth, the other by stroke of pen; both of them to learn in time how vain and impotent is the babble of men against the increasing purpose that runs through the ages.

"Colonel Bryan pitched his first battle against American history at Chicago, before a club that for some inscrutable reason was engaged in celebrating the victory of New Orleans. Speaking on the anniversary of that battle—a battle fought on soil which Jefferson purchased from Napoleon by the military governor

who subsequently obtained the consent of the resident Spaniards and Indian natives to our first government of the provinces of the Floridas—he lamented any further growth of the United States, demanded instant and unconditional independence for the Philippine tribes, and wound up by calling on Moses, who died on an expedition to exterminate the nations of Canaan, to come back from his unknown grave and unite with the Democratic party in its present campaign against the progress of civilization.

"Now, all this would be very thrilling and very satisfactory if these sudden apostles of lesser America would only learn to speak the same language. But the very night the Colonel of Volunteers was in Chicago former Vice-President Stevenson was in Omaha, at the same kind of a dinner, telling the Jackson Club that this mythical Philippine commonwealth which we hear talked about, with its president and cabinet and congress, is in fact a scattered and helpless population unfit for self-government in any sense of the word. The same thread of contradiction seems to run through the magazines. Open the North American Review. On the first page is Mr. Andrew Carnegie exalting the Philippine tribes to the opportunities and privileges of a new republic, exactly as my friend from Indiana has done this day, in words which have hardly fallen below the rhapsody with which the venerable ex-Secretary of State has welcomed the guileless Aguinaldo into the company of George Washington; while a few pages over we find Senator Vest, who has studied this question about as hard as my friend from Indiana has, even if he has not written down his views quite so fully, describing the people to whom my friend asks us to furnish, not canned freedom, but liberty on the half-shell—a license to do business on their own account—as a piratical and half-civilized mass of muck-running barbarians.

"I have never yet heard an American, big or little, say that we ought to have given these islands back to Spain, that we ought to have committed them to the bloody hand of the despotism from which we have delivered them; but I do not hesitate to say, measuring my words, that such a disposition of them would be merciful and benevolent compared to the policy of recognizing the petty tribal chieftains who are now preparing lawlessness and confusion for the islands of the archipelago; for it is written in the common law that tyranny is to be preferred rather than anarchy, on the ground that any government in the world is better than no government at all.

"I have never heard anyone say that we ought to divide these islands among the nations of the world, though if the nations of the world would take them, the time will certainly come when we can do that, if we desire. I deny that we entered

upon the war under leave of any foreign nation. I rejoice in the fact that the President of the United States, when the world was full of rumors about the intervention of the powers, told the ambassadors assembled that the American Government was about to handle the question for itself; and if the Government of Great Britain stood by ready to temper the hostile motives of other powers, it is only a new bond of sympathy between us and the kindred people from whom we have derived our language, our literature, our laws, and our institutions.

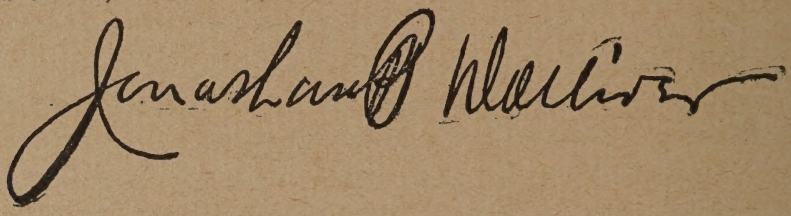
"Not only do I deny that we went into the war by permission of foreign nations, but I deny that we came out of it by the consent of foreign nations. On the contrary, I assert before the House to-day that the achievements of the past year have put foreign nations on their guard and induced them, standing at a respectful distance, to recognize that the United States is able to take care of itself. We stand in the arena of the world's affairs dependent upon the countenance of no foreign power, but appreciative of the good will of all, with a prestige among the nations which we have never enjoyed before in our whole history since the foundations of civil liberty were laid on this continent by our fathers."

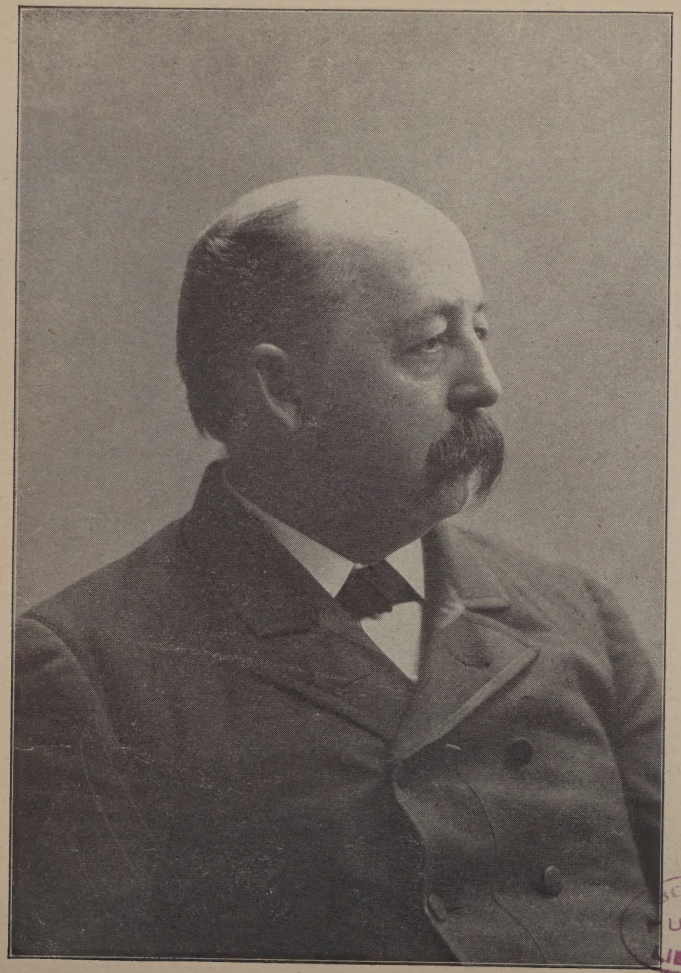
Dolliver referred to General Wheeler, saying:

"At the time of the attack upon Santiago he was sick and unable to leave his tent, but when he heard the firing he got into an ambulance and started for the front. When he met details of men carrying the wounded to the rear he told the boys to let the wounded ride and asked them to get him out of the ambulance and put him upon his horse; and all day long in the firing line at Santiago he kept the field, directing the movement of his troops.

"I do not know how it seems to others, but it seems to me that that old Confederate General riding up and down the line at Santiago has become the type of a larger and better Americanism which has turned its back upon all the bitterness of the past and opened its eyes to the sublime destiny of a reunited country. I have not read the history of the world without perceiving that there is in it a Providence higher and wiser than our poor human guidance. I accept the philosophy which finds a Power in this universe which makes for righteousness; an Eye over all that neither slumbers nor sleeps, an Arm made bare to lift up the helpless and despairing children of men. Let us not doubt that amid the vicissitudes of the national life, even when we walk in the thick darkness, when the judgment of the wise is confounded and the foresight of the prudent made afraid, we execute at last, in a poor, blind way, not the clumsy designs of men, but the inviolable will of God. To my mind it does not seem incredible that the Power which is over all the governments of men is about to take the great

Republic, united and made strong in the devotion and loyalty of all its people, and use it as an instrument in His hand to enlarge the boundaries of civilization, to extend the frontiers of freedom in far-off lands, and to garrison new outposts of social progress in the ends of the earth. And if that is our destiny and that our duty, I for one am in favor of looking the future in the face and taking up that duty 'in the fear of God,' as old Bismarck used to say, 'and of nothing else.'"





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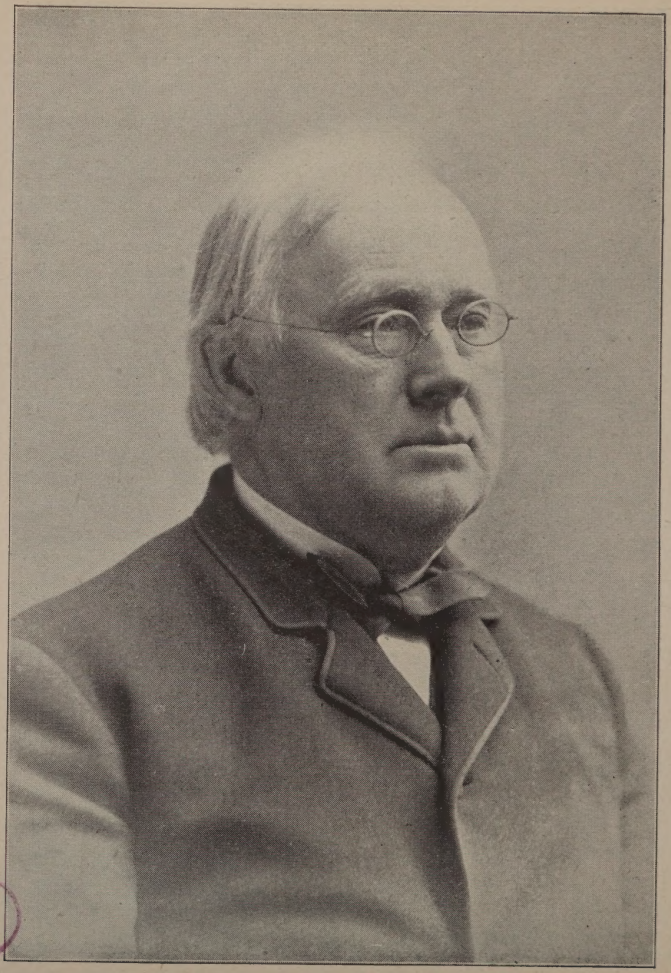

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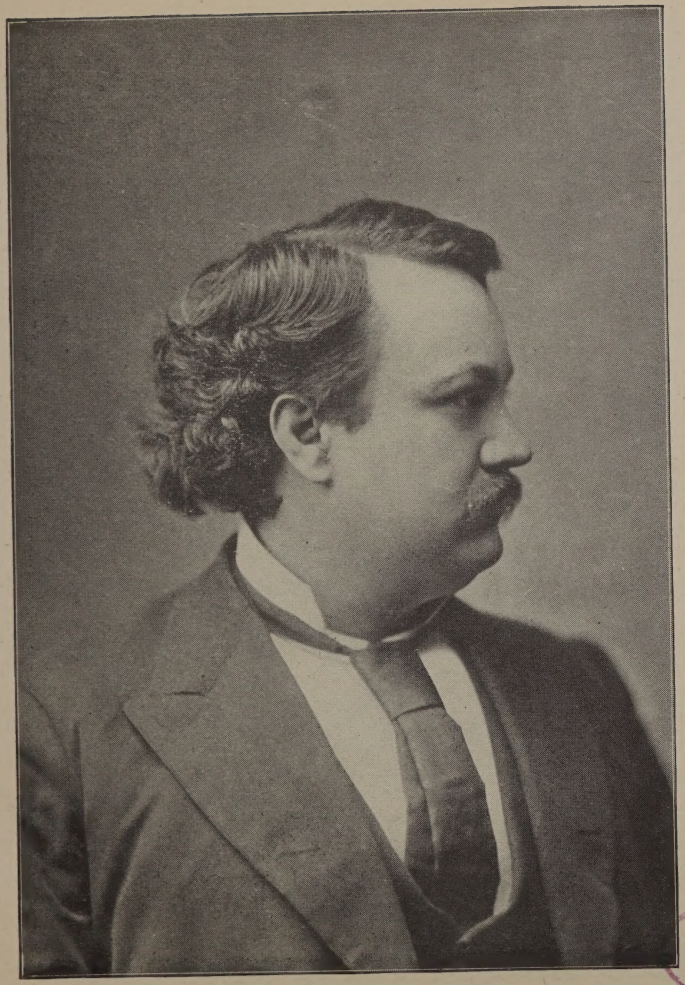

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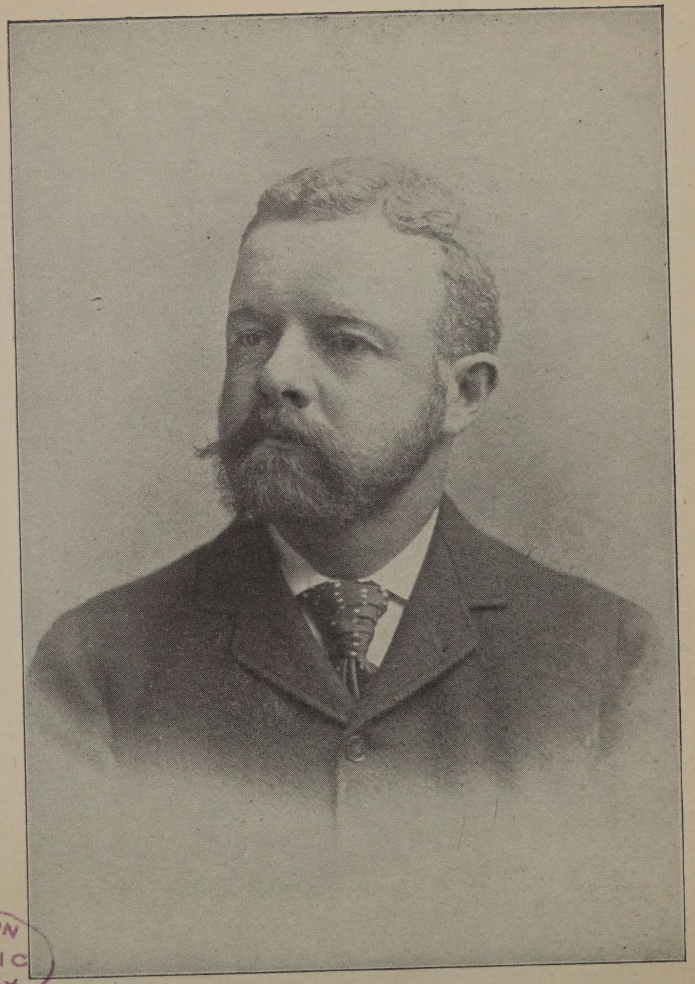

SENATOR HENRY C. LODGE.

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CHAPTER IX.

HON. HENRY GIBSON FOR EXPANSION.

Porto Rico Is a Conquest; Are We to Give It Up on Moral Grounds?—There Were Croakers About Our Having Any Pacific Coast—It Was Six Months Away—"The Ashy Lips of Cowards and Traitors"—There Would Be Objections to Annexing Paradise—Do the Black Men Consent to Be Governed in All the States?—Why Say "Turkey" to the Yellow Heathen and "Buzzard" to the Black Christian?—When Did We Get the Consent of the Indians to Govern Them?—The Pilgrim Fathers Exterminated the Natives of Massachusetts—God Commanded the Killing of the Canaanites.

Hon. Henry Gibson of Tennessee says:

"Porto Rico is a beautiful, healthful, and fertile island, within the sphere of our influence and on the great waterway between the United States and South America. The inhabitants are anxious for annexation, and everywhere welcomed the arrival of our soldiers with shouts of joyous salutation.

"It is said that we did not go to war for conquest, and we did not. But because we did not go to war shall we for that reason abandon Porto Rico? When we engaged in the war with Mexico in 1846 we did not go into it for conquest; our purpose was to defend and protect Texas.

"But when that war ended we were in possession not only of Texas, but of Utah, California, Nevada, Arizona, and New Mexico. Now, what did we do? Did we say then that, as we did not go to war with Mexico for conquest we would abandon Utah, California, Nevada, Arizona, and New Mexico? No, we were not the imbeciles then some men want us to be now. We held on to what we conquered from Mexico, and we are holding on to it to-day, although there were men then, as there are men now, who thought it was wicked and dangerous to acquire this territory, and some predicted that God's curse would fall upon us as a nation if we took this territory away from Mexico.

"But we took it, and we took it by force of arms, and we hold it to-day, and God's curse has not yet fallen upon us. On the contrary, He seems to have blessed us. Our nation took a new start when California became ours, and never in the history of the world has there been such progress in territorial development as there has been since we annexed California. What was then a wilderness between Missouri and the Pacific Ocean, inhabited by Indians, buffaloes, coyotes, and

prairie dogs is now occupied by thirteen States and three Territories of our Union, containing 8,000,000 inhabitants.

"Man proposes, but God disposes. We did not go to war with Mexico to acquire any territory, but we did acquire some, and the territory thus acquired has rounded out our domain, and been not only a great blessing to us, but a blessing to all mankind.

"So we did not go to war with Spain to acquire any territory. But again man proposes while God disposes, and as a result of this war the beautiful Island of Porto Rico is in our hands. And the question now is, What shall we do with it? Shall we surrender it to Spain, that brutal and bloody tyrant whose rule has been the curse of so many lands? To haul Porto Rico back to Spain would be like throwing a rescued and bleeding lamb back into the jaws of the wolf whose fangs had torn its flesh, and I for one will never vote that way.

"They declared our Constitution a rope of sand. They said our Presidents would become kings, and thought they saw a crown growing on Washington's head. When Louisiana was annexed, in 1803, they said that it was so unconstitutional as to annihilate the Constitution and destroy the Union. When the first national bank was chartered in 1816 they declared that liberty was as good as dead, and that the money power would soon own the country. When, in 1845, Texas was annexed, they saw slavery triumphant and the Union as good as dissolved. When, in 1846, we made war on Mexico in defense of Texas, men in this House declared that the vengeance of heaven was sure to fall upon us, and "bloody graves" would be the fate of those gallant Americans who with transcendent valor upheld our flag at Buena Vista, and who carried it in triumph from Vera Cruz to Mexico and floated it from the topmost turrets of the mansions of the Montezumas.

"When, in 1848, we annexed California and New Mexico, these same prophets of evil saw the most gigantic dangers looming up on the Pacific coast, 3,000 miles away, and a six months' journey by sea or land, and the result would be the nation would break in two by its own weight, the Rocky Mountains being the line of division, unless England or some other foreign nation took California and Oregon away from us by force of arms. Blood-curdling and hair-raising pictures of national calamity were thrust before our horrified vision by the old women and false prophets of those days as the sure result of the annexation of California. It was declared to be a wicked robbery from a sister Republic, a robbery wholly unnecessary, as we already had more territory on the Pacific than we had any use for; that its acquisition would necessitate a large increase of our army and

navy, and a consequent increase of taxation, all of which would fall on the poor man; that the $15,000,000 we paid Mexico for California was a reckless and unconstitutional expenditure for what, at best, was a mere unexplored waste of sand and sagebrush; and that the sole object of the annexation was the unholy extension of African slavery and the wicked suppression of American liberty.

"If the gentlemen who are wrinkling their brows and torturing their brains in unsatisfactory efforts to manufacture insect thunder against the acquisition of Porto Rico and the Philippines will only go back to the Congressional debates on the acquisition of Louisiana in 1803, and the acquisition of Texas and California in 1845 to 1848, they will find not only all the little arguments their imagination has brewed out of a sour digestion, but will find many others of larger proportions and more ponderous material. But they will find all of these arguments, little and big, fully answered, all of their predictions falsified by subsequent history, and that, instead of adversity to curse us, we got prosperity to bless us; instead of slavery being extended it was destroyed; instead of California being six months off it is now only six days off, and the 1,000-mile-wide desert between California and Missouri is blossoming like the rose, the seat of religion, learning, and wealth, and filled with many populous and prosperous States.

"I suppose there is a providence in allowing and stimulating these prophets of evil, the human ravens whose croaks are heard from the glittering spires of prosperity and whose sable wings flit through all banquet halls, like fallen spirits, whose only satisfaction is to prophesy calamity and terrify the timid.

"The fathers of our Republic, as they wrought on in their grand endeavor to lay deep, wide, and strong the foundations of a nation that should be to all others as the sun is to the stars, heard day after day the carpings of the critics, the sneers of the scorners, the censures of the wiseacres, and the prophecies of failure from the ashy lips of cowards and traitors.

"If Bryan were President annexation and expansion and even 'imperialism' would be all right, and in the next campaign we would have a new and enlarged edition of that ancient and oft-repeated Democratic claim that all of the valuable additions to our national domain had been made under Democratic administrations, and we should again have heard how the Democratic party had 'enlarged the area of freedom' and made another 'way for liberty.'

"The majority does not mean the majority in any one State or section of the country, but the majority of all the people of all the States and all the sections. Here is where the Federal Government got its right to suppress the whisky rebellion while Washington was President, here is where Jackson got his right to sup-

press nullification in South Carolina, and here is where Lincoln got his authority for suppressing the Southern Confederacy. Washington, Jackson, and Lincoln were simply executing the mandate of the majority of all the people of all the States and of all the sections. And if Porto Rico and the Philippines are annexed to the United States and become a part of the territory of the United States, they, too, will be governed by the majority, and if they are the majority they will govern us, but if we are the majority we will govern them. And on this commandment hang all the law and politics of the case.

"Now, Mr. Chairman, are these men who deny the rights of yellow skins in America really anxious to defend the rights of yellow skins in Asia? Do the men who despise the negro in America truly love the Filipino in Asia? If the Filipinos were as numerous in the South as are the negroes, would these gentlemen who now champion their right to self-government be as loud-mouthed in their behalf as they are to-day? Do we not know, Mr. Chairman, that if the negroes were in the Philippines and the Filipinos were here these same advocates of self-government would be caressing the negroes and oppressing the Filipinos?

"If Filipinos attack our army, if they attack our navy, we must teach them, as we teach all other people under God's skies, that that flag will never be assailed without defenders. Having smote down the lion of Spain we will not submit to insolence or ingratitude on the part of its cubs.

"My solution of the Philippine problem is this: If those fifty or sixty thousand people out there who are claiming to represent 7,000,000 people get a little too fresh, I would squelch them; I would turn enough grapeshot and canister into their ranks to teach them that the American army and the American flag are not things to be trifled with, and that they who interfere with us do so at their peril.

"But having suppressed these insurgents or having succeeded in causing them to subside, we will proceed to inaugurate a government there, a government as free and as much their government as they are capable of having. If they are capable of a perfectly free government, all the better; I will rejoice at it and will join my hurrahs with theirs. But until that day comes, until a stable government of their own can be maintained in the Philippine Islands—until that day dawns we owe it to mankind, we owe it to civilization, we owe it to Christianity, that the Stars and Stripes, the emblem at once of liberty and security, shall float there and float supreme.

"Some one asks, 'What will you do with the Philippines? Will you admit them as States into the Union?' I answer quickly, Never, as States, in our day.

We will hold them as Territories. We will do all we can to civilize and Christianize them. We will establish schools and churches, construct roads, erect factories, open mines, build telegraphs, all, of course, at their own expense, and give them just as much participation in their own government as they are capable of. And when, in the process of evolution, they become capable of self-government, we will give them national independence, with our blessing and good wishes. But, Mr. Chairman, let us do our duty in our day and leave the future to be taken care of by the men of the future. All wisdom and patriotism will not be buried in our graves. The great and good God, who has cared for our country in the past will raise up men in the future well able to deal with the Philippines in a manner suitable to our honor and welfare and compatible with the course of humanity.

"Some men say, 'Of what benefit will these island be to us?' That question was asked when we annexed Louisiana; it was asked when we annexed Florida; it was asked when we annexed Texas; it was asked when we annexed California; it was asked when we annexed Alaska, and it will continue to be asked by the old fogies as long as human progress and national development continue. If Paradise could be annexed, there would be men who would object unless they could get a homestead in it with the tree of life in the center.

"Mr. Chairman, that we are a nation and that we have a nation's powers and a nation's rights, and intend to discharge a nation's responsibilities and a nation's duties; and let the other nations of the world take notice that we demand a nation's respect.

"The Indians to-day have no voice in the Government; and in the negro States their 'consent' is not only not obtained, but is actually denied. And what is most strange, the men who pretend to be so indignant about governing the Filipinos without their 'consent' are the very men who are most anxious to govern the negroes without their 'consent!' Is an Asiatic Filipino who lives 10,000 miles from here entitled to any more rights than an American negro who lives next door to us? Why is it, Mr. Chairman, that some of these men who rave so for fear the Filipinos will be governed without their consent rave just as furiously when the negroes insist on not being governed without their consent?

"Why do these professed champions of liberty insist on saying 'turkey' to the Filipinos and 'buzzard' to the negroes? What is sauce for the Philippine goose ought to be sauce for the African gander. I can not quite understand the hearts of those men who so dearly love the yellow Filipino, whom they have never seen, and yet do not love the yellow negro, whom they have seen. If the Filipinos

are entitled to self-government, then the negroes are; and yet some of these men who are pretending to be so indignant because the savage, half-naked, heathen Filipino is to be governed without his consent are just as indignant when a civilized Christian negro asks not to be governed without his consent. Surely the charity of these lovers of the Filipinos does not begin at home.

"As a matter of fact, Mr. Chairman, even in our own country government is not always based on the 'consent of the governed.' What father asks the 'consent' of his children to the government he establishes over them? When and in what is the 'consent' of the women of the country obtained, even where they are taxed? The 'consent' of the Indians has seldom been deemed necessary, and when necessary has often been obtained by fraud or force.

"At every session of Congress laws are passed that some one or more States object to. At every session of the various State Legislatures laws are passed that some counties do not consent to. The consent of the majority rules, and they are the governors, while the consent of the governed minority is not only not asked, but when known is denied, and sometimes denied with contemptuous tyranny and undeserved opprobrium.

"In the days of nullification South Carolina was kept in the Union and forced to obey laws against her consent. Andrew Jackson threatened to hang some of the South Carolina nullifiers because they would not 'consent.'

"From 1861 to 1865 we waged a terrible war against the Confederate States because they would not 'consent' to remain any longer in the old Union. And after the war we disfranchised them, so they would be unable to express their dissent.

"We have had several Presidents who failed to get the 'consent' of a majority of the voters. There are several States in the Union to-day permanently governed by a minority of their people, and even in those States where majority rule prevails the minority are not only governed with their 'consent,' but are often governed in spite of their dissent. Even here in the city of Washington, right around and in sight of this Capitol, there are 300,000 intelligent, cultured, liberty-loving, patriotic people governed without their consent, without any voice, vote, or representation whatever, and taxed besides.

"When America was settled, was the 'consent' of the Indians asked by our forefathers? Did the Pilgrim Fathers obtain the consent of the Massachusetts Indians? No, sir; they exterminated them!

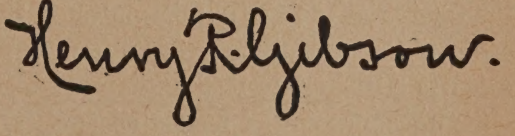
"Where would the United States of America be to-day if the first white men who landed on our coast had sailed away because the Indians objected to their coming? This fair and gracious land, the wonder of the world, with its 70,000,000

of people, its hundreds of beautiful towns and cities, its millions of fertile fields, its hundreds of thousands of schools and churches; its railroads, telegraphs, and mail routes; its electrical inventions and manufacturing establishments; its millions of happy, Christian homes; its government—the best on earth for man's welfare—where would all these have been had the 'consent' of the Indians been necessary to the occupation of the country? Instead of this magnificent Capitol there would be the wigwam of some Powhatan; and instead of these champions of the 'consent of the governed,' who from day to day make these walls weary of reverberation, we would have a few Indian bucks in war paint, with feathers on their heads and down their backs, and scalps in their belts! And thus the doctrine of the 'consent of the governed' would have been vindicated, even though a continent was thereby made the home of heathen savages!

"'Consent of the governed,' indeed! The world has moved onward to civilization and Christianity against the 'consent of the governed.' War is the great civilizer. God commanded Moses and Joshua to exterminate the Canaanites.

"We have had our Jeremiahs all along the line, lamenting that the ruin of our country was just at our doors unless their counsel was observed, but we are not ruined yet. Instead of being ruined we have prospered, prospered more than any other nation that ever existed, and, what is strange, the more the prophecies of evil the greater our prosperity. And we are still moving on and moving up, conquering and to conquer. The stars in their courses have been fighting on our side, and Destiny has pronounced an irrevocable decree in our favor.

"'There are great truths that pitch their shining tents
Outside our walls, and though but dimly seen
In the gray dawn they will be manifest
When the light widens into perfect day.'"



CHAPTER X.

SENATOR HOAR AGAINST EXPANSION.

This Is the Greatest Question Ever Discussed by the United States Senate—Almost the Greatest Since the Beginning of Mankind—Putting the Flag Up and Down—Wanted Messages Sent to the Philippines—What Are We to Do with 10,000,000 Souls?—Poor People Who Took Their Bows and Arrows—Aguinaldo's Masterpieces—Dr. Johnson on Taxation—Trampling on Foreign People—Filipinos in Arms for Liberty.

Senator Hoar said that no man can justly charge him with a lack of faith in his countrymen or a lack of faith in the principles on which the republic was founded. He had in the fullest measure that which stands as the central figure in the mighty group which the apostle said is forever to abide—hope. He thanked God that as his eyes grow dim they look out on a fairer country, a better people, a brighter future.

It was not his purpose, of course, to discuss the general considerations which affect any acquisition of sovereignty by the American people over the Philippine Islands which has been or may be proposed.

He hoped not to weary by reiteration, but this was the greatest question, this question of power and authority of our Constitution in this matter, he had almost said, that had been discussed among mankind from the beginning of time. Certainly it is the greatest question ever discussed in the Senate from the beginning of the government.

Mr. Hoar believed this country to be a nation—a sovereign nation. He believed Congress possessed all the powers necessary to accomplish the great objects the framers of the Constitution intended should be accomplished; denied that it possessed the "astonishing" and "extravagant" powers under the Constitution which Senators attributed to it.

"We have heard of limited monarchies, constitutional monarchies, despotisms tempered by assassination, but the logic of the Senator from Connecticut makes a pure, unlimited, untempered despotism without any relief from assassins.

"In general the friends of what is called imperialism or expansion content themselves with declaring that the flag which is taken down every night and put up again every morning over the roof of this Senate chamber, where it is in its rightful place, must never be taken down where it has once floated, whether that

be its rightful place or not—a doctrine which is not only without justification in international law, but if it were implanted there would make every war between civilized and powerful nations a war of extermination or a war of dishonor to one party or the other."

Mr. Hoar dwelt upon the large increase in national expenditure which the policy of expansion advocated would entail, placing the amount at $150,000,000 annually. He argued that the adoption of expansion doctrine would reduce wages, increase taxation, place an armed soldier on the back of the workingman, and by the act of the government every American's dignity would be dishonored and his manhood discrowned.

"The Monroe doctrine is gone," he said. "Every European nation, every European alliance, has the right to acquire dominion in this hemisphere when we acquire it in the Orient.

"I heard a good deal before the treaty was enacted, spoken with great earnestness and great vehemence, about embarrassing the administration in the war. It was said we cannot declare the old doctrine of the Farewell Address, or the old doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, or any limitations on our constitutional power, or any expression of our intent, because there are hostilities going on between the United States and the people of the Philippine Islands. Those hostilities are going on now, and what has become of the scruples of the majority in this chamber? They are prepared not only to send to the people of the Philippine Islands what two highly esteemed members of the Senate, in speeches which, I think, gave me more pain than any other speeches I ever listened to in the Senate, said they would not do—they would not send any message to the persons who had arms in their hands taken up against the United States. But here is a message, while those hostilities are still going on, calculated to provoke freemen, lovers of liberty, men who think as our ancestors thought, men who think as we have thought till within six months, to resistance and to hostility to the death.

"They are simply resolutions, when properly analyzed, declaring in effect that these 10,000,000 people have in our judgment no constitutional rights, no rights to liberty, no rights even to be heard in the determination of their own self-government, and that they are not to have in the future any right of citizenship, any of the rights debated and somewhat misty, but still valuable and precious, which men have when they become residents on territory of the United States. They are not to be citizens here. They are not to be an integral part of our territory ever. Then it goes on to say, in substance, that they are to have nothing to do

about their own government hereafter. It is the intention of the United States to make a government for them 'suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants of said islands.' Of that we are to judge, not they. That government is not to fit them to govern themselves ever in the great things which pertain to a national life.

"The message which my honorable friend from Delaware will not send to the people with arms in their hands is a message of peace, of good will, of liberty. But he will send them this message from the Senate: Never shall you be made citizens; never shall your territory be United States territory; never shall you have the rights which dwellers on our territory enjoy; never shall you establish your government for yourself. We will try to fit you in small matters and in local matters for self-government; we will try to fit you to govern yourselves so far as the people of the District of Columbia used to govern themselves, perhaps, and so far as a Territory may govern itself, perhaps, but you shall never have a part or a share, not one of the ten millions of you, in your national self-government.

"And then what is the United States going to do with 10,000,000 human souls? Make such disposition of them as will best promote not even their interests alone, but ours, 'as will best promote the interests of the citizens of the United States,' which they are not, and as a caudal appendage, the interests of the inhabitants of the islands.

"Now, was there ever on the face of the earth more infamy, if what the people of the United States have said and lived and declared in the face of all mankind be true, than is to be contained in that declaration? It is a declaration stripped of everything else simply that the Louisiana sugar planter shall not be afraid of their competition in the future, and that to prevent that fear there shall never be a human, a constitutional, or a legal right recognized in those 10,000,000 people; and that is the whole of it.

"You cannot send a message of peace, you cannot send a message of hope, you cannot send a message of pity, to those poor people who have taken their bows and arrows in their hands and thrown themselves against the power of the people of the United States, dashing out their lives in a brave battle for liberty. To send them even a message of pity the man who proposes it is denounced as a traitor and as unfaithful to the interests of his own country; but for a message of tyranny, a message of hate, a message of oppression, a message of slaughter, these gentlemen are ready enough.

"I want to say a single word about these people and their chieftain. I agree that we have not full information about Aguinaldo. It may turn out in his case,

as it has turned out in the case of so many others, that he is an unprincipled adventurer. We know nothing about that. All we know about him is that he was accepted as an ally, and that after everything that has been said to his disparagement happened, after his retreat, after his acceptance of the money of Spain, he was recalled in honor and in power by the Admiral and the General of the United States. We know that he had invested the Spaniards in the city of Manila; we know that of those 2,000 islands he had won the independence of every one, save only the city of Manila, and, perhaps, one or two other slight stations held by Spain. We know that there came from him a provisional government and constitution for a people engaged in a revolution for their own independence the like of which for ability and fitness for the situation for a people about to enter upon self-government as soon as the military necessity had gone by there are not ten men on the face of this planet who could have improved upon. It is a masterpiece of constitutional construction.

"We know that he has addressed to this Senate a powerful, temperate, and respectful communication, stating with admirable clearness and compactness a desire and a hope for liberty and an appeal to the great people of the United States. I do not see how any American heart not of stone can fail to see that the source of that appeal is entitled to respect and to honor. He has also made an application—rejected, I am told, though the details of that we do not know—simply for a hearing.

"Suppose it were true that these 10,000,000 people seeking liberty, knowing nothing of a foreign power but what they have learned from Spain, 10,000 miles off from the United States, unacquainted with our history, their eyes never having gazed upon the beauty and the glory of our flag, suppose they did in their ignorance and in their weakness make this brave and passionate attack upon the forces of the United States, they were, at least, men willing to give their lives for something. Whatever else they did, they did not flinch or run. We have mowed them down by the thousands; we have inflicted upon them that dread and terrible penalty; and I do not agree with my honorable friends who say that it is unworthy of the dignity of the people of the United States to send those people even a message of kindness and hope and sympathy.

"I think the lives of American soldiers were sacrificed by the men, whoever did it, who demanded of these men their unconditional submission and would not send them a message such as America has been wont to send and such as the American flag has been wont to bear to the down-trodden and suffering and oppressed peoples of the earth.

"Others doubtless will do as they please. I have in regard to myself, in regard to what I have said and done and what I shall say and do in this business, neither doubt, hesitation, nor misgiving. I am satisfied to stand with the fathers and the statesmen of the past generations, with the men who framed our liberty and who founded our Constitution.

"I happened accidentally this morning, looking entirely for another subject, to find a passage from Dr. Johnson, in the great argument in which he assailed our revolutionary fathers, entitled 'Taxation no Tyranny.' If I were to have it read at the desk as a part of the speech of the gentlemen who have been defending this business here, everybody would say, 'Why, of course, that was exactly what they were saying; it sounds like last week and the week before last'—this doctrine that there can be no limitation of sovereignty, that a sovereign can do anything he pleases, that you are inferior, that a constitutional republic or a limited monarchy is inferior to a despotism or a tyranny. I read a paragraph as follows:

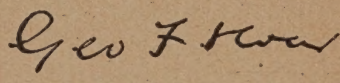
" 'All government is ultimately and essentially absolute, but subordinate societies may have more immunities, or individuals greater liberty, as the operations of government are differently conducted. An English individual may by the supreme authority be deprived of liberty for reasons of which that authority is the only judge. In sovereignty there are no gradations. There may be limited royalty, there may be limited consulships, but there can be no limited government. There must in every society be some power or other from which there is no appeal, which admits no restrictions, which pervades the whole mass of the community, regulates and adjusts all subordination, enacts laws or repeals them, erects or annuls judicatures, extends or contracts privileges, exempt itself from question or control, and bounded only by physical necessity.'

"That is the doctrine on which this present policy of ours stands. But John Adams and George Washington and Patrick Henry had something to say to the contrary. That pamphlet was published by Dr. Johnson in 1775 as 'An Answer to the Resolution and Address of the American Congress,' and the American Congress joined issue and they answered to the great moralist and philosopher, the tool and defender of absolute power, that governments get their powers from the consent of the governed, and that the only powers they get are just powers, and we claim for our newly constituted governments the right to do only those acts and things which free and independent States may of right do.

"Trampling on foreign peoples or disposing of them for our interests was not one of those things. They declare that it is the right of any people to institute a new government, and to not only 'organize its powers in such form,' but 'to lay

its foundation in such principles as to them'—not to anybody else—'shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.' And they declare that these things lie at the foundation of all governments, and are of higher and prior authority than government itself. They put that not only into their own declaration, but into the cotemporary Constitution of every American State; and the people of Virginia added to it that these rights are 'the basis and foundation of government,' and 'that no free government or the blessings of liberty can be preserved to any people but by frequent recurrence to these fundamental principles.'

"I wonder what sort of recurrence we are going to make to these principles this year? Can any man read them in the Senate without being denounced as a traitor? Can any Senator read George Washington's farewell address on his birthday without dropping his voice, or without a little laugh around the chamber when he repeats the counsel which for a hundred years we have followed? Will it not be a remarkable celebration of the Fourth of July if we have these 10,000,000 people all trampled under foot, and some of our friends cannot hear these great sentiments of the moral law as applied to the conduct of the States read again without saying, 'Oh, that is a traitorous message you are sending to men who are in arms for their liberty in a distant land'?"



CHAPTER XI.

SENATOR MASON OPPOSED TO EXPANSION.

"We Are Attacking People Without Arms"—"How Is the War to Be Concluded Without the Extermination of Those Poor People?"—"We Refuse to Permit the Rebel Party Men to Speak to Us"—"By What Authority Was Iloilo Fired Upon?"—"I Say We Made the Cause for War"—"We Shoot Them Down and Burn Their Buildings a la Weyler"—"How Long Shall Our Flag Remain Above an Unwilling People?"—The Whelp of a Lion and Cæsar's Ghost—England Never Guilty of More Cruelty—All Tyrants Charge Cutting Off Heads to the Lord—The Whole Archipelago Not Worth One American Boy—We Have Tasted Blood.

The Senator thought the Juggernaut car of the American forces would not go much further before the American people would be heard from. The Senator objected to our capture of Iloilo, and he said:

"If we were conducting a war against Spain, Great Britain, Germany, or any of the powers of the earth, I think I know my patriotic duty as well as do those gentlemen who have scolded me in the press and elsewhere. It would be the hour of the survival of the fittest, and I would stand by my country, right or wrong, ready to vote arms, munitions, or furnish whatever I had to give in defense of the preservation of my country. But here is a case where we are attacking people without arms, where we are making war against people who cannot defend themselves, and who thirty days ago were our allies—a war that is utterly unwarranted by any act of Congress. No declaration of war has been made by the war-making power, the Congress of the United States, against the people of the Philippine Islands. I ask any lawyer who claims to know international law whether, until the completion of the treaty of peace, we secure even the naked title of sovereignty which Spain had?

"It was claimed that upon the completion of the treaty of peace we should receive the title of sovereignty. I denied it. But now, for the purposes of the argument, suppose you have received the title of sovereignty which Spain had, you do not receive it until the completion of the treaty; and until the completion of the treaty of peace we have, under the protocol, only the right to keep Manila and its harbor.

"How is this war to be closed except by the extermination of those poor people? Admit, if you like, that Aguinaldo is dishonest; admit, if you like, that

he sold his country for thirty pieces of silver—which I deny and which the record does not prove; admit all you please, yet within three days Aguinaldo asked for an opportunity to quit, and what is his answer? Take the official report, which was published about February 8, and which stands uncontradicted, and it shows that Aguinaldo, ready to quit, asked for a conference, and General Otis declined to recognize or answer the rebel chief. When is this war to stop, when we refuse even to permit the rebel party to speak to us?

"The gentlemen who favored the treaty and urged it so strongly without any vote on the resolutions said in their speeches that when Spain ceded to us the Philippine Islands she ceded the sovereignty; that is, the right to govern.

"Now, I am an American. I do not believe you can sell the right to govern anybody. I do not believe you can do in international law that which is absolutely repugnant to and in conflict with the theory of the Government, but that we had a right, and for the purposes of the argument I said let that pass. It is only one of many questions, and for the purposes of the discussion which I am having now I say I will admit that you bought the sovereignty of Spain, I say that I am willing to admit that it carries the right to govern, but I say that until the treaty is complete you have no right by the armies and navies of your country to take possession of land which has not been ceded to you.

"I understand that now, to-day, the men who were rebels yesterday against the United States are rebels against Spain, and for legal necessity we must transfer their rebellion as against the sovereignty of Spain, in order that we may shoot them to death and still be within the line of constitutional and international law. Yesterday they were rebels against us, according to the statements, and to-day, in order to justify the burning of their villages, we have transferred the legal status, and they are now rebels against Spain and we are killing them because they are rebels against Spain and have broken the treaty. Such are the intricacies of international law, if you will permit the expression.

"Distinguished Senators who, upon this floor within one week, have declared them to be traitors and rebels against us are announcing a new doctrine this morning—that the Filipinos are rebels against Spain or that they are legally the subjects of Spain, and as subjects of Spain have broken the treaty of peace. To such extremities are gentlemen driven. Men fighting for liberty never have put such a construction upon statutes. It is only that frame of mind which sets out upon a beaten path, having announced its intention of drifting away from the lines laid down by the fathers, drifting away from the lines laid down by the Republican party in its last convention. With their heads set, they say, 'If we do not kill

them, they will have anarchy there. If we do not burn their towns, they cannot govern themselves.' By what authority was Iloilo fired upon by our guns? Have we declared war in this war-making body? Oh, no.

"Mr. President, we are in war. We have shifted the scene of action from war against Spain to war against the insurgents, who never did us any harm. We are fighting to-day men with bows and arrows in their hands who six months ago were our allies. There is no lawyer upon this floor, from the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, but who has admitted that they became our allies. Now, let us see whether some one has made a mistake; and if it is a mistake, it is a mistake of this Senate and of this country, and we are all equally to blame. It is our country. The Dred Scott decision was just as much the decision of Illinois as it was of South Carolina. Whatever wrong a nation does rests upon us equally and alike.

"At the close of this most holy war, when we gave notice to the world that we unlimbered our guns in the cause of humanity, before the treaty of peace was finally made, money considerations came in and indemnity was talked of, as though we had played the part of a good Samaritan at a price, at a per diem; and the moment money came into the peace treaty, that moment we descended from the high plane of liberty; that moment the trouble began. The moment the jingle of gold and silver was heard at your peace-treaty meeting in Paris, that moment the American people began to wonder and to revolt.

"Let us see where we are, Mr. President. At the close of this war we had two great islands in our hands that I am to speak of, the islands known as the Philippines and the Island of Cuba. One of the great questions that disturbed the American people was: What treatment shall the Philippine Islanders have? One class of people said: 'Let us pursue the course of the fathers; let us give to them the same thing we gave to Cuba.' Another class of gentlemen said: 'Oh, no; they are ours. We have bought them; we have bought them from the King.' Do you know that you never can buy a better title than the grantor has? The title of a king, the right of a king to govern, sovereignty to be sold like chattels.

"In one island, where we pursued the way of the fathers, there is peace; in the other island, where we have pursued the other way, there is war. Gentlemen say the Filipinos declared war. I say as a lawyer that the declaration and the casus belli came from us. I say that we made the cause for war; that they had some rights; that they presented their petition at our door; that they had a right to be heard; that they were our allies; and when they presented the petition here we kicked them out of the door. They crossed the water and at Paris they said

to the people there, 'You are parting our raiment; and, for God's sake, let us be heard for our people.' They were turned away there; and yesterday, when the rebel chief, as you call him, asked for the poor privilege of a conference, without knowing what request he had to make, you refused even to hear his voice, to hear his prayer, and you continue to burn his villages; and yet in this chamber we condemn the action of Weyler along the same lines! You do not have to shoot the first gun to declare war. You do not have to strike me to make me strike you.

"Mr. President, some one has made a mistake. We promised to Cuba ultimate independence. Is not that the promise? Is it not so nominated in the bond? On the Island of Cuba to-day the people are a little restless, a little weary, yet they are getting ready every day, and every hour, and they say, 'God bless the Americano!' while in the same zone, as the Senator from South Carolina says, the same class of people, having the same language, practically the same religion, practically the same sports, and of the same character, we have so conducted our business that their bows and arrows are aimed at us.

"But I heard the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin, when he gave a lecture the other day to the Senators who disagreed with him, declaim in loud voice against the Filipinos. You would have thought from his voice, his gesture, and from his language that the British lion had struck us a deadly blow. A few days ago gentlemen belittled the Filipinos and said they are mere children—they have not the mental or moral capacity to govern themselves; they are half man and half devil, half child and half brute—and yet those very distinguished gentlemen who so belittled them and put them on a lower plane are the gentlemen who boast the loudest of our bravery when we shoot them like dogs and burn their buildings a la Weyler!

"It has been charged by many, and believed by many, that we were to discard the liberty cap; that we were to go into the business of buying sovereignty, and we became so heroic here in the Senate after Dewey's splendid victory that we were going to lay aside the American eagle as our mark of nationality and become the whelp of the lion. I have had transmitted to me through some newspaper a suggestion as to whether we are to be the whelp of a lion. It is signed 'Cæsar's Ghost.'

"'The purring mother, stretched at ease within her island lair,
Throws high her tawny head and sniffs the blood smell on the air.
Slow lifting to her feet she roars across the angry sea,
I know thee now, my lion whelp, it can be none but thee!

"'I feel no more thy milk teeth haggling at my stingy breast;
I joy to know thou 'st tasted meat, young lion of the West!
Who said I bore an eagle that the jungle dark would shun,
And soar to heaven with eyes that look unflinching at the sun?

"'A lie! I know my growling cub, I know that glorious roar;
I've roared it oft on Indian fields, from Afric's golden shore.
He smacks his lusty lips, his eyes with blood-red fire are light;
His drooling jaws are sign of hunger and of prey in sight.

"'Beneath his paw I see a red man struggling to be free—
That is our playful way, to tease with hope of liberty—
What majesty! What lion likeness in that shaggy crest!
E'en I could not so tear that black man's heart from out his breast.

"'We will hunt together, cub—'

"Here is the alliance that you are coming to, gentlemen—

"'We'll hunt together, cub, on every land, by every sea,
And when we find a man not shirk responsibility,
O lion's whelp! I hear thy roar across the roaring main—
Thou art my cub, thou art the true (improved) imperial strain.'
—Cæsar's Ghost.

"Mr. President, differing somewhat with the poet who signs his name as Cæsar's Ghost, I deny that we are to become the lion's whelp. I confess that we are acting a little bit like it; I confess that when these islands were within our hands we had not patience enough, statesmanship enough, generosity enough, to tender those people something that would bring peace. The roar did sound more like that of the whelp of a lion than the screech of the eagle that stands for true Americanism.

"We have imitated England in all of her past cruelty to her colonists. England never was guilty of more cruelty. We are not defending our land now. Our declarations of war came when we sent our men there within the last few weeks, against the protest of the natives and without giving them a hearing. You are not waiting in Manila. You are extending your lines and burning towns. The villages you burned yesterday were not mentioned in the protocol, and the treaty is not signed. The treaty is not complete. We are taking revenge upon these poor weak children of the forest. England in her palmy days was never more cruel. Let us imitate Gladstone for one minute upon the subject of retrocession; let us imitate England,

as attention was called to her conduct by the distinguished Senator from South Carolina. The English flag was put over the Boers when they did not want it. I had hoped that the time would never come when the colors of our beloved country would go above an unwilling people. I had hoped that no living person would ever look into the sky and curse my flag; but you have put it to-day where 9,000,000 people are cursing your flag, your institutions, and they do not know the difference between Spain and America, either by your protestations or by your conduct.

"My country, right or wrong, but let us right her. The power to right her is here. In the last days of Gladstone's life he spoke of 'false shame.' The English flag was over the Boer, and was taken down by the civilization and the Christian thought of England. Let the dudes imitate the English dudes, if they will. Let them imitate England as long as they will; but if you have to have a little English in your conduct, take the example of William E. Gladstone. Read his last speech where he said the question is not who shall haul down the flag, but what is just. That is what we are looking for. I am not afraid of 'false shame.' I have seen a real gentleman apologize to a bootblack for a thoughtless word, and I have seen a bully kick a bootblack half across the street. Let us get a little of the Gladstone idea—not who shall pull down the flag, but how long shall our flag remain above an unwilling people.

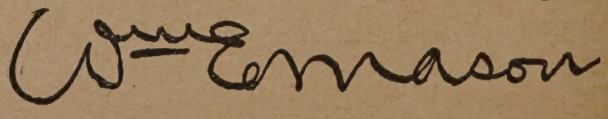
"'Oh, but,' they say, 'we put it over your people down South, and it was an unwilling flag.' Not so. The flag was there by contract. We simply fought to keep our flag where you had agreed it should be kept; and that difference is settled. We went into an agreement whereby the South was to stand by the North, the alliance being like a wedding that could not be divorced. We did not put the flag above an unwilling people. We kept it there after you had put it there yourselves. This is the first time in all the history of this beloved country of ours—this country which has attracted the admiration of the world—that the flag has ever floated over an alien who has cursed it. You love your flag and so do I. It is not an idle sentimentality. It means protection to my home; and the home of the Filipino is as sacred to him as yours is to you. The laws of nations, which I propose to discuss (and I shall read from the lecture of the distinguished Senator from Minnesota), is based upon justice, upon humanity, upon right. I have been pleading for their homes. I shall continue to do so until this session adjourns. I have learned something of the Republican-Democratic idea of home.

"I remember to have talked with a man within a few weeks who said to a man who lived away up in the Northland, where they have night for six months, 'If you had $500, what would you do?' 'Oh, I would go back to my old home and build a

house there.' There is six months darkness; it is cold and barren; but it is his home. Some of you people on both sides of this chamber remember when at Vicksburg our boys got so close to the Confederates that they talked back and forth. Every man kept his head below the breastworks. Our band played Yankee Doodle and theirs played Dixie. We played the Star-Spangled Banner and they played the Bonnie Blue Flag. I believe one Irishman put his finger up, and got a shot in his wrist. He said to his captain that he was seeking a furlough, but got a discharge. Every man, when Dixie and the Bonnie Blue Flag and the Star-Spangled Banner were being played, kept out of danger, until one of the bands finally struck up Home, Sweet Home. Then the guns went into the trenches. Then the men stood upon the breastworks. 'Hurrah, Johnnie!' 'Hurrah for home, Yank!' There was no danger with the music of home in the air.

"Mr. President, I have learned that every home made by human hands is a sacred thing. My country has proceeded, choosing the lines which best fitted and suited, along the line of empire, to take land without the consent of the inhabitants. No one denies that. They say we have a legal right. Oh, yes. But we knew, when we took the legal title, of the claim of those poor people. You are sending our boys over there, and the ships will be coming back loaded with their corpses. How many Senators have sons there now? How many Senatorial appointees have retired from the Commissary Department? Are we any less thoughtful of an American boy because he is not ours? I am told that we will subdue the Filipinos, and that it will not cost us over three or four thousand lives. I tell you that the whole group, the whole archipelago, is not worth the life of one American boy, trade and barter and dicker as you will.

"But distinguished and pious gentlemen say, 'God put them in our hands; it is destiny.' The Lord! There was never a tyrant who cut off heads who did not charge it to the Lord. All crimes are laid at that door. We profess to be a Christian nation and we have conducted our affairs with a weak, childish people in such a way that we are killing them hands down, and we say we must do it for their good. If you were honest about it, gentlemen, and could show me where you could steal something for your country, I could excuse it on the ground of high (?) statesmanship, but there is not a dollar in it for your country or for your States. It is murder. Then you pull the cloak around you and go into high places and say, 'Thank God, we are not as other men. We are Anglo-Saxons. We have worshiped at the throne of the Nazarene ever since we were born.' But, as Cæsar's ghost says, 'We have tasted blood.'"



CHAPTER XII.

EX-PRESIDENT CLEVELAND AND OTHERS NOT FOR EXPANSION.

Mr. Cleveland Thinks the Best Statesmanship Should Adhere to Conscience in Storm as Well as Sunshine—He Suggests We Should Not Kill People Who Would Lose Their Souls—Hon. Bourke Cochran Offers Objections to Expansion—Senator Money Takes a Favorable View of Aguinaldo—Mr. Bland Thinks Expansion Means to Enslave Americans to Plutocracy—Senator Caffery Says There Is No Opportunity for an Industrious White Man in the Philippines—Senator Tillman Quotes Kipling—Is Aguinaldo a Usurper Without Consulting Anybody?—Senator Turner on Grave State Reasons for Overriding the Opinion of Senator Foraker.

Ex-President Cleveland gave expression to his views on Expansion in an uncommon vein. He said:

"I do not care to repeat my views concerning the prevailing epidemic of imperialism and territorial expansion. Assuming, however, that my ideas on the subject are antiquated and unsuited to these progressive days, it is a matter of surprise to me that the refusal of certain natives of our new possessions to acquiesce in the beneficence of subjecting themselves to our control and management should not in the least disturb our expansionists. This phase of the situation ought not to have been unanticipated, nor the interests naturally growing out of it overlooked. The remedy is obvious and simple—the misguided inhabitants of our annexed territory who prefer something different from the plan for their control which we propose, or who oppose our high designs in their behalf, should be slaughtered. The killing of natives has been the feature of expansion since the inception of the policy, and our imperialistic enthusiasm should not be checked by the prospective necessity of destroying a few thousand or a few hundred thousand Filipinos. This should only be regarded as one stage in the transcendentally great movement, a mere incident in its progress. Of course some unprepared souls would then be lost before we had the opportunity of Christianizing them, but surely those of our countrymen who have done so much to encourage expansion could manage that difficulty. I saw it stated that ten million of cartridges are being manufactured in Birmingham, England, and that special metal is being used to prevent the shells from jamming in the gun barrels."

Mr. Cleveland wrote a letter of regret that he could not attend the celebration of the seventieth birthday of Carl Schurz that is held to be expressive of special

approval of the position of Mr. Schurz in opposition to expansion, and that seems to be the reading between the lines, as follows:

"Princeton, N. J., Feb. 18.—I regret exceedingly that I cannot promise myself the pleasure of participating in the celebration of Mr. Schurz' seventieth birthday. I find that an engagement which I had hoped might be postponed will prevent my attendance.

"My disappointment is measured by the extreme gratification it would afford me to contribute my testimony to the volume that will be presented on the occasion you have arranged in grateful support of Mr. Schurz' usefulness and patriotic citizenship. His life and career teach lessons that cannot be too often and too impressively emphasized. They illustrate the grandeur of disinterested public service and the nobility of fearless advocacy of the things that are right and just and safe.

"It will be a sad day for our country when, in the light of such an example, our people refuse to see the best statesmanship in steadfast adherence to conscience in storm as well as in sunshine.

"I believe that the most confident hope of the permanency and continued beneficence of our free institutions rests upon the cultivation by those intrusted with public duty and among the ranks of our countrymen of the traits which have distinguished the man whom you propose to honor.

Grover Cleveland

THE HON. BOURKE COCHRAN NOT FOR EXPANSION.

The Hon. Bourke Cochran said on the subject of expansion and imperialism that the event of a policy might be measured by its effect on the rate of wages paid to labor, for there was but one infallible test of prosperity in any country, and that is the condition of its producers. Therefore, when the effect of expansion on wages is discussed it is a discussion of its effect upon the general prosperity of the country. The speaker declared that in order to guard against confusion of terms it was necessary to distinguish between expansion, a word frequently occurring in the political literature of the country, and imperialism, a new expression. He defined expansion as the extension of our institutions through the enlargement of our frontiers. He

declared that imperialism is not the diffusion of American constitutionalism over new lands, but the establishment in conquered territory by this Government of another government, radically irreconcilable to the spirit of our own Constitution and essentially hostile to it. Expansion is the peaceful development of our political system by widening the area of its authority. Imperialism is the forceful exercise abroad by our Government of powers denied to it at home.

Mr. Cochran cited the absorption of Louisiana, Florida, Texas and California as instances of expansion, in the American sense, that is the extension of our political system. He said that to seize the Philippine Islands by violence and govern them through military forces would be an act of imperialism inconsistent with the principles upon which this Republic is founded, and therefore dangerous, if not fatal, to its security. Then Mr. Cochran took up the broad question of expansion, saying that to extend the beneficent authority of this Republic over the whole North American Continent would be a marvelous benefit to the people of this continent, to the people of Great Britain and to the whole human race. He dwelt at length upon this proposition, showing how it would settle irritating questions like boundaries and stimulate production by increasing the free trade area. The orator pointed out that while these benefits would flow from expansion, they would not and could not flow from conquest, for the forcible annexation of Canada would be an act of imperialism as unpr[illegible]table as it would be unjustifiable and as calamitous as it would be criminal. He added that if it could be accomplished by a single file of soldiers it would be none the less a policy of wickedness and folly. Forcible annexation would mean a subject p[illegible]pulation, discontented and therefore disloyal. Mr. Cochran said, and our authority could be maintained only by force—that is, by a standing army and a military rule, the republic that draws the sword against freedom in other lands will live to find the sword plunged into her own liberty.

Then the evil with the standing army, which he said always had been and always will be fatal to free institutions, was taken up. He maintained that the question of the twentieth century would be one not of boundaries but of economics, and that every dollar expended for munitions of war is a sterile dollar. The soldier in barracks or field must be supported, because he is withdrawn from the field of industry. The laborer, therefore, must produce not merely the wages that support himself, but also the pay and sustenance of the soldier. Thus, argued Mr. Cochran, a standing army diminished the compensation which a laborer can earn, while it imposes upon him the burden of supporting another man besides himself. The degradation which the laborer suffers from a standing army was said to be far worse than the spoliation. Mr. Cochran showed how the Republic had changed the con-

dition of the laborer. He said we have grown to be the most powerful nation of earth through the valor of citizen soldiers. The Government has rested secure upon its foundations in the consent of the governed. No force has been provoked except to vindicate justice.

Then the claims of the imperialists were taken up, Mr. Cochran showing that trade does not follow the flag, instancing this country's relation with England. He said that England is right, despite her colonies, not through them, and if the proposition were true Spain would be the richest country on earth. But her possessions have demoralized her government, and brought her to the abasement in which she lies to-day. Any system which entails a standing army cannot cheapen goods, but must advance prices, because it restricts the volume of production by withdrawing the best laborers from the field of industry. During the last ten years English trade has languished. Yet it has been a period of extraordinary territorial aggrandizement. Mr. Cochran challenged the imperialists to show an instance in which trade has been promoted by conquest. The imperialist abandons the contention and says that while foreign possessions may be unprofitable, it is, nevertheless, a duty imposed upon us to take up territory inhabited by weaker races, to civilize and subject them to the authority of our office-holders. And if it is necessary to shoot them as Kitchner shot the Dervishes in order to impose government upon them, he is willing to civilize them in that effective method.

SENATOR MONEY NOT FOR EXPANSION.

The Senator said in the Senate:

"After Dewey's glorious victory in Manila Bay our Consul, corresponding with him, asked if Aguinaldo could be of any service. Aguinaldo, as you recollect, is a man who in some quarters has been described as a sort of blackguard insurgent and a traitor against the United States. He never yet owed allegiance to us, and we have not had possession of his country. He has been proclaimed from time to time an adventurer, a traitor, and a bandit, and insulted by other opprobrious epithets. Mr. President, the records submitted to us for our guidance and information in this matter, from which I presume our able and efficient commissioners derived their information, show that this man has had a most honorable career, that he is a brave, honest, sincere, and able man, and that with all his opportunities he is poor."

Mr. Mason: "And that he never did sell his cause for money?"

Mr. Money: "He never sold anything for money. There had been a long and bloody struggle between Spain and her revolted subjects in the islands, both parties had suffered and were weary of the struggle, and to secure peace a treaty 'or agreement' was entered into. Spain agreed to correct abuses in the civil administration and introduce many reforms, and to pay a large sum of money for the widows and orphans of the insurgents who had fallen in battle. On their side the Tagals were to cease hostilities, and as a guarantee of tranquillity Aguinaldo and about fifty of his principal followers were to expatriate themselves. Four hundred thousand dollars was paid in cash to Aguinaldo, who, with his fellow exiles, went to Hongkong. No part of the balance of the stipulated sum was ever paid. One of Aguinaldo's officers sued for a division of the money. The dispute was settled by a payment out of court of $5,000 to the claimant. Aguinaldo was living modestly at Hongkong, declaring that the money was a trust fund and could not be put to a private use, and as the Spanish had failed to keep their promise of reform, it should be devoted to the purposes of another rebellion, and it was expended in the purchase of the munitions of war.

"It has been denied here that there was an insurrection there previous to the arrival of Dewey; yet this book, first submitted confidentially for our use and then made public by order of the Senate, shows that there was all the time no pacification there whatever, but insurrection unceasing; that in the months of January, February, March and April the insurgents were in arms, and that they were within five miles of Manila; that there were daily battles; that the hospitals were continually filled with wounded; that the dead were brought in every day, and news came of one battle after another all over the island of Luzon, and that the Spanish garrisons were besieged or had surrendered in many provinces. That is the testimony of our Consul at Manila, who was a witness of the things he spoke of and who is corroborated by many circumstances.

"These people were under arms to do what? To acquire their liberty, to conquer their liberty—these people, who had groaned for a hundred years under exactions and tyranny in comparison with which those which drove our forefathers into rebellion in 1776 were trivial—these people, not discouraged by repeated failures nor by bloody punishment, were making another effort, as they had been doing again and again for a hundred years. Then Aguinaldo was sent for, not to excite insurrection against Spain, but to control these forces already organized in rebellion in the interests of the American attack upon the Spanish forces in Manila and the islands of the Philippines. This is evidenced by the proclamation of the junta at Hongkong, by the proclamation of the junta at Singapore, by the correspondence

of our Consul, Mr. Pratt, at Singapore, of Mr. Wildman, at Hongkong, and of Mr. Williams, in the city of Manila.

"Aguinaldo, on his part, promised that he would conduct the war with humanity; that he would control the forces that were operating against the Spanish at that time around Manila, and he was only put on board ship at Singapore when Commodore Dewey telegraphed, 'Send Aguinaldo at once.' He went to Hongkong and there he put himself into the hands of another American consul, Mr. Wildman, who, in the secrecy of night, to prevent any interference, himself put Aguinaldo and seventeen of his officers on board the U. S. S. McCulloch and sent them to Manila. There he was put ashore and taken to the arsenal at Cavite and was furnished by the Americans with the arms which he required.

"The chiefs who were carrying on this revolution throughout the different provinces rallied around him and made him their leader. They came promptly in and gave their adhesion to him. Then the correspondence continued between General Anderson, commanding the American forces, and General Aguinaldo, commanding the insurrectionary forces of the Philippines. He was asked to give passes to our officers to go through his lines and was requested to furnish us with the material of war. He did give us carts, bullocks, horses, firewood, and everything else we demanded of him. In these communications he is called our ally; in others he is called our auxiliary; but in every instance, unaware of the instruction of our State Department, he trusted to the open declarations of our civil and military officers that he was our ally and auxiliary. It makes no difference what our mental reservations were, Aguinaldo acted in good faith, and we are compelled to make those people understand that we are not to repudiate the understanding which we gave of our relation to them.

" 'True hearts are more than coronets,
And simple faith than Norman blood.' "

MR. BLAND OF MISSOURI NOT FOR EXPANSION.

"We have been informed of a pressure on the part of Great Britain to induce this Government to maintain its authority over the Philippine Islands for the purpose of prosecuting further conquest in Chinese waters and over the Chinese Empire. That is the secret reason of this bill; and yet, Mr. Chairman, the people of

the country are not so informed, either by the President or the majority of this House.

"The diplomacy of England has always been marvelous. Isolated as Great Britain is among the nations of Europe, with great colonial possessions in her charge, and yet greedily seeking to force her way into China in competition with all Europe, she finds that allies and friends are necessary to accomplish this object. She has sought by every means that diplomacy could devise to commit us to a policy that would bring about the necessity of co-operating with her in order to carry out her designs. If England can succeed in inducing the American Government to hold the Philippine Islands at the point of bayonets (and we can hold them in no other way), it is quite apparent that the friendship of England and her aid will be necessary to our success.

"This is precisely what England wants. England wishes to place the United States in a position of dependency on her. We will then no longer be independent; will no longer have the position of absolute segregation from the broils of the Old World. Dependent upon England to hold Asiatic territory, we must of necessity aid her in her wars of conquest. It may be well to have the friendship of England; in fact, the friendship of all European countries; but it is far better not to need the friendship of any. The idea of a standing army of 100,000 men strikes the American people with horror. It forebodes plutocratic control by the use of the bayonet; it looks to a strong centralized power with an army at its back to subdue the people into silence and to plutocratic methods.

"A conservative estimate places the cost of each soldier in our army at $1,000 per year in time of peace. At the lowest estimate that can be made with safety an army of 100,000 men will tax the people of this country $100,000,000 annually. If this army must be utilized in the subjugation of the Philippine Islands, or to hold Porto Rico, the cost of transportation and ammunition and disease and death, resulting in pensions, will, in all probability, tax the people of this country $150,000,000 annually. We now pay out about $150,000,000 annually for pensions, which is charged to the military establishment, and to add to it another $150,000,000 would make a sum total of $300,000,000 a year spent as the result of war and the prosecution of war, as contemplated in this bill. The overtaxed and inhumanly burdened people would cry against it. This army, however, will be used to repress the efforts of the people to throw off their burdens and bring about reforms.

"I can not but regard it as a deep-laid scheme to enslave the American people under the present domination of plutocracy. English influence has been thus far successfully exerted in fixing upon our people the English gold standard. The

power of the Bank of England, the wealth of that country, over the banks and moneyed institutions of this country has brought to bear the combined power of the capitalists of England and America to control our financial system. The next move is to put our army and navy at the service of England in the prosecution of Asiatic conquest, the end of which no man can see. We have no use whatever for the Philippine Islands. To annex them is to practically abandon the Monroe Doctrine."

SENATOR CAFFERY NOT FOR EXPANSION.

"We ought to know whether or not the sugar, the rice, the hemp, and other products coming from the islands can come in with a duty or without a duty. That is a very material consideration for the people of my State. Some of them down there seem to be under the impression that the products of the islands can be taxed by the Congress of the United States as if they did not belong to the domain of the United States. I believe that is a wrong impression. I believe that taxation must be uniform. I know there are judicial precedents holding that view, and I believe that the precedents are in exact conformity with the Constitution of the United States.

"The Senator from Nevada says that there is no danger of competition from these islands; that the labor of the Tropics does not come to the temperate zone, and vice versa. That may be true, but if there is a condition of free trade existing between the United States and the Philippine Islands, what is to prevent American capital from exploiting the resources of that country through Malay labor and bringing the product here to compete with American labor?

"Given the conditions of free trade, given the conditions of a stable government, given the conditions of American capital and American ability to organize, why not make the Tropics flourish? Why not develop the resources of the Tropics in the Philippines to their highest extent? They already export 250,000 tons of sugar. They export a vast quantity of manila hemp, the best in the world. Under the conditions that American enterprise and capital and skill could create in those islands, all these products and many more to be developed would come in competition with the products of American labor right here at home.

"There is no opportunity there, as the Senator well remarks, for any hard-working, industrious white man to go to the Philippines. He can not stand the climate. If that were an uninhabited country in the temperate zone, notwithstand-

ing it is 7,000 miles away from our coast, if it could afford a place where the American workman, the American yeoman could settle and better his fortunes, it would not be a great evil; but as it is 7,000 miles from our coast, inhabited by a people who perhaps will, at least to a small extent, come here while certain it is that our people can not go there except as capitalists and exploiters."

SENATOR TILLMAN AGAINST EXPANSION.

The Senator said:

"There appeared in one of our magazines a poem by Rudyard Kipling, the greatest poet of England at this time. This poem, unique, and in some places too deep for me, is a prophecy. I do not imagine that in the history of human events any poet has ever felt inspired so clearly to portray our danger and our duty. It is called 'The White Man's Burden.' With the permission of Senators I will read a stanza, and I beg Senators to listen to it, for it is well worth their attention. This man has lived in the Indies. In fact, he is a citizen of the world, and has been all over it, and knows whereof he speaks:

" 'Take up the White Man's burden—
Send forth the best ye breed—
Go, bind your sons to exile,
To serve your captives' need;
To wait, in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child.'

"I will pause here. I intend to read more, but I wish to call attention to a fact which may have escaped the attention of Senators thus far, that with five exceptions every man in this chamber who has had to do with the colored race in this country voted against the ratification of the treaty. It was not because we are Democrats, but because we understand and realize what it is to have two races side by side that can not mix or mingle without deterioration and injury to both and the ultimate destruction of the civilization of the higher. We of the South have borne this white man's burden of a colored race in our midst since their emancipation and before.

"It was a burden upon our manhood and our ideas of liberty before they were emancipated. It is still a burden, although they have been granted the franchise. It clings to us like the shirt of Nessus, and we are not responsible, because we inherited it, and your fathers, as well as ours, are responsible for the presence amongst us of that people. Why do we as a people want to incorporate into our citizenship ten millions more of different or of differing races, three or four of them?

"But we have not incorporated them yet, and let us see what this English poet has to say about it, and what he thinks:

" 'Take up the White Man's burden—
No iron rule of kings,
But toil of serf and sweeper—
The tale of common things.
The ports ye shall not enter,
The roads ye shall not tread,
Go, make them with your living
And mark them with your dead.' "

SENATOR TURNER AGAINST EXPANSION.

The Senator said Senator Foraker, while asserting the power of the Government, in the broadest terms, to acquire dominion over other peoples in any manner known to the law of nations, and for any purpose, and to govern them without respect to the Constitution, says that the resolutions presented by the senior Senator from Missouri present a moot question and are unimportant, because no person in the administration, from the President down, has the remotest idea of denying to the Filipinos the utmost liberty and independence in forming their government.

It was noted extensively in the press of the country, while our commissioners were in Paris, that they were in daily touch with the President, and were acting wholly and entirely under his guidance and direction. I find in the treaty, negotiated by our commissioners under this direction of the President, evidence of such a character that it must override the opinion of the distinguished Senator from Ohio. I find in that solemn instrument not only a cession to us by Spain of sovereignty over the Philippines, but an acceptance by us of that sovereignty, the language with respect to the Philippines differing so radically from that employed with reference to Cuba as to preclude the idea that it was intended to treat both countries alike.

It is true that the Senator asserts that there were grave state reasons for the difference in phraseology employed with respect to the two countries, which can be stated with propriety only behind closed doors. But to the plain, average American citizen it is difficult to see why we may not protect the Filipinos in the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness while forming their government, and afterwards, for the matter of that, as well as we may protect the people of Cuba.

CHAPTER XIII.

PROMOTION AND ADVOCACY OF EXPANSION.

Ex-President Harrison's Policy of Territorial Permanency and Message on the Annexation of Hawaii—Senator Lodge Says We Succeeded to the Sovereignty of Spain in Manila, and Philippine Patriots Have Never Been Oppressed by Any American Act—Senator Stewart Says Filipinos Can Never Come Here to Interfere with Labor—Senator Platt of Connecticut Says the Doctrine of Senator Hoar Would Have Prevented Our Possession of the Pacific Coast States—General Grosvenor Vindicates General Otis—Senator Platt of New York Says We Are Not Forcing Our Government Upon an Unwilling People—Senator Foraker Says Opposition Senators Talk About Theory—Mr. Brosius of Pennsylvania Quotes a Pearl of Poetry—Governor Oglesby Expands—Two of Kipling's Poems Much Quoted in Congress.

EX-PRESIDENT HARRISON PROMOTES EXPANSION.

In his exceedingly instructive book, "This Country of Ours," p. 277, Ex-President Harrison makes way in principle for territorial expansion. Speaking of the admission of territories into the Union, he says:

"Out of this habit of dealing with the public domain has come the common thought that all territory that we acquire must, when sufficiently populous, be erected into States. But why may we not take account of the quality of the people as well as of their numbers, if future acquisitions should make it proper to do so? A territorial form of government is not so inadequate that it might not serve for an indefinite time."

In his message to the Senate on the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands President Harrison said:

"To the Senate:

"I transmit herewith, with a view to its ratification, a treaty of annexation concluded on the 14th day of February, 1893, between John W. Foster, Secretary of State, who was duly empowered to act in that behalf on the part of the United States, and Lorrin A. Thurston, W. R. Castle, W. C. Wilder, C. L. Carter, and Joseph Marsden, the commissioners on the part of the Government of the Hawaiian Islands. The provisional treaty, it will be observed, does not attempt to deal in detail with the questions that grow out of the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States. The commissioners representing the Hawaiian Government

have consented to leave to the future and to the just and benevolent purposes of the United States the adjustment of all such questions.

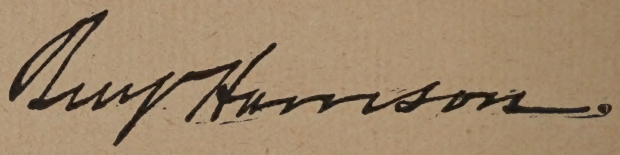
"I do not deem it necessary to discuss at any length the conditions which have resulted in this decisive action. It has been the policy of the administration not only to respect, but to encourage the continuance of an independent government in the Hawaiian Islands so long as it afforded suitable guaranties for the protection of life and property, and maintained a stability and strength that gave adequate security against the domination of any other power. The moral support of this Government has continually manifested itself in the most friendly diplomatic relations and in many acts of courtesy to the Hawaiian rulers.

"The overthrow of the monarchy was not in any way promoted by this Government, but had its origin in what seems to have been a reactionary and revolutionary policy on the part of Queen Liliuokalani which put in serious peril not only the large and preponderating interests of the United States in the islands, but all foreign interests, and indeed the decent administration of civil affairs and the peace of the islands. It is quite evident that the monarchy had become effete and the Queen's government so weak and inadequate as to be the prey of designing and unscrupulous persons. The restoration of Queen Liliuokalani to her throne is undesirable, if not impossible, and unless actively supported by the United States would be accompanied by serious disaster and the disorganization of all business interests. The influence and interest of the United States in the islands must be increased and not diminished.

"Only two courses are now open—one the establishment of a protectorate by the United States, and the other annexation full and complete. I think the latter course, which has been adopted in the treaty, will be highly promotive of the best interests of the Hawaiian people, and is the only one that will adequately secure the interests of the United States. These interests are not wholly selfish. It is essential that none of the other great powers shall secure these islands. Such a possession would not consist with our safety and with the peace of the world. This view of the situation is so apparent and conclusive that no protest has been heard from any government against proceedings looking to annexation. Every foreign representative at Honolulu promptly acknowledged the Provisional Government, and I think there is a general concurrence in the opinion that the deposed Queen ought not to be restored.

"Prompt action upon this treaty is very desirable. If it meets the approval of the Senate, peace and good order will be secured in the islands under existing laws until such time as Congress can provide by legislation a permanent form of

government for the islands. This legislation should be, and I do not doubt will be, not only just to the natives and all other residents and citizens of the islands, but should be characterized by great liberality and a high regard to the rights of all people and of all foreigners domiciled there. The correspondence which accompanies the treaty will put the Senate in possession of all the facts known to the Executive.



"Executive Mansion,
"Washington, February 15, 1893."

SENATOR LODGE FOR EXPANSION.

The junior Senator from Massachusetts says:

"There was an insurrection in the Philippines under the lead of Aguinaldo. The insurrection was dealt with ruthlessly by the Spaniards and was substantially put down. They made an agreement with Aguinaldo and the other chiefs by which on the payment of a certain sum of money and the establishment of certain reforms the chiefs were to withdraw and the insurrection come to an end. In a perfectly characteristic manner, in fact just as they behaved in Cuba in 1878, after the chiefs had yielded and the insurrection was substantially over, the Spaniards failed to make the reforms and paid only half the money. With that money Aguinaldo and his chiefs retired to Hongkong, and, although there was guerrilla warfare here and there in the outlying districts, the insurgent Filipinos were absolutely at the mercy of the Spaniards and the Spanish authority was complete as it always had been over those islands. There was no other sovereignty there. There was no belligerent there.

"Aguinaldo was brought to the islands on the 19th of May in the steamer Nanshaw, under American auspices. There was at that time no organized Filipino force. At first the results of his appeal were so discouraging that he was disinclined to continue. But he did remain, on representations of support made by our commanders. Then the Filipinos began to come in. They found a very great difference between the situation when they had last faced it and the situation after Admiral Dewey's destruction of the Spanish fleet. So long as there were Spanish ships of war in

Manila Bay it was absolutely hopeless for the insurgents to think for one moment of besieging the city or of making any effective attack upon the capital which was the center of the whole Philippine system. But with the Spanish fleet destroyed, with the bay in the hands of the American fleet, they were enabled to draw their forces gradually about the city, and they did so. When Aguinaldo first came into connection with our consuls he said to them that his desire was for annexation to the United States and for freedom from the Spanish rule. After he had got over again to Luzon and found how much the situation had changed, he gradually began to increase his ideas of his own importance. He had never adjusted his own rela tions to the universe, and they remain unadjusted, I think, at the present time.

"But the essential point I desire to make is simply this: The insurgent force, as an effective force, and the insurgent rebellion, as an effective rebellion, existed solely because of the victory of Admiral Dewey, and the Admiral, as you may see by reading his dispatches, said to our Government, 'I have been extremely careful in all my dealings with these people. I have never made them the allies of the United States. I have never recognized them. I have simply aided them because they were fighting the common foe.' Admiral Dewey can be trusted, I think, to manage a matter of that sort without committing the United States to any position to which it should not be committed.

"Now, to-day we are there in the city of Manila rightfully by all the laws of war and by all international law. We hold it, as we have a right to hold it, under the agreement with Spain. There was no sovereignty there whatever except the sovereignty of Spain, and we succeeded to that sovereignty in the city of Manila and its suburbs. There has never been an act of oppression against the Filipinos by any American soldier or by the American forces of any kind in the Philippine Islands. Those patriots have never been oppressed by any American in the active service of the country, or by any American act. Their oppression exists solely in speeches in the United States Senate. They have been treated with the utmost consideration and the utmost kindness, and, after the fashion of Orientals, they have mistaken kindness for timidity."

H. C. Lodge

SENATOR PLATT OF CONNECTICUT FOR EXPANSION.

Mr. Platt said of Senator Hoar:

"He holds me up here as opposed to applying to the people of this acquired territory the principles of legislation in accordance with the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution. The United States never have legislated in opposition to the Declaration of Independence and to the Constitution, and it never will. I want to say that an application of the doctrines of the Senator from Massachusetts would have prevented our expansion westward across this continent to the Pacific coast. We found here this continent in the hands of the Indians, who did not want us here, nor did they want to be placed under our government. Notwithstanding that condition, we established our government here, and now, at last, we have brought many Indians to a state of civilization and citizenship.

"We propose to proclaim liberty and justice and human rights in the Philippines or wherever else the flag of this country shall be planted. Who will haul those principles down?"

SENATOR STEWART FOR EXPANSION.

Senator Stewart of Nevada says of the labor question in our new possessions:

"I have heard it suggested here that the Filipinos would interfere with our labor system. It seems to me that impression is founded in profound ignorance or want of investigation. There never has been in the history of the world emigration of laborers from the tropical to the temperate zone. I have heard the Chinese alluded to as if they had done it. That is not true. The Chinese who have come to this country come from a climate entirely similar to ours. You never see any of the Formosans, or southern Chinese, who live in a tropical climate, coming here.

"Such a thing never happened, and it never will. They do not go from India to England, nor from the tropical portions of Africa to England, although they are under the English Government. A case can not be cited where the inhabitants of the Tropics have gone to a temperate zone to labor, and they are not coming here to labor. The difficulty is they do not labor enough at home. It has frequently happened that men have gone from temperate to tropical zones to labor, but not with great success; they do not stay there long. So the labor question is eliminated by nature.

"Then, again, if we have these islands with their tropical productions, which

are our main imports, we shall have the balance of trade in our favor. Heretofore it has been against us, owing to the importations of tropical products, such as sugar, coffee and tobacco. The balance of trade against us of two or three hundred million dollars a year, perhaps, has come from these tropical productions. I do not propose at this time to go into details. These products come from that source where we can be supplied, and if we are supplied by a part of our own country, we should not have to pay the money out to foreigners.

"Besides that so far from being against American labor, it would be greatly in favor of American labor, for we would manufacture everything that those people require. Manufacturing is always done in the temperate zone, always has been, and always will be, and it will not be done elsewhere. We would have the exclusive trade, and we should have an enormous trade in supplying them with our productions and our manufactures. The American people, in view of these facts, may come to the conclusion that we want to keep all the islands when that question is open to consideration. It seems premature to preclude ourselves as to the question by any resolution when no action is required. Let us wait until action is required, and then act in view of the condition of things that may then be developed and understood."

GENERAL GROSVENOR FOR EXPANSION.

General Grosvenor quotes the proclamation by authority of the President of the United States, at Manila, January 4th, by General E. S. Otis, Military Governor, saying that his instructions direct him to publish and proclaim to the inhabitants of these islands that in the war against Spain the United States forces came here to destroy the power of that nation and to give the blessings of peace and individual freedom to the Philippine people; that we are here as friends of the Filipinos, to protect them in their homes, their employments, their individual and religious liberty; and that all persons who, either by active aid or honest endeavor, co-operate with the Government of the United States to give effect to these beneficent purposes will receive the reward of its support and protection.

The President concluded his instructions in this language:

"It should be the earnest and paramount aim of the administration to win the confidence, respect and affection of the inhabitants of the Philippines by insuring to them, in every possible way, the full measure of individual rights and liberty which is the heritage of a free people, and by proving to them that the mission of

the United States is one of beneficent assimilation, which will substitute the mild sway of justice and right for arbitrary rule. In the fulfillment of this high mission, while upholding the temporary administration of affairs for the greatest good of the governed, there will be sedulously maintained the strong arm of authority to repress disturbance, and to overcome all obstacles to the bestowal of the blessings of good and stable government upon the people of the Philippine Islands."

General Otis added:

"It is also my belief that it is the intention of the United States Government to draw from the Philippine people so much of the military force of the islands as is possible and consistent with a free and well-constituted government of the country, and it is my desire to inaugurate a policy of that character.

"I am also convinced that it is the intention of the United States Government to seek the establishment of a most liberal government for the islands, in which the people themselves shall have as full representation as the maintenance of order and law will permit, and which shall be susceptible of development on lines of increased representation and the bestowal of increased powers into a government as free and independent as is enjoyed by the most favored provinces of the world.

"It will be my constant endeavor to co-operate with the Philippine people, seeking the good of the country, and I invite their full confidence and aid."

It was this that wounded the feelings of the sensitive Aguinaldo and caused him to make war.

General Grosvenor also quoted the President's letter to the Secretary of State, to commissioners sent to Manial, Schusman, Dewey, Otis, Worcester and Derby, saying:

"The commissioners were enjoined to announce their presence and the mission entrusted to them and to consider what amelioration in the condition of the inhabitants was practicable. The President's instructions, the orders of General Otis, all official language on the part of the United States, was most pacific, and Aguinaldo's agony of wrath rose because the Americans did not submit to his dictatorship, which was impossible under the articles of capitulation of the Spanish army, held as prisoners of war."

SENATOR PLATT OF NEW YORK FOR EXPANSION.

The Senator says the talk about forcing our government upon an unwilling people, all the eloquent invocation of the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, is far and away from any real point that concerns the Senate in this discussion.

There are reasons why the natives of those islands, after their experience with Spanish misrule, should misunderstand the presence at Manila of an American army, but there is no reason why an American Senator should misunderstand it and no justification of his course in misrepresenting it. He knows that there is no American in all this broad land who wishes any other fate to any single native of the Philippine Islands than his free enjoyment of a prosperous life. He knows that close in the wake of American rule there would come to the Filipinos a liberty that they have never known and a far greater liberty than they could ever have under the arrogant rule of a native dictator. He knows, moreover, that it would be self-rule, the rule of the islanders to the full extent of their capacity in that direction, and that each successive American President would welcome the time when he could recommend new leases of self-government to an advancing and improving people.

The Filipinos may not know these things yet, but every American Senator knows them and puts himself and his country in a false position when, by attributing the spirit of conquest and aggression to those whose policy has rescued the Filipinos from Spain and would now rescue them from native tyrants, he encourages them to doubt the generous sentiment of our people.

SENATOR FORAKER FOR EXPANSION.

The Senator declared the right of the Government to establish a colonial system had never been before called in question. He asserted that at the time of the Louisiana purchase grave doubts were entertained by the distinguished statesmen of that era as to the constitutional power of Congress to confer statehood upon the new possessions. It was generally conceded, he said, that they could be held as dependencies and governed at the pleasure of Congress.

He further declared that in every instance where the United States acquired territory the Constitution of the United States was extended over it and that all legislation provided by Congress for such acquired territory must and always is distinctly in accordance with the Constitution.

The Senator maintained that the Government of the United States had ample power to acquire territory by treaty, and he demanded to know of Mr. Hoar if he did not think territory so acquired was acquired constitutionally.

"The trouble," continued the Senator, "is that Senators are talking about a theory instead of a practical condition. What have the Senators who have dis-

cussed these theories proposed? Nothing. You all know the precedents of the condition we face. We had made war and its fortunes had carried us to the Philippines. When the end came those islands were in our possession. What was to be done? Four possibilities existed. We might return the islands to Spain, allow some other country to seize or gobble them up, the people of the islands might be left to themselves and the anarchy that existed there or we ourselves might take possession of them. The unanimous voice of the country was opposed to the return of the islands to the tyrannical government of Spain.

"The return of the islands to Spain was, therefore, not to be considered. Were they then to be left to themselves? About the time this question was confronting us I saw repeated newspaper statements from Aguinaldo and his associates among the insurgents to the effect that all the countries of Europe would be on their backs before breakfast if the United States deserted them at that juncture. We could not leave the islands at the mercy of other countries. Such a course would have been cruel. We could not desert the people of the islands, and subject them to the risks of disorder, anarchy, misrule and mob rule while they might be still unfit for self-government. But occupation was not to be permanent.

"I do not understand that anyone desires anything but the ultimate independence of the people of the Philippines," said he emphatically, "neither the President nor any one in this chamber."

"But what about our right if we chose to hold them permanently, with no thought of their ultimate independence?" inquired Mr. Hoar.

"We have an unquestioned right to do so," was the reply.

"It had been asserted here in debate, as I understood, that it was the purpose of the administration and the purpose of those supporting the administration to take those islands and hold and govern them as a colony by force of arms forever in violation of the declaration of that resolution. That is what I was speaking to, and the language I employed should be interpreted in the light of the resolution which I was discussing.

"I did not say anything about anybody's present purpose except only as that might be inferred from the statement I made that I knew nobody had the particular purpose in mind which had been ascribed to the administration by those who had spoken in favor of the resolution.

"What I said was in reply to interruptions and questions, repeated questions, and there is, therefore, a good deal of repetition in my remarks, but the spirit in which I spoke will appear from the following. In answer to the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Hoar), I said:

"'I do not understand anybody to be proposing to take the Philippine Islands with the idea and view of permanently holding them and denying to the people there the right to have a government of their own if they are capable of it and want to establish it. I do not understand that anybody wants to do that. I have not heard of anybody who wants to do that. The President of the United States does not, I know, and no Senator in this chamber has made any such statement.'

"When I spoke of what I knew of the mind of the President of the United States in that particular, I was speaking simply of his public declarations and of his official acts as well, all of which were in contradiction of the idea that by sword and bayonet and shot and shell he meant to hold those islands without regard to the conditions that might exist there and without regard to whether or not the people of those islands consented or objected.

"Speaking again, I said that 'only two things were left' for us to do with respect to the Philippines. I was speaking on that point. This is my language:

"'Only two things were left—to leave them to themselves at once and retire immediately, taking no responsibility whatever for the condition there obtaining, or else take charge of them by cession from Spain, asking the world to have confidence in this great Government, which has ever sought to do right, that we will deal with them as they should be dealt with.'

"In answer to another question from the Senator from Massachusetts, I said:

"'What I have said in answer to the Senator is in the Record, and will show that I do not know of anybody who wants to take possession of the Philippine Islands and govern the people of those islands indefinitely against their will by force of arms.'"

HON. MARRIAT BROSIUS OF PENNSYLVANIA FOR EXPANSION.

Mr. Brosius expressed himself pleased with a gentleman from Indiana because he did not revise, revamp, and reiterate the argument heard so often, that it would be very wicked and wrong and unpatriotic for this Republic to compel by force, against the will of the people, the annexation of the Philippine Islands to the United States. Since no one has ever proposed such a policy, I sweep from the floor of debate all that kind of argument in the simple language of Abraham Lincoln, in replying to his distinguished rival, Senator Douglas, when he said:

"Does the gentleman expect to stand in majestic dignity and pass through his apotheosis and become a god by his antagonism to a proposition which neither man nor mouse in all God's creation has ever advocated?"

As to tradition, it was the wise reflection of the philosophic Buckle "that of all the ways in which truth has been distorted, there is none that has worked so much harm as an exaggerated respect for the past."

Jefferson, the original American expansionist, suggested that this country would not tolerate the Gothic idea of looking backward instead of forward for our improvements in government or religion, or consulting the annals of our ancestors for the duties we owe the present.

History abounds in illustrations of the fatality of submissive acquiescence in the traditions of the fathers.

After the obstacles the geographic traditions of the patriotic fathers had thrown in the way of maritime adventure and discovery were overcome, says Dr. Draper, their ethnological traditions led to one of the monumental tragedies of history. It was believed by the Spaniards, for the fathers had so declared it, that the people of Asia, Africa, and Europe, descending through the sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, comprised all the people on the earth of Adamic descent. When they found the New World inhabited, a question arose: What was the lineage of these new people?

The voice of the fathers was altogether against their Adamic descent. St. Augustine had denied the globular form of the earth; and there could be no human beings outside of Asia, Africa, and Europe, since none are mentioned in the Scriptures. So the Spaniards, following the traditions of the fathers, proceeded to treat the natives of South America as outside the pale of the Adamic race and enslaved and murdered them by the millions.

The fathers themselves knew that each century must do its own thinking. They would have agreed with Dr. Abbott, that if one generation has no Washington or Jefferson or Hamilton it must create them or die. They were wise enough to judge opinions as they judged coins—considering much less whose inscriptions they have than what metal they were made of; that soundness of opinion was more to be valued than their antiquity. Their minds were free from the shackles of the past. They knew that new occasions teach new duties.

To-day, and not a hundred years ago, is the judgment day for the question of American expansion.

But it remains to be said that this policy is not in violation of the traditions of the fathers of the Republic, as strenuously contended in some quarters. Our policy for a hundred years has been one of expansion. We have expanded from the Alleghenies to the Golden Gate and far out into the Pacific Sea. The eagle's wings have grown until they are 8,000 miles from tip to tip.

Jefferson not only desired Cuba, but Canada as well, and saw no insuperable difficulties in the Constitution to the attainment of so desirable an acquisition. Not only the fathers, but the sons of the fathers had the same hunger and thirst for the righteousness of empire. In 1854 President Pierce directed Buchanan, Mason, and Soule, our ministers at London, Paris, and Madrid, to meet in some European city to confer in regard to the best means of getting possession of Cuba. Jefferson had some scruples at first about the constitutional warrant for the purchase, but he soon disposed of them, and in his message to the special session of Congress convened to act on the treaty no allusion was made to the subject. He entertained no doubt of the wisdom of the purchase, and was not alarmed at the growth of our domain. Alluding to the apprehension some were under of danger to the Union, from the enlargement of our territory, he said: "But who can limit the extent to which the federative principle can operate effectively? The larger the association the less will it be shaken by local passions."

I have faith to believe that we will be equal to our opportunities and worthy the grand and noble destiny that awaits us. We have but to remember what it is the primal duty of Americans never to forget, "That man is more than nations, that wisdom is more than glory, that virtue is more than dominion of the sea, and that justice is the supreme good."

"Lord, God of hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget, lest we forget."

In closing I give my countrymen this sentiment:

"And so I give you all the ship of state,
Freedom's last venture is her priceless freight,
God speed her, keep her, bless her, while she steers
Amid the breakers of unsounded years.
Lead her through danger's paths with even keel
And guide the honest hand that holds her wheel."

In the lap of the Orient, mother of nations, I fling this pearl of poesy:

"Mother Asia, we stand at your threshold.
In far immemorial yore
We left you, great Mother of Nations,
And now we return to your door.
We have circled the seas and their islands,
We have found us new worlds in the main,
We have found us young brides o'er the alien tides—
Now we come to our mother again.

"We wandered through ages unnumbered,
We were mad with the fever to roam,
But the new flag that waves at Manila
Proclaims that your sons have come home.
There are weeds in the Gardens of Morning,
There are mildew and dearth and decay,
And your blind days are drear and your heart has grown sere,
The years that your sons were away.

"But turn your old eyes to the seaward
Where the flag of the West is discerned.
Be glad, gray old Mother of Nations,
The youth of the world has returned.
They come with the wealth of their wanderings,
They come with the strength of their pride;
Now, old mother, arise and lift up your dim eyes—
Behold your strong sons at your side.

"They will toil in your Gardens of Morning,
They will cleanse you of mire and fen;
You shall hear the glad laughter of children,
You shall see the strong arms of young men.
New hope shall come back to your borders,
Despair from your threshold is spurned,
A new day shall rise in your Orient skies—
The youth of the world has returned."

GOVERNOR OGLESBY EXPANDS.

The venerable ex-Governor and Senator made these expansive remarks:

"We have got to meet this question about the Philippines. Now, just what in the devil to do I don't know. We have got them and I am ever so much obliged to Senator Davis for the information about the origin and growth and conclusion of the treaty and of the commissioners upon both sides. I know more about it than I ever did before, yet I knew enough about it before to be in favor of it. I didn't hemstitch or backstitch on it particularly. I was for it. So were you all, I suppose. Yes, I thought so. Now, we have got these Philippines. We don't know what kind of people they are. But they are people—made in the image of God, it is said. I don't think that was the sentiment when the original

scheme was put on foot. I don't think it was any part of the programme in the Garden of Eden. But there they are, human beings. They aren't animals. They merely have intelligence enough to have risen in rebellion against Spain, and they have sense enough to still remain so against us. It is going to take time to tell them what to do. They are a long way from us. I wish it wasn't so far. It costs a good deal to get there. I could go to Minnesota and back ten times for one-fifth of the fare.

"They are away off in front of China, not far from the equator. I don't know how they would have stood this cold spell we have had here. I think a little dose of that kind of weather would put a republic into them. They have got to lay down their arms. We have got to put that rebellion down. We have got to tackle the subject. The President says he will leave it to Congress. So would I if I could get out on that doctrine. But I am behind Congress. Congress is responsible to me and to you and to all of us private citizens. We are the power behind the throne."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN EXPANSION.

Area of Our Territory When Jefferson Wrote the Declaration of Independence—The Westward Course of Acquisition—The Northwest Territory Added—Acquiring All Territory East of the Mississippi River—Exploring Expeditions Into Western Territory—The Louisiana Purchase—Views of Jefferson and Congress in 1803—Annexation of Texas—Acquiring California and New Mexico—The Alaska Purchase—Expansion Opinions of Law Writers—Decisions of the Supreme Court on the Subject of Acquiring Territory—Beneficial Effects of Expansion—We Need Not Fear the Future, and We Dare Not Step Backward—The Dream of Columbus Will Soon Be Realized.

The expansion of the United States since the thirteen original colonies became the nation has been vast and various. Our enlargement has been steady. Each generation has gathered under our flag more land for the people. The credit of the latest and most applicable, exact and excellent, pertinent, apt to time and up-to-date history of these transactions belongs to the Hon. James R. Mann of Illinois. He says:

"When Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence we had but a little more than 400,000 square miles, and now we have nearly ten times that area. The original thirteen States cover an area of 341,752 square miles, but included in them were the present States of Vermont, Maine and Kentucky, an area of 82,892 square miles, which, added to the area of the thirteen original States, aggregates 424,644 square miles. This was the real area of the colonies which revolted from Great Britain and adopted the Declaration of Independence.

"The territory included within the present States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Tennessee, that part of Minnesota lying east of the Mississippi River, and those parts of Alabama and Mississippi lying north of the thirty-first parallel of latitude were, by the treaty with Great Britain of 1783, acknowledged to belong to our country. Various parts of this territory were claimed by Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia under the colonial grants or patents from England, and by Virginia as discovered and conquered territory.

"The various interests of these States were afterwards ceded to the General Government. New York was the first State to make a cession to the General Government, but her claim was an indefinite, undefined one of no merit, to the country lying west of Pennsylvania and north of the Ohio River. Massachusetts and Connecticut also claimed the territory lying west of Pennsylvania between

their respective north and south boundary lines extended west to the Mississippi River. But it is now generally conceded that the State of Virginia was the State which had the best title to the territory lying north of the Ohio River, called the Northwest Territory and now embracing the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and that part of Minnesota east of the Mississippi River.

"In the original charters and grants to the various colonies Massachusetts and Connecticut had each been granted lands running westerly to the Pacific Ocean, then known as the South Sea. It was under these grants that those States claimed the portions of the Northwest Territory lying between their north and south boundary lines, respectively, extended west to the Mississippi, which river had, prior to that time, been fixed as the boundary line between the British and the Spanish possessions. Virginia also claimed a large portion of the Northwest Territory by reason of a similar grant.

"But prior to the war of the Revolution no settlements had been made by either of these colonies in this Northwest Territory, and, on the contrary, that territory had been taken possession of and settled by the French, and the rights of France had been, with the rest of Canada, surrendered to Great Britain by the treaty of 1762 in a way which made it free from the claims of the colonies.

"Kentucky had been more or less settled by expeditions from Virginia, as well as Tennessee, to a certain extent, from North Carolina. South Carolina claimed a small strip of land a few miles wide running westerly from her western boundary through what is now the extreme north end of the States of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi to the Mississippi River. Georgia claimed the larger portion of what is now Alabama and Mississippi.

"The different States interested ceded their interests in this western territory to the General Government. In 1781 New York ceded its indefinite claim, as well as some land now in Erie County, Pennsylvania, comprising 315 square miles. The cession by Virginia, made in 1784, including Kentucky, amounted to 256,562 square miles. The cession of Massachusetts, made in 1785, was for a claim covering about 54,000 square miles. Connecticut, by her acts of 1786 and 1800, ceded her claim covering about 40,000 square miles. The cession of South Carolina, in 1787, covered 4,900 square miles; that of North Carolina, in 1790, 45,600 square miles, and that of Georgia, in 1802, 88,578 square miles.

"By virtue of the several acts of cession from these seven original States, as well as by virtue of its claims under the treaty of 1783, the National Government came into possession of all that territory lying south of the British domain, east of the Mississippi River, and north of the thirty-first parallel of latitude.

"EXPANSION DURING REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

"But the area thus ceded by the various States to the National Government, and embraced within the limits of the Northwest and Southwest Territories, did not constitute a part of the revolting colonies when the Declaration of Independence was adopted. A large share of this area had been once, constructively at least, a part of Florida. Subsequently it became a French possession and was considered a part of Louisiana and Canada. When, following the fall of Quebec, the French possessions in North America were surrendered by the treaty of 1762 to Great Britain, the forts and settlements in the Northwest Territory were governed as a part of Canada. The British had one fort at Detroit, one in Kaskaskia, in southern Illinois, and one at Vincennes, on the Wabash, in southern Indiana.

"The story of how this western territory east of the Mississippi River became a part of our country is one of the most dramatic and instructive lessons of our history. It is worth the reciting here somewhat in detail, because it illustrates the position taken by the founders of our nation at the time of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, and prior to and at the time of the reorganization of the National Government under the Constitution.

"It was owing to the intrepidity of one man. He gained for the revolting colonies the right to claim the easterly half of the Mississippi Valley. That man was George Rogers Clark, who was born in Virginia, November 19, 1752. He became a surveyor, and in 1775 emigrated to Kentucky and was soon selected by his fellow-colonists to attend the Virginia Legislature, to which, however, he was not admitted as a member.

"When the Revolutionary war broke out no effort was made by the revolting colonies to gain any foothold in the far West or to capture any of the British forts in that region. But George Rogers Clark, traveling back and forth between Kentucky and Virginia, conceived the enterprise of adding to the revolting colonies, which he believed would surely win their struggle, the great British possessions lying east of the Mississippi and north and south of Kentucky. Those possessions were wild, almost a wilderness, but inhabited by numerous tribes of Indians.

"Clark laid before Governor Patrick Henry, of Virginia, and the members of the governor's council, including Thomas Jefferson, his plan of capturing the British forts north of the Ohio River, and thereby acquiring for Virginia the immense domain north of that river. He was authorized by Governor Henry to raise seven companies of fifty men each to attack the British forces at Kaskaskia.

Colonel Clark made his rendezvous at the Falls of the Ohio, where now stands Louisville, and gathered together such men as he could readily obtain.

"On June 24, 1778, his command, consisting of 153 men, broke camp at Louisville and started down the Ohio River in rowboats. Relays of oarsmen kept the boats moving during both night and day for four days and nights, when the command landed at a point on the Ohio River somewhat east of where Cairo, Ill., now is—a distance of about 120 miles southward from Kaskaskia. Kaskaskia was then a town of about 1,000 French inhabitants, located at or near where Chester, Ill., now is. There was no road between the Ohio River and Kaskaskia, and the way was a wilderness—much of it a very swampy or rough country.

"Colonel Clark's command had no wagons or pack horses with which to carry their baggage, supplies, or ammunition. On the evening of July 4, 1778, the command had arrived within three miles of the town of Kaskaskia, but with the Kaskaskia River yet to cross to reach there. After dark some boats were obtained, the river crossed, the town surrounded, the fort broken into, the British governor and troops captured, and before daylight Colonel Clark had possession of the entire place. His command had been six days on the road from the Ohio River to Kaskaskia, moving at the rapid rate of twenty miles per day, and during the last two days almost without food.

"Discovery by the British scouts or the Indians would probably have resulted in their annihilation, but this little band of less than 200 men, after rowing by turns for four days down the Ohio River and marching for six days through an unknown wilderness, without supplies, without a road, and without transportation facilities, had captured the military capital of the West, well provided with provisions, cannon, and soldiers, without the firing of a gun. Such a daring of purpose and celerity of execution has seldom been equaled in the world's history. Following the capture of Kaskaskia, the British post at Vincennes surrendered to an officer whom Clark sent there to demand its surrender.

"The governor of Virginia was informed of the success, and in October, 1778, an act was passed by the Legislature of Virginia organizing the county of Illinois, which included all the territory of the Commonwealth northwest of the Ohio River.

"It is proper to add that the French settlers in the territory were not consulted by the Virginia Legislature, nor was the question asked whether they consented to or desired the change of government.

"But this new territory was not to be so easily won. Hamilton, who was the

British governor of the territory and located at Detroit, heard of the success of Clark's invasion with surprise and indignation.

"He hurriedly collected a force and on December 15, 1778, appeared before the fort at Vincennes with an army numbering five or six hundred and consisting mostly of Indians. There were only two American soldiers at the fort to defend it—a Captain Helm and a private by the name of Henry. They planted a cannon in the open gateway of the fort, and as Governor Hamilton and his command approached Captain Helm cried out, 'Halt!' standing by the cannon with a lighted match. The British officer demanded the surrender of the fort, whereupon Helm asked what terms of surrender would be given, and Hamilton replied that they might surrender with all the honors of war. The American garrison thereupon capitulated and Captain Helm and his force of one man marched out before the British command.

"The fall of Vincennes was soon communicated to Colonel Clark at Kaskaskia, who was not in an easy position. He was without money, provisions, or supplies, and so far away from Virginia that he could not even get word there in time to receive assistance. Hamilton had a larger force and had, besides the assistance of the Indian tribes, sufficient supplies, ammunition, and money. It was obvious that in the spring Hamilton would be enabled, with his superior force, to crush Clark and regain possession of the western capital at Kaskaskia for England.

"The control and destiny of an empire in extent and importance depended upon the action to be taken. Fortunately for the history of our country, there was a Colonel George Rogers Clark at Kaskaskia. To wait at that point was to invite inevitable defeat. He conceived the hazardous enterprise of marching across the country, surprising and capturing Governor Hamilton and his command at Vincennes.

"On February 5, 1779, Colonel Clark, with a force of about 175 men, started from Kaskaskia to march to Vincennes, a distance of 175 miles, though it was estimated by Clark that he traversed a distance of 240 miles by the way taken. It was at the worst possible season of the year. The snows had melted, and a large portion of the ground was under water. The creeks and swamps were enlarged to wide dimensions. The weather was stormy and rainy. Much of the time there was a cold drizzling rain. Part of the time, when crossing the creeks, the men would be compelled to push aside the floating blocks of ice. At night there was no dry place to lie down, and they had no tents for shelter.

"The supply of provisions ran out, and during the last few days the men were almost without food, and as they came toward the end of the march it was

imperative that discovery should be avoided, and hence the shooting of game was prohibited. On February 21, when they were trying to get through swamps and marshes and the overflow of the Wabash River, they were compelled to wade through water in some places up to the neck, and the weather was so cold that in the morning the ice had frozen from one-half to three-quarters of an inch in thickness.

"But on February 23, 1779, Clark and his command attacked Governor Hamilton in Fort Sackville at Vincennes, surprising him, and on the next day Hamilton surrendered.

"The possession thus acquired was never lost. No rhetoric can add to a simple recital of the facts. In hazard of undertaking, in celerity and hardship of execution, and in the success and importance of its results this short campaign of Colonel Clark in the winter month of February, 1779, has seldom, if ever, been equaled. Through the daring and the genius of one man the great Northwest had come into the possession of Virginia. From that time on the Continental Congress, in its discussion of a possible treaty of peace with Great Britain, insisted that the Northwest Territory, from the Great Lakes southward, as well as the remainder of the British possessions east of the Mississippi River, should be considered as belonging to the revolting colonies.

"And in the year 1779, while the war was in progress, but it seemed as though peace were possible, the Continental Congress considered in secret the terms upon which it would agree to peace with Great Britain, and in March, 1779, it was agreed by Congress that in case of peace it would insist upon the Mississippi River for the western boundary of the revolting colonies, from the source of the Mississippi to the thirty-first parallel of north latitude. Again, in August, 1779, instructions were agreed on by the Congress to give to a commission to be appointed for the purpose of negotiating peace, and again it was insisted that the Mississippi River should be the western boundary line.

"The natives of that vast tract of country, mostly unexplored, were tribes of Indians. Most of the settlements were French. But it was not proposed or discussed that it was necessary to have an expression by vote or otherwise of the desires of the inhabitants of the territory acquired, nor was any tender sentimentality indulged in by these makers of the Declaration of Independence. They saw that they had captured the British forts and capitals; they saw a valuable domain which might be added to their territory, and they promptly saw the value of keeping it.

"But all of the colonies did not have colonial claims to portions of the newly

acquired territory. It soon became evident that the new domain might easily become either a cause of dissension or a cause of closer union. If the States which claimed the new territory insisted upon their respective claims, then the new territory might easily cause disputes or even war. But if the newly acquired territory should be turned over to the General Government, then there would be a domain of great value belonging to the central Government which would give it stability and strength.

"I have already referred to the claims and the grants by the separate States to the General Government, but before those grants were made seven of the original States claimed colonies for themselves. Virginia had claimed and exercised the right of increasing her territory by conquest under Colonel Clark.

"The cession from Virginia, by the act of December 20, 1783, contained the provision that the cession was upon condition that the territory so ceded should be laid out and formed into States, and that the States so formed should be admitted as members of the Federal Union, having the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence as the other States.

"THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

"The Constitutional Convention met in 1787. The Federal Government at that time had acquired the western territory, which it was understood would eventually be admitted as separate States in accordance with the Virginia cession. The ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory by a governor and judges had just been considered and passed. The question of the acquisition and government of new territory was therefore a live and familiar question with the framers of the Constitution.

"Let me recall the circumstances connected with the adoption of section 3, Article IV, of the Constitution, providing that—

" 'New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union. * * * The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States.'

"The Constitutional Convention adopted various preliminary resolutions concerning the form of government and constitution to be adopted, and on July 26, 1787, referred them to a committee of detail as the basis for a draft of a constitution. Among these preliminary resolutions was:

" '17. Resolved, That provision ought to be made for the admission of States lawfully arising within the limits of the United States, whether from a volun-

tary junction of government and territory or otherwise, with the consent of a number of voices in the National Legislature less than the whole.'

"There was no other provision relating to government of territory or admission of new States in these preliminary resolutions. On August 6 the committee of detail reported a draft of a constitution, which contained—

" 'Art. 17. New States lawfully constituted or established within the limits of the United States may be admitted by the Legislature into this Government; but to such admission the consent of two-thirds of the members present in each House shall be necessary. If a new State shall arise within the limits of any of the present States, the consent of the Legislatures of such States shall be also necessary to its admission. If the admission be consented to, the new States shall be admitted on the same terms with the original States. But the Legislature may make conditions with the new States concerning the public debt which shall be then subsisting.'

"When this article came up for consideration in the convention, after some discussion Gouverneur Morris moved as a substitute:

" 'New States may be admitted by the Legislature into the Union; but no new States shall be erected within the limits of any of the present States without the consent of the Legislature of such State as well as of the General Legislature.'

"This substitute was amended by the convention so as to read as follows:

" 'New States may be admitted by the Legislature into the Union; but no new State shall be hereafter formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any of the present States without the consent of the Legislature of such State, as well as of the General Legislature.'

"This substitute as amended was adopted, though New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland voted against it. The following clause was then added:

" 'Nor shall any State be formed by the junction of two or more States or parts thereof without the consent of the Legislature of such States, as well as of the Legislature of the United States.'

"Mr. Carroll of Maryland thereupon moved to add:

" 'Provided, nevertheless, that nothing in this Constitution shall be construed to affect the claim of the United States to vacant lands ceded to them by the treaty of peace.'

"Up to this time in the constitutional convention there had been no suggestion of any provision granting to the General Government authority to control or regulate the acquired territory. This could not have been, because the subject was not in the minds of the members of the convention. They had adopted reso-

lution after resolution in reference to the form of government; they had proceeded in the consideration of the report of the committee of detail; they were thoroughly acquainted with the fact that Congress had assumed control of the newly acquired western territory; they knew well that Virginia had ceded her claim to the Northwest Territory to the Federal Government, but it seems to have been assumed as a matter of course that any government organized under the Constitution would have authority to deal with its own property and its own domain. But some of the members of the convention were insistent that no provision should be inserted in the Constitution which should injure the claim of the United States to the lands ceded by the treaty of peace, and hence the provision which Mr. Carroll, of Maryland, moved to add.

"After some discussion, however, Mr. Carroll withdrew his motion and moved the following:

" 'Nothing in this Constitution shall be construed to alter the claims of the United States, or of the individual States, to the Western Territory; but all such claims shall be examined into, and decided upon, by the Supreme Court of the United States.'

"Gouverneur Morris was the member of the convention who most frequently appeared as the draftsman of the various provisions agreed upon, and he moved to postpone the amendment of Mr. Carroll in order to take up the following:

" 'The Legislature shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution contained shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims, either of the United States or of any particular State.'

"This provision was adopted the same day and is practically identical with the provision in the Constitution. The history of its adoption seems to strongly indicate that it was intended to confer upon Congress full, absolute, and unrestricted authority over the territory or other property belonging to the United States.

"THE ORDINANCE OF 1787.

"The Constitution was framed and adopted at a time when the question of government of the Northwest Territory was being discussed and decided upon. The ordinance of 1787, for the government of the Northwest Territory, provided for the appointment of a governor and three judges; and it was provided that—

" 'The governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the district such laws of the original States, criminal and civil, as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances of the district, and report them to

Congress from time to time; which laws shall be in force in the district until the organization of the General Assembly therein, unless disapproved of by Congress.'

"The General Assembly or Legislature was to be organized when the district contained a voting population of 5,000. It was to consist of the governor, a legislative council of five, appointed by Congress from ten persons named by the territorial House of Representatives, and that house to be elected by the people. An act was required to be passed by the representatives and a majority of the council and to receive the assent of the governor, who was given an absolute veto power.

"The ordinance of 1787 was approved by the Congress elected under the new Constitution. That ordinance gave to the people of the Northwest Territory no choice in the selection of their governor or judges, who were to select and modify laws for them. And even when the population should become 5,000, they could only elect one branch of the Legislature, and the governor appointed by the General Government was to have an absolute power of veto. No scruples about the just powers of government depending upon the consent of the governed hindered these practical men, who had organized a revolution for liberty, adopted a Declaration of Independence, framed a new Constitution, and inaugurated a new Government, from adopting practical common sense in the government of a new Territory.

"THE INDIANA AND MISSISSIPPI TERRITORIES.

"The Indiana Territory was organized out of 'the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio River' by act of Congress, May 7, 1800, with a government 'in all respects similar to that provided by' the ordinance of 1787.

"The Mississippi Territory was organized with a similar government.

"THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

"But the men who framed the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution not only had an opportunity to give practical effect to their construction of those instruments by the organization of Territories in the new possessions east of the Mississippi River, but they also had a still more conspicuous opportunity to construe those instruments in the acquisition and government of Louisiana.

"In 1541, De Soto had reached the Mississippi River. Father Marquette

descended it to its mouth in 1673, and in 1680 La Salle descended the Mississippi and took possession of the country adjacent in the name of Louis XIV. of France and called it Louisiana.

"In 1706 the French colonists settled on the site of what is now New Orleans. In 1717 the Louisiana country was granted by Louis XIV. to the company upon which was based John Law's great Mississippi scheme. But this charter, after the failure of the company, was surrendered in 1730. By the treaties of 1762 and 1763 all of the French possessions west of the Mississippi, as well as the city of New Orleans, on the easterly side, were ceded to Spain, and the French possessions east of the Mississippi, excepting the island of New Orleans, and also the Spanish possessions east of the Mississippi were ceded to Great Britain. During the war of the Revolution Spain had recaptured the British possession of East and West Florida, and these were ceded back to her by the treaty of 1783. The Spanish, therefore, came to control both sides of the Mississippi River at its mouth and the west side throughout its entire length.

"By the treaty with Spain of October 27, 1795, the southern boundary line of our country was fixed at 31° north latitude from the Mississippi River east, giving Spain control of the Mississippi from that line southward, but it was provided in that treaty that the King of Spain—

" 'will permit the citizens of the United States, for the space of three years from this time, to deposit their merchandise and effects in the port of New Orleans and to export them from thence without paying any other duty than a fair price for the hire of the stores; and His Majesty promises either to continue this permission if he finds, during that time, that it is not prejudicial to the interests of Spain, or if he should not agree to continue it there, he will assign to them, on another part of the banks of the Mississippi, an equivalent establishment.'

"This was for the accommodation of the settlements along the east side of the Mississippi River and along its tributaries.

"But France still looked with covetous eyes upon this great colonial possession which years before she had ceded to Spain, and by the secret treaty of San Ildefonso, October 1, 1800, Spain retroceded the province of Louisiana to France, though France did not then take possession, and the world was not made aware of the treaty for a year and a half.

"While the Spanish were still in possession of New Orleans and Louisiana, but after the execution of the treaty ceding that province back to France, the Spanish intendant at New Orleans, who had charge of such matters, declared by a proclamation October 16, 1802, that the right of deposit no longer existed, which

meant that the citizens of our country could no longer ship their farm or other produce down the Mississippi River in river boats and deposit the same there until it should be shipped away by vessel free of duty or other imposts.

"About the same time it became known that Spain had ceded the province of Louisiana back to France and it was generally believed by the American citizens that this policy was one agreed upon between Spain and France for the purpose of taking away from the Americans the right of free navigation on the Mississippi River.

"At that time river navigation was the only practicable method of shipment from a large share of the Mississippi valley, and if the right of deposit should remain suspended our nation's interests in the Mississippi valley would be bottled up tighter even than Cervera's fleet at Santiago.

"The opposition to President Jefferson wanted to declare war and take forcible possession of New Orleans. Jefferson himself came to the conclusion that it was necessary for the United States to own at least one side of the Mississippi from its source to its mouth in order to maintain free navigation, and he commissioned James Monroe, afterwards President, to act with Robert Livingston, then minister to France, in an effort to purchase New Orleans and the rest of Louisiana lying east of the Mississippi River from France, and Congress appropriated the sum of $2,000,000 to be applied for that purpose.

"The critical condition of affairs is strongly shown by the letter which President Jefferson wrote on January 13, 1803, to Mr. Monroe, informing him of his appointment, and in which he said:

" 'On the event of this mission depend the future destinies of this Republic. If we can not by a purchase of the country insure to ourselves a course of perpetual peace and friendship with all nations, then, as war can not be distant, it behooves us immediately to be preparing for that cause.'

"Fortunately for our country, France and England were then on the verge of another war. England looked with grave objection upon the acquirement by France of the immense Louisiana province, and Napoleon, who was then the first consul of France and its ruler, quickly saw that in case of war the English, with their superiority at sea, would soon take possession of New Orleans and obtain control of the Mississippi River territory.

"On Easter Sunday, April 10, 1803, Napoleon called two of his counselors who were best acquainted with the French foreign possessions and asked their advice. He said:

" 'I know the full value of Louisiana, and I have been desirous of repairing the

fault of the French negotiator who abandoned it in 1763. A few lines of a treaty have restored it to me, and I have scarcely recovered it when I must expect to lose it. But if it escapes from me it shall one day cost dearer to those who oblige me to strip myself of it than to those to whom I wish to deliver it. The English shall not have the Mississippi, which they covet.'

"And after hearing from his advisers, one in favor of selling the province to the United States and the other in favor of retaining it, Napoleon said:

" 'Irresolution and deliberation are no longer in season. I renounce Louisiana. It is not only New Orleans that I will cede. It is the whole colony, without any reservation. I know the price of what I abandon, and I have sufficiently proved the importance that I attach to this province, since my first diplomatic act with Spain had for its object the recovery of it. I renounce it with the greatest regret. To attempt obstinately to retain it would be folly. I direct you to negotiate this affair with the envoys of the United States.'

"A treaty of purchase was agreed upon by which the United States was to acquire not only New Orleans on the east bank of the Mississippi, but the vast province of Louisiana, extending from the Gulf along the west bank of the Mississippi its entire length, reaching in its northern part, as claimed by many, across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean.

"For this territory the United States was to pay France the sum of $11,250,000 of principal, payable within fifteen years with interest, and also pay the sum of $3,750,000 to American citizens having valid claims against France.

"The treaty was not received with favor by all classes in this country. The purchase went far beyond the authority which had been granted to Monroe and Livingston. They had been compelled to act on their own judgment. Napoleon was not willing to wait for instructions from home. It would take three months for our commissioners in Paris to communicate with their home Government. Delay was dangerous both to France and to the United States. It was known by both Monroe and Livingston that the President, who had appointed them, was a believer in a strict construction of the powers granted by the Constitution. They had been commissioned by him to purchase a small bit of territory on the eastern bank of the Mississippi near its mouth, for a moderate sum, purely in aid of river commerce and navigation, and now they were offered a vast empire, which in time must become settled and governed, and for this they were asked to pay a sum which in those days was no inconsiderable amount, and to accept a provision in the treaty that the inhabitants would be incorporated as citizens of the United States.

"Possibly if there had been cable connection between Paris and Washington in that day the result would have been different. Perhaps if daily instructions could have been sent by wire from Jefferson to his commissioners in Paris, there would have been no treaty agreed upon. Probably we should never have acquired the domain west of the Mississippi River. There might have been there now a province of France, a colony of England, or an independent French or English speaking nation to limit our western growth and dispute with us the national superiority on the Western Hemisphere.

"The opponents of Jefferson did not take kindly to the treaty. The price paid, the character of the people acquired, the quality of the land purchased, the danger of unduly extending the limits of a republic, the violation of the Constitution by the provisions of the treaty, the lessons to be drawn from the growth and destruction of the Roman republic, in fine, all the objections to the expansion of a nation or the acquisition of new territory which the ingenuity of the human mind has been able to devise, seem to have been the subject of severe and learned comment by the opponents of the treaty for the Louisiana purchase.

"Jefferson himself was not free from constitutional scruples.

"In a letter from President Jefferson to Senator Breckenridge, dated August 12, 1803, he said:

" 'The treaty must, of course, be laid before both Houses, because both have important functions to exercise respecting it. They, I presume, will see their duty to their country in ratifying and paying for it, so as to secure a good which would otherwise probably be never again in their power. But I suppose they must then appeal to the nation for an additional article to the Constitution approving and confirming an act which the nation has not previously authorized. The Constitution has made no provision for our holding foreign territory, still less for incorporating foreign nations into our Union. The Executive, in seizing the fugitive occurrence, which so much advances the good of their country, has done an act beyond the Constitution.'

"VIEWS OF PRESIDENT JEFFERSON.

"In a letter to Senator Nicholas, of Virginia, September 7, 1803, President Jefferson said:

" 'I am aware of the force of the observations you make on the power given by the Constitution to Congress to admit new States into the Union without restraining the subject to the territory then constituting the United States.

But when I consider that the limits of the United States are precisely fixed by the treaty of 1783, that the Constitution expressly declares itself to be made for the United States, I can not help believing that the intention was not to permit Congress to admit into the Union new States which should be formed out (outside) of the territory for which, and under whose authority alone, they were then acting.'

"In a letter from President Jefferson to Secretary of State James Madison, dated August 25, 1803, Jefferson said:

" 'Further reflection on the amendment to the Constitution necessary in the case of Louisiana satisfies me it will be better to give general powers, with specified exceptions, somewhat in the way stated below. * * *

" 'P. S.—Louisiana, as ceded by France to the United States, is made a part of the United States. Its white inhabitants shall be citizens and stand as to their rights and obligations on the same footing with other citizens of the United States in analogous situations. Save only as to the portion thereof lying north of the latitude of the mouth of the Oreansa River, no new State shall be established nor any grants of land made therein other than to Indians, in exchange for equivalent portions of land occupied by them, until amendment to the Constitution shall be made for these purposes.

" 'Florida also, whenever it may be rightfully obtained, shall become a part of the United States. Its white inhabitants shall thereupon be citizens and shall stand, as to their rights and obligations, on the same footing with other citizens of the United States in analogous circumstances.'

"In a letter from Jefferson to Levi Lincoln, his Attorney-General, dated August 30, 1803, he proposed the following draft of an amendment to the Constitution:

" 'Louisiana, as ceded by France to the United States, is made a part of the United States. Its white inhabitants shall be citizens and stand as to their rights and obligations on the same footing with other citizens of the United States in analogous circumstances. Save only as to that portion thereof lying north of an east-and-west line drawn through the mouth of the Arkansas River, no new State shall be established, nor any grants of land made other than to Indians in exchange for equivalent portions of land occupied by them, until an amendment of the Constitution shall be made for these purposes.'

"These letters from President Jefferson, in the light of present claims, are very instructive. Jefferson at that time was taking the position that under the Constitution there was no authority for that provision of the treaty providing that

the inhabitants of the ceded territory should be incorporated into the Union. He could not have believed there was no authority to acquire new territory by purchase, because he had appointed Monroe and Livingston as commissioners for the purpose of effecting a purchase of New Orleans and had obtained from Congress authority to expend $2,000,000 in that undertaking.

"It must, therefore, have been the opinion of Jefferson that, under the Constitution, the Government had authority to purchase New Orleans and hold it as a possession of the United States, but did not have authority to admit its inhabitants to all the rights of citizens or to subsequently create the new acquisition into a State or States to be admitted into the Union on equal terms.

"The inference is irresistible that Jefferson believed that under the Constitution our Government had authority to acquire new territory to be governed by Congress as a possession or colony.

"This view is strengthened by the draft of amendment proposed by Jefferson. Jefferson's proposition was that the Constitution should be amended so as to permit the admission of new States to be formed out of a part of the Louisiana purchase, but that a portion of the new acquisition should not be admitted. As to a portion of the territory acquired by the treaty, he proposed that no new State should be established out of it without a further amendment to the Constitution.

"The claim is now frequently made that under the Constitution Congress has authority only to legislate for Territories for the purpose of subsequently creating them into States to be admitted on equal terms into the Union. Such certainly was not the view of President Jefferson, who proposed to adopt an amendment providing that a portion of the territory acquired should never be admitted as a State except by further amendment of the Constitution. Here again is an irresistible inference that Jefferson believed Congress had the power under the Constitution to control, regulate and legislate for Territorial possessions or colonies without any view of forming them into new States.

"VIEWS OF CONGRESS IN 1803.

"The treaty for the Louisiana purchase was ratified by the Senate in October, 1803, at a special session of Congress called by the President for the purpose of considering it; and immediately bills were introduced to authorize the President to take possession of and govern the new province, and to provide for the payment of the sum agreed to be paid to France.

"The discussion of these measures in the House and Senate gave to the members of those bodies an opportunity to express their views both as to the advisability

and the constitutionality of the treaty and the purchase. No study of the subject of our national growth would be at all complete without a full and careful reading of the debates at the extra session of 1803. The statesmen who then sat in Congress were near enough, in point of time, to the Declaration of Independence and the formation of the Constitution to feel in touch with the real spirit of those documents. And what is very remarkable in the discussion was that the opponents of the treaty did not once in the course of a most determined opposition refer to the sacred rights of man proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence or to the proposition that the just powers of government depend upon the consent of the governed and the proposed overriding of those principles by the provisions of the treaty. They had far less imagination than gentlemen of the present day.

"One of the provisions in the Louisiana purchase treaty was that—

" 'The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States and admitted as soon as possible according to the principles of the Federal Constitution to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States.'

"The insertion of such a provision in the treaty would seem to indicate that at least the draftsman of the treaty did not believe that the mere cession of the territory to the United States would make it such a part of the United States as to extend the jurisdiction of the Constitution and the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States to the inhabitants of the ceded territory.

"The treaty also contained a provision giving a discrimination in favor of French and Spanish ships coming into the ports of entry within the ceded territory for the space of twelve years.

"Let me direct your attention to the constitutional provisions upon the subjects of uniformity of duties and discrimination between ports.

"Section 8 of Article I of the Constitution provides that Congress shall have the power—

" 'To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.'

"Section 9 of Article I provides that—

" 'No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.'

"Notwithstanding these provisions of the Constitution, it was provided by Article VII of the treaty that—

"'As it is reciprocally advantageous to the commerce of France and the United States to encourage the communication of both nations, for a limited time, in the country ceded by the present treaty, until general arrangements relative to the commerce of both nations may be agreed on, it has been agreed between the contracting parties that the French ships coming directly from France or any of her colonies, loaded only with the produce or manufactures of France or her said colonies, and the ships of Spain coming directly from Spain or any of her colonies, loaded only with the produce or manufactures of Spain or her colonies, shall be admitted during the space of twelve years in the port of New Orleans, and in all other legal ports of entry within the ceded territory, in the same manner as the ships of the United States coming directly from France or Spain or any of their colonies without being subject to any other or greater duty on the merchandise or other or greater tonnage than those paid by the citizens of the United States. * * *'

"Although the treaty had been ratified by the Senate, it was strongly attacked in the House of Representatives on the ground that it was unconstitutional, and hence illegal, and that Congress was not therefore bound to consider it as the law of the land or make appropriations or enact legislation for the purpose of carrying out its provisions and giving it full effect. The discussion in the House and the legislation which was enacted are most instructive. I take the liberty of calling attention to full and fair extracts from speeches by leaders both on the side of the Presidential party, which favored the treaty, and the opposition, which denounced it. I quote from the Annals of Congress.

"IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, OCTOBER, 1803.

"In discussing the effect of the treaty Mr. Mitchell, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representatives, in October, 1803, said:

"'There is nothing compulsory upon the inhabitants of Louisiana to make them stay and submit to our Government. But if they choose to remain, it has been most kindly and wisely provided that until they should be admitted to the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States they shall be maintained and protected in the enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess. What would the gentleman propose that we shall do with them? Send them away to the Spanish provinces, or turn them loose in the

wilderness? No, sir; it is our purpose to pursue a much more dignified system of measures.

"'It is intended, first, to extend to this newly acquired people the blessings of law and social order; to protect them from rapacity, violence, and anarchy; to make them secure in their lives, limbs, and property, reputation, and civil privileges; to make them safe in the rights of conscience. In this way they are to be trained up in a knowledge of our laws and institutions. They are thus to serve an apprenticeship to liberty; they are to be taught the lessons of freedom; and by degrees they are to be raised to the enjoyment and practice of independence. All this is to be done as soon as possible—that is, as soon as the nature of the case will permit, and according to the principles of the Federal Constitution.

"'Strange that proceedings declared on the face of them to be constitutional should be inveighed against as violations of the Constitution!

"'Secondly, after they shall have been a sufficient length of time in this probationary condition, they shall, as soon as the principles of the Constitution permit, and conformably thereto, be declared citizens of the United States. Congress will judge of the time, manner, and expediency of this. The act we are now about to perform will not confer on them this elevated character. They will thereby gain no admission into this House, nor into the other House of Congress. There will be no alien influence thereby introduced into our councils.

"'By degrees, however, they will pass on from the childhood of Republicanism, through the improving period of youth, and arrive at the mature experience of manhood. And then they may be admitted to the full privileges which their merit and station will entitle them to. At that time a general law of naturalization may be passed. For I do not venture to affirm that, by the mere act of cession, the inhabitants of a ceded country become, of course, citizens of the country to which they are annexed. It seems not to be the case, unless specially provided for. By the third article it is stipulated that the inhabitants of Louisiana shall hereafter be made citizens; ergo, they are not made citizens of the United States by mere operation of treaty.'

"Mr. Smilie, of Pennsylvania, stated that he—

"'Agreed in opinion with the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Varnum] that the Constitution of the United States did not extend to this territory any further than they were bound by the compact between the ceding power and the people. On this principle they had a right, viewing it in the light of a colony, to give it such government as the Government of the United States might think proper, without thereby violating the Constitution; when incorporated into the

Union, the inhabitants must enjoy all the rights of citizens. He would thank gentlemen to show any part of the Constitution that extends either legislative, executive, or judicial power over this territory. If none such could be shown, it must rest with the discretion of the Government to give it such a system as they may think best for it.'

"Mr. John Randolph said:

"'A stipulation to incorporate the ceded territory does not imply that we are bound ever to admit them to the unqualified enjoyment of the privileges of citizenship. It is a covenant to incorporate them into our Union, not on the footing of the original States, or of States created under the Constitution, but to extend to them, according to the principles of the Constitution, the rights and immunities of citizens, being those rights and immunities of jury trial, liberty of conscience, etc., which every citizen may challenge, whether he be a citizen of an individual State or of a Territory subordinate to and dependent on those States in their corporate capacity. In the meantime they are to be protected in the enjoyment of their existing rights. There is no stipulation, however, that they shall ever be formed into one or more States.

"'Do not the United States possess Territories now? Is the possession of Territories confined by the Constitution to those they now hold? I believe not; for in the Constitution it is stated that "Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States." Here is a clear recognition of territory belonging to the United States, and not merely of territory then held, but of territory which might in future be acquired by treaty or purchase. And if this territory be ceded to the United States, Congress have power, as soon as it is ceded, to make rules and regulations respecting it.'

"Roger Griswold, of Connecticut, one of the leaders of the opposition, made the most elaborate argument against the constitutionality of the treaty:

"'The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Smilie], however, has said that it is competent for this Government to obtain a new territory by conquest, and if a new territory can be obtained by conquest he infers that it can be procured in the manner provided for by the treaty. While I admit the premises of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, I deny his conclusion.

"'A new territory and new subjects may undoubtedly be obtained by conquest and by purchase; but neither the conquest nor purchase can incorporate them into the Union. They must remain in the condition of colonies and be governed accordingly. The objection to the third article is not that the province of Louis-

iana could not have been purchased, but that neither this nor any other foreign nation can be incorporated into the Union by treaty or by law; and as this country has been ceded to the United States only under the condition of an incorporation it results that if the condition is unconstitutional or impossible the cession itself falls to the ground.'

"The opposition to the treaty of peace with Spain seems to be largely based upon the proposition that this country can not, in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, accept territory to be governed as colonies. This argument has probably been urged with more force than any other. It is the basis of most of the opposition to the acquisition of the Philippine Islands.

"It has been insisted with eloquence, earnestness, and learning that it was contrary to both the policy and the spirit of our form of government that we should enter upon a colonial system, or that we should possess any territory or province to be governed upon the idea of a colony without merely considering such government as temporary in character and preparatory to statehood.

"It is now urged most strenuously that any suggestion of the right to govern a possession as a colony is a violent departure from the plans and policies of our forefathers.

"As I understand the opposition to the present treaty, the claim is made that the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands ought never to be permitted to form separate States to be admitted into the Federal Union, and that therefore we are violating the spirit of the Constitution if we annex them, because it was not contemplated that any territory should be annexed except what should be finally admitted into the Federal Union as States.

"The opposition in 1803, when the Government was young, when the men who sat in Congress were those who had been present at the formation of the Constitution and the birth of the Republic, seem to have had a different idea. I again call attention to the remarks of Mr. Griswold, the leader of the opposition in the House. He said:

" 'A new territory and new subjects may undoubtedly be obtained by conquest and by purchase, but neither the conquest nor purchase can incorporate them into the Union. They must remain in the condition of colonies and be governed accordingly.'

"Let me now call your attention to what Mr. Nicholson, of Maryland, one of the leaders of the Presidential party in the House, and who defended the treaty in an elaborate argument, said:

" 'The other constitutional objection is raised upon the seventh article of

the treaty, which provides that the ships of France and Spain shall be admitted for twelve years into the ports of the ceded territory without paying higher duties than the ships of the United States.

"'To this gentlemen have opposed that part of the Constitution which declares that no preference shall be given to the ports of one State over those of another, and that all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States. There appears to be a strange inconsistency in the arguments of the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. R. Griswold]. He tells you that this Territory is not a State, and that it never can become a State; yet he afterwards declares that the treaty violates the Constitution by giving the port of New Orleans a preference over the ports of the Atlantic States. There is surely a contradiction here.

"'Whatever may be the future destiny of Louisiana, it is certain that it is not now a State. It is territory purchased by the United States in their confederate capacity, and may be disposed of by them at pleasure. It is in the nature of a colony whose commerce may be regulated without any reference to the Constitution.

"'Had it been the Island of Cuba which was ceded to us under a similar condition of admitting French and Spanish vessels for a limited time into Havana, could it possibly have been contended that this would be giving a preference to the ports of one State over another, or that the uniformity of duties, imposts, and excises throughout the United States would have been destroyed? And because Louisiana lies adjacent to our territory, is it to be viewed in a different light? Or can the circumstance of its being separated by a river only, instead of the sea, constitute any real difference in regard to commercial relations which we may think proper to establish?'

"It seems almost strange that while the leaders in favor of the Louisiana purchase and those opposed to its disagreed upon almost every proposition of fact and constitutional law, yet upon one vital point both Mr. Griswold, for the opposition, and Mr. Nicholson, in favor of the treaty, were in complete accord. Both were of the opinion that we had a right to acquire territory by purchase, and the right to govern such territory as a colony. Mr. Nicholson stated:

"'It is territory purchased by the United States in their confederate capacity; may be disposed of by them at pleasure. It is in the nature of a colony whose commerce may be regulated without any reference to the Constitution.'

"This was the opinion of the man who, by his argument, sustained and justified the treaty when it was attacked in Congress. He not only believed that

we had the right to govern the newly acquired territory as a colony, but that we had a right to govern it without any reference to the Constitution. Upon this latter point Mr. Griswold did not agree. He said:

" 'As to the idea of some gentlemen that this territory not being a part of the United States, but a colony, and that therefore we may do as we please with it, it is not correct. If we acquire a colony by conquest or purchase—and I believe we may do both—it is not consistent with the Constitution to delegate to the President, even over a colony thus acquired, all power, legislative, executive, and judicial, for this would make him the despot of the colony.'

"But in saying this he reiterated his belief that Congress had the right to govern the new territory as a colony without regard to its future admission as a State, and the rest of his opinion was not adopted by Congress in the legislation then enacted.

"Do not forget that these were the expressions and beliefs of men who were the leaders in the national House of Representatives in 1803, at the time when Thomas Jefferson was President and James Madison his Secretary of State. Do not forget that these were the opinions of the men who were living in the very dawn of the Republic, who were acquainted with the sentiment and spirit and policy of the people which had founded a new government, who themselves had partaken in the formation of our nation.

"A great deal of very earnest and patriotic language has been used recently urging our country not to depart from the policy indicated by the Declaration of Independence and the spirit of the Constitution.

"Strange, is it not, that the knowledge of this spirit and policy was unknown to the men who legislated in the days of Jefferson and Madison, but has recently been acquired by those who now ardently oppose American control in Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands?

"But I do not wish to digress; I am simply desirous of calling attention to the history of the policy and spirit of our country as denoted by facts.

"Article VII of the treaty gave a preference to French and Spanish vessels entering the port of New Orleans for twelve years, and it was urged by those opposed to the treaty that this was a violation of the Constitution which rendered the treaty invalid and illegal.

"Upon this subject Mr. Griswold of New York, in opposition, after declaring that the Constitution gave no authority to annex territory by treaty, said:

" 'This article gives to the ships of France and Spain the same right of entering the ports of the ceded territory with our own vessels, and it precludes the

ships of all other nations from the same right. Now, if, as gentlemen contend, the new ceded territory with the inhabitants should become incorporated with the United States, there will be ports of entry in the United States into which French and Spanish vessels may enter on terms different from those on which they may enter other ports of the United States.

"'The inference was that here was a favor granted to the ports of New Orleans over other ports. This was against an important principle of the Constitution, for in the ninth section of the first article we find, "No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another." This treaty, then, becomes the law of the land. It has made a commercial regulation. It gives to the ports of the ceded territory a preference to any other ports, because the produce of France and Spain can be carried cheaper to their ports than to any other. If the principle contended for by gentlemen in favor of the treaty is admitted, I think I see a fatal blow proposed against the Constitution of the United States by destroying the reciprocity of interest that unites at present the different members of the Union. Perhaps I see wrong.'

"Mr. Griffin, of Virginia, said that—

"'He was correct, he believed, in stating that under the present regulations of trade Spanish vessels pay 50 cents per ton, while American vessels paid only 6 cents. Here, then, the President and Senate undertake to destroy this provision made by law. For, according to the treaty, Spanish and French vessels entering the ports of New Orleans will hereafter pay only 6 cents a ton, while similar vessels coming to all the other ports of the United States will be obliged to pay 50 cents a ton. The difference between 6 and 50 constitutes the preference given to New Orleans.'

"Mr. Rodney, of Delaware, sustained the treaty, and said:

"'"No preference," says the Constitution, "shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another." In what way, under this treaty, is there any preference of one port over another? I would be glad to see it pointed out, and to be shown whether there is any preference of Delaware over Massachusetts, or of Virginia over Georgia. No. The Constitution adverts to States themselves; and that the distinction between States and Territories is bottomed upon reason. Whence the necessity of the distinction?

"'When Territories grow into States and become represented in the public councils, a majority of them may league together and carry into effect regulations prejudicial to other States. Hence the Constitution provides that in all commercial regulations all the States shall be equally affected. But such a league can not be

effected by Territories, which have no Senators in the other branch, and in this only the voice, without the vote, of a single Delegate. Independent of this consideration is this: If by any particular Territorial regulation the territory of the United States is benefited, that territory being the common property of the United States, a public stock in which they all share, every State in the Union reaps alike the benefit.'

"Mr. Mitchell, of Massachusetts, said:

" 'By the treaty there is no preference given to one State over another in any commercial regulations. The port of New Orleans is not a part of any State in the Union. The abolition of the discriminating duties in favor of the two European nations is confined absolutely to the ports of Louisiana. They have no preference in the ports of any of the States. Nor is there given to one an advantage over the other.'

"Mr. Elliott, of Vermont, said that—

" 'It was not contemplated that this provision would have application to colonial or territorial acquisitions. But it is said that the treaty obliges us to receive the inhabitants of the ceded territory into the Union and, of course, to form them into new States. * * * A complete discretion is left to the United States as to the time and manner of admission, and I have no idea that it will be necessary to admit them within the twelve years during which France and Spain are to enjoy those privileges.'

"The gentlemen who opposed the treaty of that day had the same fears which have been excited by the gentlemen who have opposed the treaty with Spain.

"Mr. Griffin, of Virginia, said, in the House of Representatives in 1803, that he—

" 'did not feel a disposition to discuss the merits of the treaty or to go at large into the consequences which it might produce. He did, however, fear those consequences; he feared the effects of the vast extent of our empire; he feared the effects of the increased value of labor, the decrease in the value of lands, and the influence of climate upon our citizens, who should migrate thither. He did fear (though this land was represented as flowing with milk and honey) that this Eden of the New World would prove a cemetery for the bodies of our citizens.'

"While Mr. Thatcher, of Massachusetts, said that he—

" 'was not disposed to discuss the causes which have produced the dismemberment of empires, though all history showed that great empires, whether monarchies or republics, had been ultimately broken to pieces by their magnitude. * * *

" 'This acquisition of distant territory will involve the necessity of a con-

siderable standing army, so justly an object of terror. Do gentlemen flatter themselves that by purchasing Louisiana we are invulnerable? No, sir; Spain will still border on our southern frontier, and so long as Spain occupies that country we are not secure from the attempts of another nation more warlike and ambitious.'

"Mr. Roger Griswold said:

" 'This subject was much considered during the last session of Congress, but it will not be found either in the report of the secret committee which has recently been published or in any document or debate that any individual entertained the least wish to obtain the province of Louisiana. Our views were then confined to New Orleans and the Floridas, and, in my judgment, it would have been happy for this country if they were still confined within those limits. The vast and unmanageable extent which the accession of Louisiana will give to the United States, the consequent dispersion of our population, and the destruction of that balance which it is so important to maintain between the Eastern and the Western States threatens at a no very distant day the subversion of our Union.'

"While Mr. Gaylor Griswold, of New York, another one of the leaders of the opposition, said:

" 'If the principle contended for by gentlemen in favor of the treaty is admitted, I think I see a fatal blow proposed against the Constitution of the United States, by destroying the reciprocity of interest that unites at present the different members of the Union. Perhaps I see wrong.'

"I recently heard it said by a member of the House in the debate here that he would rather give Spain $100,000,000 and not keep the Philippines than to take them for nothing. His remark was not exactly original. Senator White, of Delaware, in discussing the Louisiana treaty, made much the same remark in 1803. In the course of the debate at that time Senator White said:

" 'Louisiana must and will become settled if we hold it, and with the very population that would otherwise occupy part of our present territory. Thus our citizens will be removed to the immense distance of two or three thousand miles from the capital, where they will scarcely ever feel the rays of the General Government. Their affections will become alienated; they will gradually begin to view us as strangers; they will form other commercial connections, and our interests will become distinct. These, with other causes that human wisdom may not now foresee, will in time effect a separation, and I fear our bounds will be then fixed nearer to our houses than the waters of the Mississippi. We have already territory enough, and when I contemplate the evils that may arise to these States from

this intended incorporation of Louisiana into the Union, I would rather see it given to France, to Spain, or to any other nation of the earth upon the mere condition that no citizen of the United States should ever settle within its limits, than to see the land in the territory sold for $100,000,000 and we retain the sovereignty.'

"VIEWS OF GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

"I have already called your attention to the history of the provision in the Constitution relating to the Government of the territory of the United States by Congress and to the fact that this provision of the Constitution, as well as many other provisions, was drafted by Gouverneur Morris. I now wish to call your attention to two letters written by Gouverneur Morris. He was a Federalist, a supporter of President Adams and a bitter opponent of President Jefferson. He had been a member of the Constitutional Convention, and the proceedings of that body show that he was one of its most active and influential members.

"When the Louisiana treaty was promulgated, Mr. Henry W. Livingston wrote to Morris asking him in regard to his construction of the provision relating to government of Territories. Morris replied; but his first reply was not fully satisfactory to himself, and a few days thereafter he sent another letter to Henry W. Livingston, dated December 4, 1803, in which he said:

" 'A circumstance which turned up in conversation yesterday has led me again to read over your letter of the 3d of November and my answer of the 28th [25th]. I perceive now that I mistook the drift of your inquiry, which is substantially whether Congress can admit, as a new State, territory which did not belong to the United States when the Constitution was made.

" 'In my opinion they can not.

" 'I always thought that when we should acquire Canada and Louisiana it would be proper to govern them as provinces and allow them no voice in our councils. In wording the third section of the fourth article I went as far as circumstances would permit to establish the exclusion. Candor obliges me to add my belief that, had it been more pointedly expressed, a strong opposition would have been made.'

"And in a letter dated January 7, 1804, written to Jonathan Dayton, Gouverneur Morris said:

" 'As to the cession of Louisiana, I should indeed have lost all shame as well as pretense to understanding if I did not approve of it. A few millions more or less in the price might be a fit subject for Democrats to bawl about if the treaty

had been made by their opponents, but it really seems unworthy of notice when the subject is taken up on a great scale. I see with you that it will not be easy to find a proper governor for the newly acquired territory, supposing always the Administration to know the kind of a man necessary to the office and to seek him without motives of party or partiality.

"'Let me add my belief that no man, without the support of at least 1,000 American bayonets, can duly restrain the inhabitants of that region. * * *

"'There are two points which do not meet my approbation. * * * My other objection is more serious. The stipulation to admit the inhabitants into our Union will, I believe, prove injurious to this country. (Diary and Letters of Gouverneur Morris, by Anne Cary Morris, volume 2, page 452.)'

"Here we have the construction of one of the leading framers of the Constitution. Although politically opposed to President Jefferson, he was in favor of the purchase of Louisiana; he believed that we had the right to govern it as a province; that we had no constitutional right to admit the acquired territory as new States; that it would be necessary to govern the annexed territory by force of bayonets and arms; and his only objection to the treaty was that it provided for the eventual admittance of the inhabitants into the Union.

"ACT TO TAKE POSSESSION OF LOUISIANA.

"The discussion of the treaty at the special session in October, 1803, resulted in the passage of an act authorizing the President to take possession of the ceded territory and providing for the temporary government thereof. The bill for this act passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 89 yeas to 23 nays. It passed the Senate by an almost unanimous vote. Permit me to call your attention to its terms. It provided:

"'That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized to take possession of and occupy the territory ceded by France to the United States by the treaty concluded at Paris on the 30th of April last between the two nations; and that he may for that purpose, and in order to maintain in the said territories the authority of the United States, employ any part of the army and navy of the United States, and of the force authorized by an act passed the 3d day of March last, entitled "An act directing a detachment from the militia of the United States, and for erecting certain arsenals," which he may deem necessary, and so much of the sum appropriated by the said act as may be necessary is hereby appropriated for the purpose of carrying this act into effect; to be applied under the direction of the President of the United States.

"'Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That until the expiration of the present session of Congress, or unless provision be sooner made for the temporary government of the said Territories, all the military, civil, and judicial powers exercised by the officers of the existing government of the same shall be vested in such person and persons, and shall be exercised in such manner, as the President of the United States shall direct for maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of Louisiana in the full enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion.'

"The other act, which was referred to in section 1 of the above act, was the act of March 3, 1803, authorizing the President, whenever he shall judge it expedient, to take effectual measures to organize, arm, equip, and hold in readiness to march at a moment's warning, a detachment of militia not exceeding 80,000.

"In the recent debate in the House upon the bill for the increase of the army a great deal was said by the opponents of the treaty about the danger of granting authority to the President to control an army of between fifty and one hundred thousand, with authority to send them into the territory ceded by Spain for the purpose of obtaining and maintaining forcible possession. It will be noted that, although the inhabitants of New Orleans and the rest of the province of Louisiana had not been consulted about the cession of their territory to the United States, yet Congress, in 1803, under the inspiration of President Jefferson and James Madison, enacted this law authorizing the President to call out troops to the number of 80,000 for the purpose of taking forcible possession of New Orleans.

"It was well known at that time that Spain was inclined to object to the cession of Louisiana by France to this country, and it was also known that the inhabitants of the ceded territory did not desire to come under the sovereignty and control of the United States.

"It will be noticed that the act of 1803 gave to President Jefferson despotic and unlimited power over the newly ceded territory for its temporary government.

"ORGANIZATION OF GOVERNMENT FOR LOUISIANA.

"The United States took possession of New Orleans December 20, 1803, and a little later Congress proceeded to the enactment of legislation for the organization of Territorial government for the newly acquired possessions.

"One of the disputed propositions at present in regard to the annexation of the Philippine Islands is whether by the ratification of the treaty and the annexation of those islands to the United States the Constitution, with all of its provisions, is thereby extended over the annexed territory. I have already called attention to

the preference given to Spanish and French ships for twelve years at the port of New Orleans by the treaty, contrary to an expressed provision of the Constitution, if that provision were held to apply in the new territory.

"I have also called attention to the opinions of the various members of Congress expressed in the debate. Permit me to now call your attention to the act which was passed for the organization of Territorial government for the Louisiana purchase and to the consideration of the bill for that purpose in the House of Representatives. And first note that section 2 of Article III of our Constitution provides that—

" 'The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury.'

"The sixth amendment to the Constitution provides that—

" 'In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury.'

"The seventh amendment provides that—

" 'In all suits at common law where the value in controversy shall exceed $20 the right of trial by jury shall be preserved.'

"It seems almost patent that if the Constitution was, by the consummation of the acquisition, extended over the new territory, then these constitutional provisions became at once in force in the new territory, and that Congress could not pass any valid act in any way limiting the rights thus guaranteed. And yet that is precisely what Congress proceeded to do. I call your attention to the act of March 26, 1804, for the organization of a government for the newly acquired Louisiana territory.

"In section 5 of the act as it was finally passed is the provision—

" 'In all criminal prosecutions which are capital the trial shall be by a jury of twelve good and lawful men of the vicinage; and in all cases, criminal and civil, in the superior court the trial shall be by a jury if either of the parties require it.'

"The same provision was in the bill when first introduced in the Senate. During the consideration of this section of the bill in the Senate, in January, 1804, it was moved to amend that clause of the fifth section reading 'In all criminal prosecutions which are capital the trial shall be by a jury of twelve good and lawful men of the vicinage,' by striking out the words 'which are capital;' but the motion was defeated by a vote of 11 yeas to 16 nays.

"When the same section was under consideration in the House of Representatives in March, 1804, Mr. G. W. Campbell moved to strike out of that clause the words 'which are capital the trial shall be by a jury of twelve good and lawful men of the vicinage; and in all cases, criminal and civil, in the superior court the

trial shall be by a jury if either of the parties require it,' and to insert in place thereof the words 'the trial shall be by jury, and in all civil cases above the value of $20,' for the purpose of making the clause comply with the provisions of the Constitution.

"And Mr. Campbell said, in support of his motion, that he—

" 'conceived that in legislating for the people of Louisiana they were bound by the Constitution of the United States, and that they had not a right to establish courts in that Territory on any other terms than they could in any of the States. Wherever courts were established in a Territory, they must be considered as courts of the United States, and of consequence can not be otherwise constituted than as courts in the States. The Constitution expressly declares that in criminal cases the trial shall be by jury, and in all civil cases where the sum in controversy exceeds the value of $20 the trial shall be likewise by jury. In the ninth article of the amendments to the Constitution we find the following words: "In suits at common law where the value in controversy shall exceed $20 the right of trial by jury shall be preserved." The eighth article says: "In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury."

" 'I will observe that the right of trial given by this section, to wit. "If either of the parties require it," is a dangerous mode of proceeding and may tend unwarily to entrap them. The person brought before the court for a misdemeanor, asked if he requires a jury trial, may be ignorant of the evidence and may not know the benefits of a trial by jury; he must at all events show a want of confidence in the court or waive a jury trial. If he does the first, he may sour the minds of the court. The party is thus put in a situation which may be worse than if he was deprived altogether of the right of a trial by the necessity of making a choice which may operate more against him. The bill, therefore, does not secure the right of a jury trial as contemplated by the Constitution.'

"It seems apparent that if the contention of Mr. Campbell that the Constitution did apply to the new territory was correct, then his amendment was necessary in order to make the proposed enactment constitutional. And yet his amendment was defeated by an overwhelming majority.

"The act erecting Louisiana into two Territories and providing for the temporary government thereof became a law by the approval of President Jefferson (author of the Declaration of Independence and founder of the Democratic party) March 26, 1804. The provisions of that act are very instructive at the present time. I have already referred to the ordinance of 1787 and the acts organizing the Territories of Indiana and Mississippi.

"But this was the first act organizing a government in territory acquired by the United States subsequent to the adoption of the Constitution, and it emphasizes the opinion of the statesmen of that day as to the rights and power of Congress in the government of the acquired territory.

"By that act what is now the State of Louisiana was organized into the Territory of Orleans. Section 4 of the act provided as follows:

" 'Sec. 4. The legislative powers shall be vested in the governor and in thirteen of the most fit and discreet persons of the Territory, to be called the legislative council, who shall be appointed annually by the President of the United States from among those holding real estate therein, and who shall have resided one year at least in the said Territory and hold no office of profit under the Territory or the United States. The governor, by and with advice and consent of the said legislative council, or of a majority of them, shall have power to alter, modify, or repeal the laws which may be in force at the commencement of this act. Their legislative powers shall also extend to all the rightful subjects of legislation, but no law shall be valid which is inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States, or which shall lay any person under restraint, burden, or disability on account of his religious opinions, professions, or worship; in all which he shall be free to maintain his own, and not burdened for those of another.

" 'The governor shall publish throughout the said Territory all the laws which shall be made, and shall from time to time report the same to the President of the United States, to be laid before Congress, which, if disapproved of by Congress, shall thenceforth be of no force. The governor or legislative council shall have no power over the primary disposal of the soil, nor to tax the lands of the United States, nor to interfere with the claims to land within the said Territory. The governor shall convene and prorogue the legislative council whenever he may deem it expedient. It shall be his duty to obtain all the information in his power in relation to the customs, habits, and dispositions of the inhabitants of the said Territory, and communicate the same from time to time to the President of the United States.'

"In other words, Congress, in the early days of the Republic, organized a government in newly acquired territory not only without asking for the consent of the governed, but absolutely without regard to their wishes and without giving to them any local legislative influence.

"The legislative powers were vested in a governor and a legislative council of thirteen, all to be named by the President of the United States. And the governor, by and with the consent of this legislative council, might enact such legis-

lation as he saw fit. He could convene and prorogue the legislative council to suit his whim.

"History compels us to say that it was Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, the founder of the Democratic party, who signed his approval to this law as President; and he made the appointments in accordance with its term. And when he did so, his Secretary of State and confidential adviser was James Madison, the member and historian of the Constitutional Convention.

"Nor was this all. As to the remainder of the Louisiana province, it was organized into the district of Louisiana, and by section 12 of the act it was provided that the executive power to be exercised in the said district should be vested in the governor of the Indiana Territory, and that the governor and judges of the Indiana Territory should have power to make all laws which they might deem conducive to the good government of the inhabitants of the district of Louisiana. And yet no complaint is now made that President Jefferson and the Congress which enacted this law acted foolishly or unwisely, or that their act was a breach of the principles of self-government expressed in our form of government.

"The people of New Orleans, however, did not like the new form of government. Martin, the historian of Louisiana, says, referring to the transfer to the United States:

" 'The people of Louisiana, especially in New Orleans, were greatly dissatisfied at the new order of things. They complained that the person whom Congress [President Jefferson] had sent to preside over them was an utter stranger to their laws, manners, and language, and had no personal interest in the prosperity of the country; * * * that in the new court of pleas, most of the judges of which were ignorant of the laws and language of the country, proceedings were carried on in the English language, which Claiborne had lately attempted to introduce into the proceedings of the municipal body, and the suitors were in an equally disadvantageous situation in the court of last resort, in which he sat as sole judge.—Martin's History of Louisiana, page 322.'

"The dissatisfaction of the people of New Orleans increased. Meetings were held, committees were appointed, and a deputation of three was sent before Congress to obtain redress. Martin says the deputation was not successful in their application to Congress. In March, 1805, Congress passed an act to establish a Territorial government similar to that of the Mississippi Territory. This provided for the appointment by the President of a governor, with an absolute veto power. In vain did the New Orleans deputation plead for an amendment to the bill

providing that the governor should be chosen by the President out of two individuals selected by the people.

"The conclusion is almost irresistible that the position taken by the President and Congress, on the consideration of the subject at the time, was that before being made into States the newly acquired territory had no rights under the Constitution; that it was to be governed independently of the Constitution and entirely outside of its limiting provisions; that it had no benefits from the Constitution except such as Congress, in its discretion, chose to extend; that it was to be governed as property; 'the soil, as a sovereign would govern his property; the inhabitants, as a father would take care of his children.'

"The statesmen of that day attempted to govern the new possession in the only common-sense method. They acquired a vast possession which required some form of suitable government. Who now wishes that they had rejected the Louisiana purchase on the ground that they could not govern it except by despotic methods? It is true that the territory was sparsely settled outside of the city of New Orleans, but do the Constitution and Declaration of Independence only apply to thick settlements or large aggregations of people and not to the pioneers who take up their abode and make a fight for civilization in the sparsely settled Territories?

"Is there any reason why, if Congress can give a sufficient and suitable government to a region too sparsely settled to admit of self-government without asking the consent of the inhabitants, the same Congress can not give a sufficient and suitable government to a region settled by a people who have not proven their capacity for self-government? What is the difference in principle, either as to the rights enunciated by the Declaration of Independence or the liberties guaranteed by the Constitution?

"THE ACQUISITION OF FLORIDA.

"But I do not wish to wander from my historical narrative. In April, 1818, General Andrew Jackson, one of the patron saints of the Democratic party, in the prosecution of the Indian war, took possession of the Spanish fort at St. Marks, Fla., by force of arms, and, when remonstrated with by the Spanish governor, replied by entering Pensacola in May and capturing the Spanish fort at Barancas. Negotiations were then pending for the purpose of settling the boundary lines between the United States and the Spanish possessions on the west and south.

"A treaty was concluded February 22, 1819, by which the boundary lines between the United States and the Spanish possessions were agreed upon, and at the same time Spain ceded the Spanish province of East Florida and the Spanish

title of West Florida to the United States for the consideration of $5,000,000. This treaty was not ratified by the King of Spain until October 29, 1820, after which it was again ratified by the Senate on February 19, 1821.

"Article VI of the Florida treaty provided that—

" 'The inhabitants of the territories which His Catholic Majesty cedes to the United States by this treaty shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States as soon as may be consistent with the principles of the Federal Constitution, and admitted to the enjoyment of all the privileges, rights, and immunities of the citizens of the United States.'

"And Article XV provided that—

" 'The United States, to give His Catholic Majesty a proof of their desire to cement the relations of amity subsisting between the two nations and to favor the commerce of the subjects of His Catholic Majesty, agree that Spanish vessels coming laden only with productions of Spanish growth or manufactures directly from the ports of Spain or of her colonies shall be admitted, for the term of twelve years, to the ports of Pensacola and St. Augustine, in the Floridas, without paying other or higher duties on their cargoes, or of tonnage, than will be paid by the vessels of the United States. During the said term no other nation shall enjoy the same privileges within the ceded territories. The twelve years shall commence three months after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.'

"ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.

"The treaty with Spain fixed the boundary line between the United States and the Spanish possessions at what is now the easterly line of Texas. The present State of Texas was originally a part of the French or Spanish possessions west of the Mississippi River. In 1827 Henry Clay, then Secretary of State under President Adams, instructed the United States minister to Mexico to offer $1,000,000 for the Mexican territory east of the Rio Grande.

"In 1829 Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State under President Jackson, instructed our minister to Mexico to offer $5,000,000 for the portion of Texas this side of the Neuces River, but Mexico refused the offer. In 1830 orders were issued by our Government to prevent any further emigration from the United States to Texas. On May 27, 1836, the Republic of Texas was proclaimed, and on March 3, 1837, it was recognized by the United States.

"In 1844 the President negotiated a treaty with the new Republic of Texas for the annexation of Texas to the United States and her admission as a State

in the Federal Union. When this treaty was presented to the Senate for its ratification, instead of receiving the necessary two-thirds vote to secure a ratification, it was rejected in the Senate by a vote of 16 ayes to 35 nays.

"But on February 25, 1845, the House of Representatives, by a vote of 120 ayes to 98 nays, passed a joint resolution for the annexation of Texas, and on March 1, 1845, this resolution was passed by the Senate by a vote of 27 ayes to 25 nays. It will be noticed that this was a Senate consisting of the same members who in the previous year had rejected the treaty for annexation by more than a two-thirds vote in the negative. It will also be noticed that a change of one vote from aye to nay on the passage of the joint resolution would have defeated that resolution.

"Texas on July 4, 1845, consented to annexation upon the terms named in the joint resolution, and on December 29, 1845, she was admitted as a State into the Union. At the time of the passage of the joint resolution, and also at the time of the admission of Texas as a State, Texas was considered as in rebellion by the Republic of Mexico, and her independence had not then been acknowledged by the Mexican Government, against which she had revolted.

"THE ACQUISITION OF CALIFORNIA AND NEW MEXICO.

"War with Mexico seemed imminent on account of the admission of Texas, and under date of November 10, 1845, James Buchanan, then Secretary of State, instructed our minister to Mexico to offer the Mexican Government $5,000,000 for the cession of New Mexico, $25,000,000 for the cession of the province of California as far north as San Francisco, and $20,000,000 for the bay and harbor of San Francisco and the Spanish territory to the northward. It is not necessary for me to recite the events leading up to the war with Mexico, which was declared to exist by a declaration of Congress passed on May 13, 1846. Nor is it necessary to call attention to the history of the Mexican war, which resulted in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which was made February 2, 1848, amended by the Senate in ratification, and proclaimed July 4, 1848.

"It will be recalled that there was quite a Spanish settlement in California at the time of its acquisition by this country. In New Mexico was Santa Fe, the second oldest town in the United States. When Florida had been acquired there came with it St. Augustine, the oldest town in our country. But in neither case had any expression been given by the inhabitants of the ceded territories showing that they desired annexation to this country. They had not been in

any way consulted. The Spanish people of California did not desire annexation. They were living happily under Mexican dominion, and they had no desire to be taken away from their own country. Their wishes or their inclinations were not considered when making the treaty of peace.

"Although the United States had defeated the Mexican Government and was in possession of the capital of Mexico at the time the treaty was entered into, one of the provisions was that this country was to pay to Mexico, in consideration of the cession of New Mexico and California, the sum of $15,000,000, and this sum was afterwards paid in pursuance of the treaty.

"I have heard considerable said upon the floor of the House in denunciation of the provision of the present treaty with Spain for the payment by us to Spain of $20,000,000 as part consideration of the cession of the Philippine Islands. We have been told by gentlemen here representing the Democratic party that it was beneath the dignity of this country, after having defeated Spain in war, to now turn around and pay to Spain a large sum of money for that which, if we take at all, we ought to take purely and solely as victors. And I have wondered whether their denunciation extended far enough back to take in the Democratic President and Secretary of State under whose guidance and direction the provision was inserted in the treaty with Mexico for the payment of $15,000,000.

"But again I do not wish to digress.

"Article VIII of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, providing for the rights of the inhabitants in the ceded territory, was as follows:

" 'Mexicans now established in territories previously belonging to Mexico, and which remain for the future within the limits of the United States, as defined by the present treaty, shall be free to continue where they now reside or to remove at any time to the Mexican Republic, retaining the property which they possess in the said territories, or disposing thereof, and removing the proceeds wherever they please, without their being subjected, on this account, to any contribution, tax, or charge whatever.

" 'Those who prefer to remain in the said territories may either retain the title and rights of Mexican citizens or acquire those of citizens of the United States. But they shall be under the obligation to make their election within one year from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty; and those who shall remain in the said territories after the expiration of that year, without having declared their intention to retain the character of Mexicans, shall be considered to have elected to become citizens of the United States.

" 'In the said territories property of every kind now belonging to Mexicans

not established there shall be inviolably respected. The present owners, the heirs of these, and all Mexicans who may hereafter acquire said property by contract shall enjoy with respect to it guaranties equally ample as if the same belonged to citizens of the United States.'

"Article IX of the treaty, as negotiated and presented to the Senate for ratification, was as follows:

" 'The Mexicans who in the Territories aforesaid shall not preserve the character of citizens of the Mexican Republic, conformably with what is stipulated in the preceding article, shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States and be admitted at the proper time (to be judged of by the Congress of the United States) to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States, according to the principles of the Constitution; and in the meantime shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, and secured in the free exercise of their religion without restriction.'

"This provision was somewhat different from the provisions covering the same point in the treaties for the acquisition of Louisiana and Florida, and when the treaty came before the Senate for ratification, for some reason, which does not seem fully disclosed, but probably was simply to maintain uniformity, it was ordered by the Senate that the treaty be ratified with an amendment, inserting in place of article 9, as it read in the original draft of the treaty, the third article of the Louisiana treaty.

"The treaty with Spain, which has just been ratified by the Senate, after a memorable campaign for and against its ratification in this country, has created only a mild discussion compared with the bitter and violent debate in the country over the annexation of Texas and the acquisition of California and New Mexico. Great leaders of the country then as now were opposed to expansion. Men whose names will ever live in the history of our country as noble patriots and broad-minded statesmen then as now believed that the enlargement of our national domain and the expansion of our national sovereignty were fraught with the gravest of danger. But the discussion was not carried on so coolly then as now. The opposition was more determined and more embittered. In the minds of the opponents at that time the dangers were even more clearly seen (apparently) than they seem to be now.

"To no man who ever has sat in the Congress of the United States do the people of our country owe a greater debt of gratitude than to the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, who opposed with all his wonderful might and splendid mind the acquisition of California and New Mexico. Permit me to call your

attention to a few of the expressions used by the great Daniel Webster, the defender of the Constitution, concerning the admission of Texas and the acquisition of New Mexico and California:

" 'The Government is very likely to be endangered, in my opinion, by a further enlargement of the territorial surface, already so vast, over which it is extended.'

"And again he said, referring to the same subject:

" 'I say, sir, that, according to my conscientious conviction, we are now fixing on the Constitution of the United States and its frame of government a monstrosity, a disfiguration, an enormity.

" 'Sir, I hardly dare trust myself. I do not know but I may be under some delusion. It may be the weakness of my eye that forms this monstrous apparition. I hold it to be enormous, flagrant, an outrage upon all the principles of popular republican government, and on the elementary provisions of the Constitution under which we live and which we have sworn to support. * * * I think I see a course adopted which is likely to turn the Constitution of the land into a deformed monster, into a curse rather than a blessing. * * * And I think that this process will go on, or that there is danger that it will go on, until this Union shall fall to pieces. I resist it to-day and always. Whoever falters or whoever flies, I continue the contest.'

"And again he said:

" 'On other occasions in debate here I have expressed my determination to vote for no acquisition or cession or annexation north or south, east or west. My opinion has been that we have territory enough, and that we should follow the Spartan maxim, "Improve, adorn what you have;" seek no further. * * * There may be in California, and no doubt there are, some tracts of valuable land. But it is not so in New Mexico. * * * There are some narrow strips of tillable land on the borders of the rivers, but the rivers themselves dry up before midsummer is gone. All that the people can do in that region is to raise some little articles, some little wheat for their tortillas, and that by irrigation.'

"I particularly commend the speech of Webster to the distinguished gentleman who represents on the floor of the House the Territory of Arizona, a part of the New Mexico to which Mr. Webster referred. That gentleman is known as a bitter opponent of expansion. He opposed with all his might the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. But Webster in his speech said that there might be some excuse for annexing the Hawaiian Islands, but he could see no possible excuse for taking in such a barren territory as he said Arizona was, from which the gentleman comes, and which he so well represents.

"The Senator from Massachusetts has been reversed by history. He did not see aright the signs of the times as to expansion. If Daniel Webster were now alive, he would be the last man in the Republic to admit that this country could afford to lose a single foot of the territory embraced in the cession from Mexico in 1848. He would be the quickest to admit that the acquisition of that territory has done much to cement the Union into closer unity; has done much to knit more tightly the bands which hold our country together; that the sunny land on the other side of the Rocky Mountains, which was so far away in 1848, and which, through the genius of our citizenship, has been brought into close and quick touch with the rest of the Union, has made our whole country feel that distance no longer separates the utmost parts from quick communication with the Central Government, which responds constantly to every feeling of danger or joy, of poverty or prosperity, in every part of our domain.

"Following the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, we entered into another treaty with Mexico December 30, 1853, under the administration of President Pierce, by which we purchased from Mexico a strip of land known as the Mesilla Valley, lying in the southern parts of New Mexico and Arizona, and embracing an area of 45,535 square miles, for which we paid to Mexico $10,000,000.

"This treaty was negotiated on the part of the Union by Mr. James Gadsden, our minister to Mexico, and is usually referred to as the Gadsden purchase. This purchase was intended partly for the purpose of aiding in the settlement of a difference between the two countries as to the boundary line of the previous cession, but more for the purpose of showing the kindly feeling of our country to the Government in Mexico. The tract of land acquired by the purchase is probably worth less and cost more per square mile than any other territory ever acquired by our Government.

"DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTS ON EXPANSION.

"All of the annexations to our country since the adoption of the Constitution up to the time of the Gadsden purchase had been under Democratic administrations. May I ask the gentlemen on the Democratic side of the House to consider for a moment the names of those who were connected with the administrations acquiring new territory for the expansion of our domain and sovereignty: President Thomas Jefferson and his Secretary of State, James Madison, afterwards President; President James Monroe, who negotiated the treaty with France, and under whose administration Florida was acquired; President Andrew Jackson, who, while a gen-

eral in the army, had taken possession of Florida without orders and without regard to the rights of Spain; President Tyler, President Polk and his Secretary of State, James Buchanan, afterwards President, and President Pierce.

"These are the men who were at the head of our Government during nearly all the time when the Democratic party has been in power in our Government. And permit me to say that in no case and upon no occasion did a single one of these great men ever propose to consult the wishes of the inhabitants in the new territory, except in the case of Texas.

"They were the men who determined the historic policy of our country. It was their ambition and their desire to add to the other acquisitions of this country the island which we have just freed from the oppression of Spain. They believed not only that we had the right to add new territory to our country between the oceans and to govern it according to the dictates of the best judgment of Congress, unrestricted by the limitations of the Constitution, but they believed also in reaching across the water and taking in the Island of Cuba.

"Let me recall to your attention what has been done in the way of the acquisition of new territory during these Democratic administrations.

"The Louisiana purchase added to our territory 1,182,752 square miles, at an expense of 3½ cents per acre. The Florida purchase added 59,268 square miles, at an expense of 17 cents per acre. The annexation of Texas added to our area 371,063 square miles, of which 274,356 square miles is included within the present State of Texas, and of which 96,707, lying outside of the limits of the present State of Texas, were purchased from Texas by the National Government in 1850, at an expense of $16,000,000, or 26 cents per acre.

"The cession from Mexico in 1848 contained 522,568 square miles, which cost 4½ cents per acre. The Gadsden purchase of 45,535 square miles was acquired at a cost of 34 cents per acre.

"THE ALASKA PURCHASE.

"The first duty of the Republican party was not to add new territory, but save to the country a portion of the old. Without regard to the doctrine that the just powers of government depend upon the consent of the governed, the National Government determined, by the issue of war, that neither the individual States nor a concerted movement of the Southern States or their people were entitled to separate themselves from our national sovereignty and organize a government apart from us for themselves. The right of revolution, asserted by the Declara-

tion of Independence successfully, was again asserted by the Southern Confederacy, but this time without success.

"It was not long, however, after the Civil War until under the administration of President Johnson, by the treaty made March 30, 1867, at Washington, by Secretary of State William H. Seward, in behalf of his country, the United States acquired the cession from Russia of all her possessions on the continent of America and adjacent islands, which we now refer to as Alaska.

"The Alaska purchase added 577,390 square miles to the area of our country, at a cost of $7,200,000.

"The territory acquired by this purchase has, up to the present time, been governed without any local Legislature and wholly by direction and under the control of Congress. And, though its government may not have been excellent, it probably has been much better than it would have been if conducted by a local Legislature elected in that sparsely settled territory.

"The power of Congress to give a fitting character to the particular legislation enacted for the special government of Alaska has seldom, if ever, been questioned, and has invariably, I believe, been exercised whenever Congress has seen fit.

"OPINIONS OF LAW WRITERS.

"I have referred to some of the events in history concerning annexation, and to the opinions of some of the men who had much to do with the Republic and its policies in its early days. Permit me to call attention to a few legal opinions. Probably the two greatest writers of our country upon legal subjects have been Chancellor Kent and Judge Story. The Commentaries of one and text-books by the other are studied by every law college in our land. These men speak with authority equal to that of learned judges in deciding cases of grave importance.

"Chancellor Kent, in referring to the various acts of Congress in relation to the organization and government of the various Territories under the provision of the Constitution, empowering Congress 'to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States,' said:

" 'It would seem from these various Congressional regulations of the Territories belonging to the United States that Congress have supreme power in the government of them, depending on the exercise of their sound discretion. That discretion has hitherto been exercised in wisdom and good faith and with an anxious regard for the security of the rights and privileges of the inhabitants,

as defined and declared in the ordinance of July, 1787, and in the Constitution of the United States.

"'"All admit," said Chief Justice Marshall, "the constitutionality of a Territorial government." But neither the District of Columbia nor a Territory is a State within the meaning of the Constitution or entitled to claim the privileges secured to the members of the Union. This has been so adjudged by the Supreme Court. Nor will a writ of error or appeal lie from a Territorial court to the Supreme Court unless there be a special statute provision for the purpose. If, therefore, the Government of the United States should carry into execution the project of colonizing the great valley of the Columbia or Oregon River to the west of the Rocky Mountains, it would afford a subject of grave consideration what would be the future civil and political destiny of that country.

"'It would be a long time before it would be populous enough to be created into one or more independent States, and in the meantime, upon the doctrine taught by the acts of Congress, and even by the judicial decisions of the Supreme Court, the colonists would be in a state of the most complete subordination and as dependent upon the will of Congress as the people of this country would have been upon the King and Parliament of Great Britain if they could have sustained their claim to bind us in all cases whatsoever. (Kent's Commentaries, Volume I, page 385.'

"While Judge Story, in his work on constitutional law, said:

"'The power of Congress over the public territory is clearly exclusive and universal, and their legislation is subject to no control, but is absolute and unlimited, unless so far as it is affected by stipulations in the cessions or by the ordinance of 1787, under which any part of it has been settled. (Story on the Constitution, section 1328).'

"Story also said:

"'What shall be the form of government established in the Territories depends exclusively upon the discretion of Congress. Having a right to erect a Territorial government, they may confer on it such powers—legislative, judicial, and executive—as they may deem best. (Story on the Constitution, section 1325.)'

"That these distinguished jurists and authors thoroughly understood the absolute and broad opinion of the power of Congress as thus expressed by them is shown by the statement of Chancellor Kent in expressing the following opinion concerning the danger of the despotic power thus conferred upon Congress, to wit:

"'Such a state of absolute sovereignty on the one hand and of absolute dependence on the other is not congenial with the free and independent spirit

of our native institutions; and the establishment of distant Territorial governments, ruled according to will and pleasure, would have a very natural tendency, as all proconsular governments have had, to abuse and oppression. (Kent's Commentaries, Volume I, page 385.)'

"And Judge Story, in his work, refers to this opinion of Chancellor Kent. The opinion of Chancellor Kent that such a despotic power was a dangerous one is not, of course, a legal opinion. That is purely a matter of policy and not a matter of legal construction. The opinions of Chancellor Kent and Judge Story are entitled to the greatest weight so far as they refer to matters of constitutional law. Kent's opinion as to the propriety of such a despotic power has no greater weight than the opinion of many persons unlearned in the law, but the fact that he called attention to the dangers which might arise from the exercise of such absolute sovereignty and power by Congress shows conclusively that when he expressed his legal opinion that Congress had such authority, he was fully convinced that the power granted by the Constitution was broad, full, and absolute in its character.

"DECISIONS OF THE SUPREME COURT.

"Mr. Chairman, it is proper to say that the decisions of the United States Supreme Court in reference to the power of Congress over the Territories of the United States are somewhat conflicting and contradictory in character, but there is no decision of the Supreme Court denying such authority to Congress. Let me refer briefly to some of the cases decided by the Supreme Court.

"In the case of The American Insurance Company vs. Canter (1 Peters, 517), relating to the acquisition of Florida, Mr. Justice Johnson, in deciding the case on the circuit, said:

" 'The right, therefore, of acquiring territory is altogether incidental to the treaty-making power, and, perhaps, to the power of admitting new States into the Union, and the government of such acquisitions is, of course, left to the legislative power of the Union so far as that power is uncontrolled by treaty. By the latter (treaty) we acquire either positively or sub modo, and by the former (legislative power) dispose of acquisitions so made, and in case of such acquisitions I see nothing in which the power acquired over the ceded territories can vary from the power acquired under the law of nations by any other Government over acquired or ceded territory.'

"Mr. Justice Johnson's decision was affirmed in January, 1828, by the Supreme Court (The American Insurance Company vs. Canter, 1 Peters, 541), the opinion

being delivered by Chief Justice Marshall, who said (referring to the Florida treaty of cession):

"'This treaty is the law of the land, and admits the inhabitants of Florida to the enjoyment of the privileges, rights, and immunities of the citizens of the United States. It is unnecessary to inquire whether this is not their condition independent of stipulation. They do not, however, participate in political power; they do not share in the government till Florida shall become a State. In the meantime Florida continues to be a Territory of the United States, governed by virtue of that clause in the Constitution which empowers Congress "to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States." * * *

"'The right to govern may be the inevitable consequence of the right to acquire territory. Whichever may be the source, whence the power is derived, the possession of it is unquestioned.'

"In Loughborough vs. Blake (5 Wheat., 317) it was decided by the Supreme Court, the opinion being delivered by Chief Justice Marshall, that the provision in section 8 of Article I of the Constitution, giving the 'power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises' extends to the District of Columbia; and the court expressed the opinion that such power extends to all places over which the Government extends, including the Territories. It is manifest, however, that it was not necessary to refer to the Constitution for such power, because, if the Constitution covered the Territories expressly, then the power would cover the Territories; and if the Constitution does not cover the Territories expressly, then the absolute authority of Congress would include the power given by that section of the Constitution.

"In Fleming vs. Page (9 How., 617), decided in 1850, the Supreme Court said:

"'After Florida had been ceded to the United States, and the forces of the United States had taken possession of Pensacola, it was decided by the Treasury Department that goods imported from Pensacola before an act of Congress was passed erecting it into a collection district and authorizing the appointment of a collector were liable to duty—that is, that although Florida had, by cession, actually become a part of the United States, and was in our possession, yet under our revenue laws its ports must be regarded as foreign until they were established as domestic by act of Congress; and it appears that this decision was sanctioned at the time by the Attorney-General of the United States, the law officer of the Government.

"'And, although not so directly applicable to the case before us, yet the decisions of the Treasury Department in relation to Amelia Island and certain ports in Louisiana were both made upon the same grounds, and in the latter case, after a custom-house had been established by law at New Orleans, the collector at that place was instructed to regard as foreign ports Baton Rouge and other settlements still in the possession of Spain, whether on the Mississippi, Iberville, or the sea-coast. The Department in no instance that we are aware of since the establishment of the Government has ever recognized a place in a newly acquired country as a domestic port from which the coasting trade might be carried on, unless it had been previously made so by act of Congress.

"'The principle thus adopted and acted upon by the executive department of the Government has been sanctioned by the decisions in this court and the circuit courts whenever the question came before them. We do not propose to comment upon the different cases cited in the argument. It is sufficient to say there is no discrepancy between them. And all of them, so far as they apply, maintain that under our revenue laws every port is regarded as a foreign one unless the custom-house from which the vessel clears is within a collection district established by act of Congress and the officers granting the clearance exercise their functions under the authority and control of the laws of the United States.'

"Daniel Webster, in his argument before the Supreme Court in the foregoing case of Fleming vs. Page (9 Howard, 612), stated:

"'That there was a difference between the Territories and other parts of the United States. Judges were there appointed for terms of years, which the Constitution forbade as to other parts of the country. Hence the part of the Constitution which directs that duties must be equal in all the ports of the United States does not apply to Territories.'

"And in discussing the bill to organize a government for the Territory of Oregon, Daniel Webster said, in the Senate of the United States, August 12, 1848:

"'The question now is, whether it is not competent to Congress, in the exercise of a fair and just discretion, considering that there have been five slave-holding States added to this Union out of foreign acquisitions, and as yet only one free State, to prevent their further increase. That is the question. I see no injustice in it. As to the power of Congress I have nothing to add to what I said the other day. Congress has full power over the subject. It may establish any such government and any such laws in the Territories as in its discretion it may see fit. It is subject, of course, to the rules of justice and propriety, but it is under no constitutional restraints.'

"The case of Cross vs. Harrison (16 Howard, 164) refers to the condition of California between the time when the treaty of peace of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed, on February 3, 1848, and the time when a collector of customs at San Francisco entered upon the duties of his office, in the latter part of 1849, by appointment by the President under an act of Congress creating California into a customs district.

"At the time the treaty of peace was signed, in March, 1848, California was in possession of the military branch of our Government, and military officers were collecting customs. Notice of the ratification of the treaty did not reach the military officers in California until some time after the middle of the year 1848. When such notice did reach the military authorities in California they received no instructions from the Government regarding the course they should pursue. They thereupon, by military order, provided that the duties to be paid on imports at San Francisco should thereafter be the same as provided by law for the United States.

"In the early part of 1849 an act of Congress was passed creating California into a customs district, with the port at San Francisco, but it was not until the latter part of 1849 that a collector, appointed by the President, entered upon the discharge of his duties. Persons who had paid duties on imports into California between the date of the signing of the treaty and the date of the creation of California into a customs district, as well as between the latter date and the date when the collector of customs qualified, under written protest, urged that the collection of duties by the military authorities after the date of the signing of the treaty and its ratification was illegal and unlawful.

"The Supreme Court held that the military authorities had the right to keep in force the rate of duties previously fixed by military order up to the time when, by further military order, a different rate was put in force equal to the rate fixed by law in the United States, and then had authority to collect the duties as fixed by the new military order up to the time when a collector was appointed and qualified under an act of Congress creating the territory into a customs district and fixing a port of entry. In the course of the argument in the opinion sustaining the proceedings taken by the military government of California, the court uses several expressions indicating that the tariff laws of the United States might be considered as extended over the newly acquired territory by virtue of the ratification of the treaty.

"For instance, Justice Wayne, in denying the right of the importers to land goods at San Francisco free of duty between the time of the ratification of the

treaty and the time when a collector of customs was qualified to act, states that to permit this would be—

"'a violation of that provision of the Constitution which enjoins that "all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States." Indeed, it must be clear that no such right exists and that there was nothing in the condition of California to exempt importers of foreign goods into it from the payment of the same duties which were chargeable in the other ports of the United States.'

"Such expressions of opinion as this one were not necessary to the decision of the case which was reached by the court, and, though entitled to considerable weight upon that side of the question, are not to be taken as expressing the considered decision of the Supreme Court upon a question of such vast importance as the one we are now discussing, and a decision of which was not required in the case before the court.

"I crave indulgence to refer to a few more recent decisions of the Supreme Court. I do not think it is necessary for us to pay much attention to the Dred Scott case. After the lapse of a generation, during which that case was only referred to for the purpose of pointing at it with the finger of scorn, the gentlemen on the other side of the House now begin to bring it out to fortify their position upon the subject of territorial expansion.

"Let us not forget that the whole point involved in the Dred Scott case was the question of the extension of slavery. There was then going on in our country, as there had been from the time of the foundation of the Republic, that wonderful conflict of interest and ideas concerning the extension or restriction of slavery. It became necessary for the party which was then in control of the Government to take the position that the United States had no right to exclude slaves from any of the territory of the United States. For years the people of our country had acquiesced in the idea embodied in the Missouri compromise. There was to be and was a line north of which slavery should not exist and south of which slavery should not be interfered with.

"The anti-slavery sentiment was not only becoming stronger in the hearts of the people of our country, but the numbers who expressed its ideas were becoming greater with the growth of the free States. To continue to keep out slavery north of the Missouri compromise line meant the admission of free States which would send to Congress Representatives and Senators opposed to slavery, so that the so-called balance of power between the slave and the free States would be destroyed and the free States would have a majority control of the Government.

"In the minds of the keenest thinkers and leaders for the slavery party there

was but one way in which to obviate the impending doom of slavery, and that was to secure a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States holding that under the Constitution the Government could not interfere with the right of a citizen to take his slave or other property into any part of our Territories over which the Constitution was effective, and to hold that the Territories were covered by the provisions of the Constitution and guaranteed such right. It became necessary, in the development of this carefully laid scheme, for the Supreme Court to decide that the Territories of the United States were covered and protected by the guaranties in the Constitution, and that negro slaves might be carried by their masters into and kept in any of these Territories.

"Every line of the decision by Chief Justice Taney was written for the purpose, and solely for the purpose, of effecting the result of permitting slaveholding in any and all of the Territories of the United States. That decision was blotted over by the blood of both North and South. It is not a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. It was a decision demanded and received by the slaveholding power of the Southern States. With the passing of that slaveholding power as a result of civil war the decision of the court in the Dred Scott case also passed forever.

"In Murphy vs. Ramsey (114 U. S., 44), relating to the Territory of Utah, Mr. Justice Matthews, delivering the opinion of the court, said:

" 'It rests with Congress to say whether in a given case any of the people resident in the Territory shall participate in the election of its officers or the making of its laws; and it may, therefore, take from them any right of suffrage it may previously have conferred or at any time modify or abridge it as it may deem expedient. * * *

" 'Their political rights are franchises which they hold as privileges in the legislative discretion of the Congress of the United States.'

"And in the case of Mormon Church vs. United States (136 U. S. Reports, 42) Mr. Justice Bradley, delivering the opinion of the court, said:

" 'The power of Congress over the Territories of the United States is general and plenary, arising from and incidental to the right to acquire the Territory itself, and from the power given by the Constitution to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States. It would be absurd to hold that the United States has power to acquire territory and no power to govern it when acquired. * * * The power to make acquisitions of territory by conquest, by treaty, and by cession is an incident of national sovereignty.

"'The Territory of Louisiana, when acquired from France, and the Territories west of the Rocky Mountains, when acquired from Mexico, became the absolute property and domain of the United States, subject to such conditions as the Government in its diplomatic negotiations has seen fit to accept relating to the rights of people then inhabiting these Territories. * * * Doubtless Congress in legislating for the Territories would be subject to those fundamental limitations in favor of personal rights which are formulated in the Constitution and its amendments; but these limitations would exist rather by inference and the general spirit of the Constitution, from which Congress derives all its power, than by any express and direct application of its provisions.'

"I wish to call particular attention to three recent cases decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, because they have been so often referred to in the recent discussion of the question.

"In the case of American Publishing Company vs. Fisher (166 U. S., 464) the question was whether litigants at common law in Utah while it remained a Territory had a right to trial by jury requiring unanimity for a verdict.

"The Supreme Court, by Mr. Justice Brewer, said:

"'Whether the seventh amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which provides that "in suits at common law where the value in controversy shall exceed $20 the right of trial by jury shall be preserved," operates ex proprio vigore to invalidate this statute, may be a matter of dispute. * * *

"'But if the seventh amendment does not operate in and of itself to invalidate this Territorial statute, then Congress has full control over the Territories irrespective of any express constitutional limitations, and it has legislated in respect to this matter. In the first place, in the act to establish a Territorial form of government for Utah, act of September 9, 1850 (C. 51, section 17, 9 Statutes, 453, 458) it enacted "that the Constitution and laws of the United States are hereby extended over and declared to be in force in said Territory of Utah, so far as the same, or any provision thereof, may be applicable." A subsequent statute has more specific reference to jury trials. * * *

"'Therefore, either the seventh amendment to the Constitution, or these acts of Congress, or all together, secured to every litigant in a common-law action in the courts of the Territory of Utah the right to a trial by jury, and nullified any act of its Legislature which attempted to take from him anything which is of the substance of that right.'

"It will be noted that in the above case the Supreme Court expressly declines to say that the Constitution and the seventh amendment thereof were in opera-

tion in the Territory of Utah irrespective of the legislation of Congress. The Supreme Court in that case leaves the matter open as one which is not determined. The language of the court is that whether the seventh amendment to the Constitution is, by virtue of the Constitution, extended over the Territories 'may be a matter of dispute.' I call especial attention to this language and this statement of the court because of the opinions in two cases which followed it, and which two cases are now claimed as authority for the proposition that the Constitution, by its own virtue, extends itself over new territory acquired by our Government.

"The Fisher case, just cited, was decided by the Supreme Court April 12, 1897. A few days thereafter, on April 26, 1897, the Supreme Court decided the case of Springville vs. Thomas (166 U. S., 707). The opinion in the latter case is about one page long. The question involved was precisely the same as in American Publishing Company vs. Fisher, and, naturally, the judgment of the court was the same. But in delivering the opinion of the court Mr. Chief Justice Fuller said:

" 'In these three cases judgments were entered on verdicts returned by less than the whole number of jurors by which they were tried. It has been decided by this court that the Territorial act of March 10, 1892, permitting this to be done * * * was invalid, because in contravention of the seventh amendment to the Constitution and the act of Congress of April 7, 1874. * * * (American Publishing Company vs. Fisher, ante, 464.) * * *

" 'The Supreme Court of the Territory held * * * that the act of Congress of September 9, 1850, * * * the organic act of the Territory, vested in the Territorial Legislature such unlimited legislative power as enabled it to provide that unanimity of action on the part of jurors in civil cases was not necessary to a valid verdict. * * *

" 'In our opinion the seventh amendment secured unanimity in finding a verdict as an essential feature of trial by jury in common-law cases, and the act of Congress could not import the power to change the constitutional rule, and could not be treated as attempting to do so.'

"It will be noted that in American Publishing Company vs. Fisher the Supreme Court called attention to the fact that in the act passed by Congress to establish a Territorial form of government for Utah it was expressly enacted that the Constitution of the United States was thereby extended over the said Territory so far as applicable; and the court held in that case that by virtue

of this provision in the act of Congress the seventh amendment of the Constitution became in force in Utah if it had not been so previously.

"It seems very unlikely that the Supreme Court, which on April 12, 1897, had stated that it was still a matter of dispute whether the Constitution extended itself over newly acquired territory and declined in that case to settle the dispute, should on April 26, 1897, in an appeal involving precisely the same question, have intended, in a one-page decision and by four or five lines of an opinion, to decide this great constitutional question.

"It is admitted that the seventh amendment of the Constitution was in force in the Territory of Utah and governed the decision in the case, because the act of Congress organizing the Territory of Utah so provided. But the statement in the opinion that an 'act of Congress could not import the power to change the constitutional rule' was entirely unnecessary for a decision of the case, and can hardly be held sufficient authority for the determination of a great constitutional question which, two weeks before, had expressly been left undecided by the Supreme Court.

"The case of Thompson vs. Utah (170 U. S., 343, 346) was another case involving trials by jury in the Territory of Utah. The opinion of the court was delivered by Mr. Justice Harlan, one of the most distinguished jurists of our country. An opinion by such a judge, carefully considered, would be entitled to great weight. But in this case the decision is simply based upon the authority of the two cases which I have just referred to.

"In the opinion Mr. Justice Harlan said:

" 'That the provisions of the Constitution of the United States relating to the right of trial by jury in suits at common law apply to the Territories of the United States is no longer an open question. (Webster vs. Reid, 11 How., 437, 460; American Publishing Company vs. Fisher, 166 U. S., 464, 468; Springville vs. Thomas, 166 U. S., 707.)'

"And then, after specially referring to the last above-cited case, it is added:

" 'It is equally beyond question that the provisions of the National Constitution relating to trials by jury for crimes and to criminal prosecutions apply to the Territories of the United States.'

"This case is decided upon the authority of the Thomas case above, and that case was decided upon the authority of the American Publishing Company case, and that case expressly left the question open and undecided.

"Here is no pretense of giving consideration or particular thought to the grave constitutional question which, by the language of the opinion, is apparently dis-

posed of offhand. The judgment of the Supreme Court was undoubtedly correct, but it was correct because the act of Congress had extended the Constitution over the Territory of Utah. The court was not required to determine whether the provisions of the Constitution apply to the Territories without regard to Congressional action. No conclusion was reasoned out, and apparently no consideration given to the opinion, except to find that it was governed by the cases which I have referred to. Those cases did not decide that the Constitution of itself extends itself to the Territories, and in the first case, American Publishing Co. vs. Fisher, that question is expressly left open and undecided.

"While it is unfortunate that the Supreme Court of the United States should have been led into carelessly expressing an inconsiderate opinion—that the Constitution is, by its own virtue, extended over all Territories acquired by the United States—still it is not a matter of grave importance. The Supreme Court, composed, as it now is and as it probably ever will be, of judges of high character, great learning, patriotic impulses, and without the stubborn pride of opinion, will readily give to this question, when it shall properly arise before them, a new, complete, and unbiased consideration, and the result of that consideration can hardly be a matter of much doubt.

"The Supreme Court has consistently held from the beginning that the provisions of the Constitution in relation to the character of the courts and the life tenure of judges did not apply to the courts created by acts of Congress in the Territories. Such a conclusion could only have been reached by the holding that the Constitution did not apply of its own virtue to the Territories.

"The history of the country which I have cited, the history of the various annexations of new territory, the history of the government of the Territories by Congress, all show that the Constitution of the United States, in its general limitations and provisions, does not apply to or in the Territories. In one sense the Constitution extends over the Territories because of the constitutional provision that Congress shall have authority to make rules and regulations for the government thereof. But the other provisions, limiting the authority of Congress, has no application to the Territories, which are the common property of all of the States.

"It has been recently claimed on the floor of the House and elsewhere that if we annex the Philippine Islands we shall have no right or power under the Constitution to prevent the children of the present inhabitants of the Philippines from coming to our country and its capital when and how and as often as they please. And this contention has been based upon some decisions of the

court and upon section 1 of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution, which provides that—

"'All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property; without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law.'

"I am aware of the learned decisions which have been made by our Supreme Court, based upon this amendment; but I call attention to an exception not provided for by the amendment, but which is recognized by every one familiar with the actual facts. The provision is that 'all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States.'

"The jurisdiction of the United States extends to every person within its limits except the representatives here of foreign governments. I am aware that in a certain sense we treat various Indian tribes as foreign powers; but after all we undertake by legislation to control their actions, and our jurisdiction is extended over them; and yet no one pretends that under the fourteenth amendment of the Constitution or any other provision of the Constitution that the members of an Indian tribe, living in the tribal relation, can at his own sweet will have the power to leave the reservation upon which our Government places him and hie himself off to the capital of the country. We deal with but we also legislate for the Indian tribes. Sometimes we deal with them by treaty, sometimes without; but there is not a single foot of land in our country, occupied by or belonging to Indian tribes, over which our country does not claim the right of government and the right of jurisdiction as against a foreign power.

"The fourteenth amendment to the Constitution has never been held to apply to the Indian tribes. We had dealt with the Indians for years before the fourteenth amendment was adopted. The custom of our country in dealing with the Indian tribes was well understood. The debates in Congress and in the various State Legislatures show that it was not the intention by the fourteenth amendment to change the relations between the General Government and the Indian tribes, and hence it is held that that amendment does not apply to such tribes. It can and will be as easy for the courts to hold that the fourteenth amendment was not intended to apply and does not apply to any tribes or settlements or other inhabitants of the Philippine Islands.

"My position is that when the ratifications of the treaty shall have been exchanged and our country shall have acquired from Spain her title of sovereignty over the Philippine Islands we shall hold them as a common possession, province, colony, Territory, or whatever it may be called, belonging to the States which, in their confederate capacity, constitute the national Union. We may deal with and govern these new possessions as we please, unrestricted except by our intelligent ideas of humanity, civilization, liberty, and good government. We shall have the authority, if we wish, to sell the Philippines, because they have not become by the treaty a constituent part of our country.

"We may exchange them if that is desirable. We may govern them with a government absolutely despotic in its character, or we may give to them such form of local self-government as will appeal to our best judgment, as will be in line with the history of our country, as will tend to educate the inhabitants of those islands for more complete government by themselves. The mere fact that we may have absolute and autocratic power is no reason against our taking the islands. Within its constitutional limits the power of Congress is already autocratic and despotic. Within their constitutional limits the powers of the different officers of our country are autocratic and despotic. We rely somewhat upon the good judgment of the men who are elected to office, and we also rely upon the right of the people, in their discretion to correct an exercise of ill judgment by electing other and different officials.

"EXPANSION HAS PROVEN BENEFICIAL.

"Shall we shrink from the problems which are thus thrust upon us? Shall we attempt to shift the burden from our shoulders for fear we may not be strong enough to bear it? Shall a nation which in a century and a quarter of time has increased its area from 400,000 to 4,000,000 square miles be now afraid of one more addition?

"Why, when, through the daring courage and the wonderful campaign of George Rogers Clark and his little band of less than 200 men, the British possessions in the Mississippi Valley were captured for the State of Virginia and the new Confederacy of States, the Continental Congress at once claimed that the empire thus gained, lying east of the Mississippi, should never be relinquished; and when the treaty of peace with Great Britain was signed in 1783, the territorial extent of the revolting colonies had already been nearly doubled.

"The Revolutionary patriots of that day, while they may have had doubts

about the future, while they were more afraid of a strong central government than we are now, while they could not even imagine the splendid triumphs which human genius would accomplish—welding together into a solid whole the scattered parts of a great empire—never faltered in their daring to believe that the empire which had been won by the gallantry and hardships of their soldiers, should remain a possession of their country.

"From that day to this no generation has come and gone without adding to the extent of our national territory. And who can wonder? Does the history of the past count for nothing? Did the pilgrim fathers and mothers leave their homes and cross a trackless sea and settle on almost barren soil, in an inhospitable clime, in the midst of savage Indians, in order that their descendants should be frightened by the unsolved problems of an enlarging nation? Were there no trials and tribulations in the life and death of the early settlers who planted the fringe of States along the Atlantic coast from Maine to Georgia?

"Were their problems less hard to solve than the problems which now confront us? Were the dangers which threatened them less fearful than the dangers which we may see as possible before us? Have we forgotten the losses which they suffered, the savage foes which they encountered, and the splendor of their achievements which overcame the obstacles of the wilderness in a new land, which defied the terrors of bloody border warfare, and which set up a new and independent government against the arms and power of the English throne?

"No doubt when the early settlers left their homes in Europe to cross the Atlantic there were croakers and doubters who despaired of the successful ending of these new ventures. No doubt there were conservatives who pleaded terrors to be encountered and urged the certainty of failure; but lives there a man to-day so mean in spirit and so small in daring that he regrets the sailing of the Pilgrims for our shore? Unfortunately there be some who have come to us now, while the flush of prosperity and peace and comfort mantles our land, who pour out their souls and cry out their eyes fearful lest we, too, may be imbued by some of the spirit of adventure and liberty and gain which first brought the white race to build up this wonderful country and this noble Republic.

"But the example of the early settlers has ever been an inspiration which gave to our people the hope, the heart, and the courage to accept the responsibilities of national growth and progressive expansion.

"It was Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, who when President of the United States, with James Madison, the historian of the Constitutional Convention, for his Secretary of State, and James Monroe, also a

President of the United States, made the first and the greatest expansion of territory after the adoption of our Constitution. There were doubters then. There were men then who feared and who trembled for the future of the Republic. There were pessimists in those days who did not believe that a republic could live with a domain so vast.

"Jefferson put aside his conscientious scruples about a strict construction of the Constitution, and, rising equal to the emergency and the opportunity which had come, looked dimly through the years and faintly saw the wonderful progress to liberty and to the life of the young nation by adding the western bank of the Mississippi to our domain.

"It was Daniel Webster, the greatest Senator who ever sat in the United States Senate from Massachusetts, if not from all the States, who, in 1848, saw lurking in the annexation of California the dissolution of our nation.

"But again the will and the wish of the people were better and wiser than the foresight of the great Webster. Who would now blot out from our map the States of Ohio, Illinois, and others which were gained by the prowess and genius of George Rogers Clark? Who would now part with Iowa, with Kansas, Nebraska, Missouri, and the other States which came to us through the Louisiana purchase made by Thomas Jefferson? Who would now yield up a foot of ground in Texas, which caused the Mexican war, or in California or in New Mexico, which were the result of that war?

"We have suddenly learned that our nation has grown to the stature of full manhood. In the length of a year we have discovered that our nation is one of the great forces of government in the world; that it can not stand idly by; that in the inevitable destiny of government it must move forward. Almost without knowing it, and certainly without previous full appreciation of it, we have become one of the greatest factors in the world's commercial relations, which are so intricately interwoven and intertwined that no nation can now shirk the responsibilities of government which time or opportunity puts upon her.

"Who does not know that dangerous problems and possibilities lie in the annexation of the Philippine Islands? Who did not know that dangers and problems would come with the early settlements on our shores? Who did not know that dangers and problems would come with the Louisiana purchase? Who did not know that dangers and problems would come with the annexation of Texas and the acquisition of Mexican territory? Shall we fear where our fathers dared? Shall we doubt and stop where they faced destruction and death and went ahead? Do we think that because we have reached from ocean to ocean we can circum-

scribe the sphere of our activity by the waters which border our present shores?

"In 1803, when Jefferson made the Louisiana purchase, the exports from our country of all kinds were $55,000,000. In 1848, when we acquired California, the exports from our country were $138,000,000. Last year the exports were $1,255,000,000. Of our exports last year $981,000,000 went to Europe, $149,000,000 went to other countries in North America, and $47,000,000 went to Asia. The exports last year from our country to Asia were nearly as large and the exports to Asia and Oceanica together were considerably larger than the total exports from our country when Jefferson purchased Louisiana, and yet they were a mere bagatelle compared either with the total exports from our country or the total imports of Asia and Oceanica.

"Who could foresee in 1803 that the exports from our country in less than a century of time would increase from $55,000,000 to $1,255,000,000? Who can read the future for us? In a century and a quarter our nation has spread from a mere coast line on the Atlantic until it has covered a continent, across to the Pacific Ocean. It is the ascendant nation on the Western Hemisphere. Shall it now stop its progressive growth because a few pessimists fear danger and a few partisans play politics?

"When the century began it took six weeks to cross the Atlantic Ocean. Can you read into the future and tell how long it will take a hundred years from now to cross the Pacific ocean? When the Territory of Oregon was organized in 1848 it took Governor Lane, the first governor of that Territory, more than six months to reach the mouth of the Columbia River.

"But with the enlargement of our territorial extent came the enlarged genius of man, came the quickened wits of man, came the inspiration to greater deeds, to more splendid achievements in science, in mechanics, in arts.

"Our country possesses to-day one-third of the railroad mileage of the world; more than one-half of the telegraph mileage. We have bounded into prosperity because we took up manfully the burdens which we assumed, and we attempted, like brave and daring men, the solution of the problems which we accepted. The civilization which has girdled the world is now reaching, with the hand of the American nation, across the waters of the Pacific to the land from which civilization started. The innate forces of human nature have decreed the opening of China and the Chinese Empire to the forces of modern genius and modern civilization.

"In like manner as we have, by steady acquisition of territory, become the

supreme leaders on the Western Continent, so we should become the supreme leaders on the Pacific Ocean.

"When Webster negotiated the Ashburton treaty and settled our northwestern boundary line with Great Britain, we had a bare outlet on the Pacific Ocean. Since then we have acquired the coast line of California, the coast line of Alaska, and the Aleutian Islands, giving us the ascendant influence on the easterly and northerly sides of that ocean. By the recent acquisition of the greatest strategic point in the Pacific, the Hawaiian Islands, we now need but a foothold of territory and friendly inhabitants on the other side to give us the supremacy for defense or offense for war or peace, for trade and commerce, in that greatest of bodies of water, which can not escape in the future from being the scene of a more splendid development than any yet attained in history.

"Will it be said that we are taking the Philippine Islands against the wish of the inhabitants? Did the Continental Congress ask the consent of the inhabitants of Kaskaskia and Vincennes? Did Thomas Jefferson and James Madison ask the consent of the inhabitants of New Orleans? Did James Monroe or Andrew Jackson ask the consent of the inhabitants of Pensacola and other points in Florida? Did President Polk ask the consent of the inhabitants of Santa Fe or of California? They did not doubt their ability to give to the inhabitants of those territories better government than they previously possessed. Do we doubt the ability of our country to give to the Filipinos better government than Spain has ever given them?

"For a hundred years they have been weakly struggling for additional privileges and greater liberty. They have never succeeded; they were never on the point of success; they were disheartened and defeated until the greatest hero of our war steamed by the forts and into the bay at Manila. If they are fit for local self-government, can we not give it to them under our central Government? If they are unfitted now for local self-government, can we not give them better government than they have had and better government than they can maintain for themselves? Do we fear that we are making a departure if we inaugurate a colonial system of government for them?

"Jefferson, who drafted the Declaration of Independence, who was the founder of the Democratic party, urged an amendment to the Constitution which would keep a part of the Louisiana purchase in the condition of a colony or a province.

"Gouverneur Morris, who was the draftsman of the Constitution, believed that we not only had the right, but that it was our duty to govern all of the Louisiana purchase as a colony. The opposition to the Louisiana purchase in Congress in

1803 denounced the treaty of purchase for the very reason, as they said, that it provided for the admission of the inhabitants of the annexed territory to equal rights and privileges with the citizens of our country, and they claimed that we only had the right to govern annexed territory as colonies.

"We need not fear for the future. Our race surmounts the obstacles which it meets. The greater America has come, because it is for the mutual interest of those who take and of those who are taken. We shall not the less continue to solve the problems coming with increased population in our local affairs. We shall not the less continue to preserve the independence of thought and liberty within the individual States and the General Government; but with the spread of our power, with the enlargement of our domain, we shall take loftier view of the affairs of men. We shall strive to mount to higher rounds; we shall enlarge the blessings of individual liberty; we shall increase the comforts of those who come under our influence; we shall take a step forward in the progress of enlightened liberty, civilization, and humanity.

"And we would not dare to step backward. If we have not the genius and the statesmanship to give good government to the people of the Philippine Islands under the direction of our central Government, then we acknowledge that a republican form of government is unequal to the emergency which confronts it and is less capable than would be the government of a monarchy. I deny it. We can give to the Philippine Islands, under some form of partial local government, more liberty, more enlightenment, more comforts, more privileges, more prosperity, more happiness than they have ever yet received—more than they ever would receive either under a government conducted wholly by themselves or some form of government supplied for them by some European power.

"Let men prate no longer about their tender solicitude for the inhabitants of those islands when they say we have no right to govern them against their will. No patriot who is a citizen of our country will honestly say he believes we can not give them better government than they have had or than they can give to and maintain for themselves alone.

"It is the selfish side of the opponents of expansion which causes them to weep tears for the supposed injury to be done to the Filipinos. It is not because they love or care for the Filipinos; it is because they love and care for themselves only. They are thinking, not of the interests of the inhabitants on the other side of the world; they are thinking only of their pessimistic, dyspeptic fears of the future of our own land—fears which are not new, but are the ghosts of fears born in the human heart and mind thousands of years ago, and which ever since have

been stalking abroad, endeavoring to block the progress of the human race and of human government.

"I do not know what the future will bring forth, but I do not believe that wisdom will die with the present generation. What has been accomplished during this century will be more than duplicated in the next. Let us not make the mistake of believing that the Asiatic people are naked savages or poverty-stricken barbarians. Over there one form of civilization has reached a higher plane than we have yet attained. Scholarship and learning are not wanting there. Wealth and culture are found also there. Religion and philosophy will not be first taught by us to them. This wonderful people, which has isolated itself from the world since the dawn of what is to us ancient history, will shortly enter into competition and commerce with the rest of mankind.

"The Chinese Empire, with its more than 4,000,000 square miles of territory, greater in extent than ours even with Alaska included, with its 400,000,000 of population, with its form of civilization, will soon be opened to the world, whether we will it or not. Then there will meet across the Pacific seas, in active competition, the two greatest intellectual forces of the world—the modern civilization of Europe and America and the ancient and modern civilization of China. What will result from the competition ensuing no one can foretell. It may be strife or it may be peace; it may result in a bloody warfare for final supremacy or it may excite the genius of mankind to a higher pitch than yet known, and produce a civilization, a prosperity, a comfort, a happiness, a means of communication, a splendor of the material, the intellectual, the philosophic forces of mankind not even yet faintly dreamed of.

"Whatever the future may produce out of this great reopening and reawakening of ancient Asia, it is the opportunity now, as it is the duty now, of the United States to secure for herself a resting place for her navies, for her armies, for her trade and commerce, for her civilization, for her arts and industry, on the other side of the Pacific Ocean in close proximity to the coast of Asia.

"As against the wonderful possibilities of the future, as against the splendid destinies of our people and our nation, as against our final supremacy on the waters of the Pacific Ocean in the conflict of civilization, in the combat of races, in the growth of trade and commerce in peaceful amity, in the inspiration to higher art and higher thought and nobler genius, I would brush aside the objections offered by the opponents of the greater America as mere loose chaff flying unguided in the winds.

"The dream of Columbus will soon be a realization. In 1492 he sailed west-

ward from Spain to reach the East Indies. The country which he discovered and added to the map of the world has now reached to the East Indies, and within a few days, or years at most, another Columbus, sailing westward from Spain to find the East Indies, will discover that greater America has already begun to provide a route by which a ship can sail from Spain westward to the East Indies through an isthmian canal, and to a government placed upon the Philippine Islands of liberty, of love, and of strength by the United States of America, which set up the first independent and liberty-serving government for itself on the continent which Columbus had discovered.

"And when this second Columbus shall sail he may stop with his vessel for supplies at the Island of Porto Rico, a possession of our country; he may pass through the Nicaragua Canal, under the control of our country; he can stop at the Hawaiian Islands, a part of our land; he can stop at the Ladrone Islands, belonging to us, and he can reach the Philippines and still be under the flag of the country which the first Columbus made known to the world.

"We shall take no steps backward. The treaty has been ratified. The American flag will never come down from Manila. It will not remain flying there because we are afraid to haul down the flag when it ought to be hauled down. It will not remain there because mere sentiment prevents us from hauling down the flag when once raised; but the flag will remain flying there because it is for the interest of all parties, because it is for the benefit of humanity, because it is a part of the plan of Divine Providence which, in some mysterious way, governs the destinies of the nations.

"It will not remain there because we dare not haul it down, but because we dare to keep it flying and dare to face the problems which are before us.

"May God give us the courage and the heart, the wisdom and soul, to properly administer enlightened government with intelligent progress in the more than 4,000,000 square miles, on both sides of the ocean, constituting the newer and the greater America."